THE HISTORIE OF GVICCIARDIN:

CONTAINING THE WARRES OF Italie and other parts, continued for manie yeares vnder ſundrie Kings and Princes, together with the variations and accidents of the ſame.

And alſo the Arguments, with a Table at large expreſſing the principall matters through the whole Hiſtorie.

Reduced into Engliſh by GEFFRAY FENTON.

The third Edition, diligently reuiſed, with reſtitution of a Digreſſion towards the end of the fourth Booke, which had bene formerly effaced out of the Italian and Latine copies in all the late Editions.

Mon heur viendra.



LONDON,
Imprinted by RICHARD FIELD, and are to be ſold by Arthur Iohnſon. 1618.

Thomas Smith his
Thomas Smith his book

TO THE QVEENES MOST EXCELLENT MAIESTIE, OVR MOST REDOVBTED, MOST HAPPIE, AND TRVE SOVERAIGNE LADIE ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, principall defender of the faith, and next vnder God, the onely, absolute, and full supreme head ouer all causes Ecclesiasticall and temporall through her Maiesties Dominions:

Geffray Fenton prayeth a perpetuall increasing of the spirit of Gods holy feare, and a continuall going on and confirmation of that godly course, wherein with so long peace and happinesse, her Maiestie hath gouerned the subiects and peoples of her Realmes and seuerall iurisdictions.

IT is not without reason nor contrary to example, that I presume to offer vp to the peculiar and graue view of your Maiestie, these my compositions and labours: for that the generall argument being historicall, a doctrine wherein your Maiestie farre aboue all other Princes, hath a most singular insight and iudgement; and the particular parts containing discourse of State and Gouernment, in which God hath expressed in the person of your Maiestie a most rare & diuine example to all other Kings of the earth, for matter of policie and sound administration: All law of reason, of equitie, and of other impression whatsoeuer, do challenge to appropriate the addresse and iustification of this worke to your Maiestie onely, in whom, for your inspired science and spirit to iudge of Monuments and euents of times, and for the felicitie of your gouernment in seasons so perillous and conspiring, all Kings, and kingdomes, and nations round about you, rise vp to reuerence in your forme of gouerning, that propertie of wisedome and vertue, which it seemes God hath restrained to your Maiestie onely, without participation to any of them. And in that regard they hold you that sacred and fixed Starre, whose light God will not haue put out, though the deuices of men on all sides, are busie to draw clouds and darke veiles to obscure it.

I am also encouraged to make this oblation to your Maiestie, by the exam-

ple of many notable Writers, both of the primitiue times and in all ages and posterities ſucceeding, ſuch as for the grauitie and fidelitie of their pen and ſtyle, were cheriſhed by the greateſt Princes of thoſe daies, and vnder the authoritie and countenance of their names, their workes were with reputation and credit inſinuated into many peoples, nations, and regiments: the ſame being an effect due to the vertue and pietie of great Princes, for that as it is God that giueth wiſedome and ſcience to men, ſo it is authoritie that chieflie ſheweth it to the world, euen as the earth nouriſheth the roote of a tree, but the comfortable Sunne doth much to bring foorth the bloſſomes. So many are the teſtimonies and examples of this, and ſo familiar with your Maieſtie is the doctrine of Hiſtories and information of times, that by ſo much leſſe need I to ſtand vpon authorities of antiquitie, or declarations relatiue, by how much more is knowne to be happily laid vp in your Maieſties breaſt, and effectually expreſſed in the forme of your gouernment and reigne, all that which learning and bookes can ſet downe by rule and precept, your Maieſtie being the onely conſecrated Lampe from whom all other dominions about you do draw their light, or rather that terreſtriall Sunne, vpon whoſe influence God hath appointed to depend the motions of all the Regions and Climats of the whole Common-weale of Chriſtendome: A calling and authoritie which all other Potentates do honour in you, with ſo much the more merite and reuerence, by how much amidſt ſo many occaſions and opportunities to ambition, they proue your equitie, pietie, and moderation of mind, to exceede all examples of former Princes and times, and farre to ſurmount all humane expectation: for that hauing as it were a ſoueraigne power ouer them and theirs, you do notwithſtanding diſpoſe of things according to the law of meaſure and right. In regard of which diuine properties, accompanied with your Maieſties other vertues which God hath made infinite in you, and your felicitie which is the reward and effect of the ſame, I may with good comelineſſe reſemble the gracious reigne of your Maieſtie touching theſe regions of Chriſtendome, to the happie time and daies of Cæſar Auguſtus Emperour of Rome: who, after a long and generall combuſtion and harrying of the whole world with blood and warres, did ſo reforme and reduce the regions confining his Empire, that with the Scepter and ſeate of peace he much more preuailed, then euer he could haue done with the ſword: by his clemencie he brought to ſubmiſſion his neighbours that ſtood out againſt him, and by his conſtancie held them aſſured being once reconciled: his wiſedome ſeemed an Oracle to the Nations about him to diſpoſe of their counſels and ſway their enterpriſes. And touching quarrels and controuerſies of State, either for his grauitie and iuſtice, the onely arbitration and reſolution was referred to him, or at leaſt for the awe that was had of him, the factions durſt not burſt out to further limits then he liked of. Laſtly, it was an approued Monarchie of God, for that Chriſt the Sonne of God amidſt ſuch an vniuerſall malice of man & mankind, was contented to ſhew himſelfe in the daies of his reigne. Euen ſo though the ſingular perſons be changed, yet the effects and bleſſings of this time do nothing

vary

vary vnder the happie rule of your Maieſtie, whom God hath raiſed and eſtabliſhed a ſoueraigne Empreſſe ouer ſeuerall Nations and languages, and with the fruits of a firme and continued peace hath plentifully enriched the peoples of your Dominions, reſtored Religion and the Church of Chriſt to dwell anew amongſt vs, made your authoritie awfull to all your neighbours & borderers: & laſtly hath erected your ſeate vpon a high hill or ſanctuary, and put into your hands the ballance of power and iuſtice, to poiſe and counterpoiſe at your will the actions and counſels of all the Chriſtian kingdomes of your time: wherein ſure according to the courſe your Maieſtie holdeth, much leſſe that either for the preſent or in poſterities to come, can be iuſtly obiected any matter of imputation againſt you, ſeeing on the contrarie, moſt of them that be wiſe and true obſeruers of your dealings, do daily confeſſe and publiſh, that in your Maieſtie hath bene orderly fulfilled all lawes and offices of a deuout Neutralitie. For that like as amidſt their heauie afflictions wherein ſucceſſiuely hath bene offered you no ſmall cauſes of ambition, your Maieſtie hath neuer ſtopped or cut from them the refuge of your amitie and mercie: So neuertheleſſe your compaſſion hath principally reſpected the equitie of the complaints of ſuch as implored it, eſteeming it not agreeable to the law of vertue and account of your conſcience, to make your profit vpon the diuiſions of your neighbours, though there haue not wanted reaſons and titles to induce your deſire.

I forbeare to make declaration to your Maieſtie of the life and learning of the firſt Author of this booke; a matter teſtified with ſufficient credit and reputation in the high negociations and emploiments which he managed long time vnder great Princes, Popes, and Common-weales: and I am bold (contrarie to the cuſtome of Writers) to leaue to particulate in my Epiſtle any part of the argument which with ſo great grauitie he hath digeſted at large in ſo great a volume: Onely the man for his integritie and ſoundneſſe was ſuch a one, as whoſe vertues were farre from all ſuſpition of partialitie, fauour, hatred, loue, reward, or any other propertie of humane affection, which might haue force to corrupt or turne from the truth the mind of a Writer. And for the generall matter of his worke, it doth not onely containe the warres and diuerſe accidents hapned in Italie and other parts for almoſt fortie yeares, but alſo he doth ſo diſtinctly ſet downe the cauſes, the counſels, and the fortunes of euery principall partie introduced into thoſe actions, that by his ſtudie and iudgement, is traced and made eaſie to the Reader, the way to all thoſe ſweete and plentifull fruites, which with painfulneſſe are ſought for in Hiſtories of this nature.

And for mine owne part, where in all my dedications heretofore, not my will, which was alwaies warranted by the gracious demonſtrations of your Maieſtie; but my manner of life, inſtituted vpon priuate cuſtomes and exerciſes, hath holden me from approching the authoritie of this place, afore which nothing ought to be preſented which hath not a full perfection of ſpirit and ſtudie: yet now, taking my reaſon of the worthineſſe of the worke, and obſeruing the examples and inducements of others in like oblations, I am bold vnder feare and hu-

militie to proſtrate theſe my laſt paines afore that diuine moderation of mind, which alwaies hath holden for acceptable all things reſpecting learning or vertuous labours: humbly beſeeching your right excellent Maieſtie, that where the worke is now to appeare in the open view of the world, and ſtand before the vncertaine iudgements of ſo many ſundry and ſtrange humors of men, you will vouchſafe to let it paſſe vnder the happie name of your Maieſtie, and vnder your gracious authoritie to giue it defence and fauour againſt the emulation of ſuch as either through malice or ignorance may riſe vp to interprete me and my labours ſiniſterly. The Lord bleſſe your Maieſtie with a long and peaceable life, and confirme in you to the comfort of your people, that courſe of well tempered gouernment, by the benefite whereof they haue ſo long time liued vnder the felicitie of your name. At my lodging neare the Tower of London, vij. Ianuarij.

1578.

Your Maieſties humble and true ſubiect,

GEFFRAY FENTON.

THE GENERALL CONTENTS OF EVERY Booke through the whole Hiſtorie.

Lodowike Sforce vncle and tutor to Iohn Duke of Millan, fearing leſt Ferdinand would make warre vpon him, breaketh off from the League that had bene renewed betweene the ſaid Ferdinand, Iohn Galeas, and the Common weale of Florence, againſt the Venetians: he procureth the French King Charles the eight to paſſe into Italy to conquer the kingdome of Naples. Pope Alexander the ſixt allieth himſelfe with the King of Naples. The French King hauing ordered the affaires of his kingdome, deſcendeth into Italy, where he taketh many townes. Diuers emotions happen in the kingdome of Naples. The Pope is in great perplexitie and trauell. Piſa rebelleth againſt the Florentines. The French King entreth into Florence and Rome, and from thence paſſeth to Naples. Lib. 1.

The Piſans continue their rebellion againſt the Florentines. The French King taketh the Caſtles of Naples. The Pope, Venetians and other Princes make league againſt the King; who returning into France, is fought withall neare the riuer of Taro. Ferdinand winneth againe Naples. Nouaro is beſieged by the Confederates. The French King maketh peace with the Duke of Millan, and returneth into France. Lib. 2.

Lodowike Sforce keepeth not the treatie of peace. The Venetians take the town of Piſa into their protection. The French King determineth to returne into Italy. The Emperour and the Venetians beſiege Liuorne, defended by the Florentines, to whom the French ſend ayde. The Pope makes warre vpon the Vrſins. The French King dieth at Amboiſe. Frier Ieronimo Sauonarola is hanged at Florence. Lib. 3.

Lewis Duke of Orleance ſucceedeth to the Crowne of Fraūce: He determineth to recouer his Dutchy of Millan. Piſa and Florence make warre. Lodowike Sforce flieth from Millan. The Florentines giue battery to Piſa, and agree with the French King. Pope Alexander aſpireth for his ſonne to the iuriſdiction of Romagnia. Lodowike Sforce recouereth Millan, but being betrayed by the Swiſſers, he is taken and led into France. Lib. 4.

The war of Piſa continueth. The Duke Valentinous purſueth his enterpriſe vpon Romagnia. The Kings of Spaine and France inuade ioyntly the kingdome of Naples: they occupy it, and diuide it betweene them, and afterwards make warre one vpon another. The Duke Valentinois putteth to death the Vrſins. The Swiſſers deſcend into the Duchie of Millan. The Spaniards remaine victors ouer the French at Cotignolo, and take Naples. Lib. 5.

The French King maketh his preparation to paſſe into Italy. The death of Pope Alexander the ſixt. Valentinois reconcileth himſelfe to the Colonnois. Francis Piccolomini Cardinall of Sienna is choſen Pope, and named Pius the third: he dyeth within xxvj. daies. Iulius the ſecond is created Pope. The Duke Valentinois is apprehended and made priſoner. The Frenchmen are ouerthrowne at Garillan. The Florentines faile to take the Citie of Piſa. Peace is eſtabliſhed betweene the French King and the King of Spaine. Lib. 6.

Many treaties are made. Pope Iulio the ſecond taketh the gouernment of Bolognia. The Genowayes rebell againſt the French King by reaſon of the quarels betwixt the Nobles and the Cōmunaltie: which the king ſeeketh to redreſſe by mildneſſe. The King of Aragon meeteth with the French King, and communicateth with him. The Diet is holden at Conſtance. The Emperour demandeth paſſage of the Venetians to go to take the Crowne at Rome. The Venetians offer him paſſage, if he came without an armie, otherwiſe not. He inuadeth their lands, and afterwards maketh truce with them. The French King complaineth of the Florentines, who do pertinently excuſe themſelues. An offer to bring the Piſans vnder the obedience of the Florentines, but without effect, by reaſon of the contrary minds in them that dealt in that buſineſſe. Lib. 7.

Moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendome draw into league at Cambray againſt the Venetians; who being ouerthrowne by the French King, render the townes of the Church, and make ſubmiſſion to the Emperour. Piſa returneth to the obedience of Florence. The Venetians recouer the towne of Padua, which is ſoone after beſieged by Ceſar. Afterwards they make warre vpon the Duke of Ferrara. Accord betweene the Emperour and the King of Spaine, touching the gouernment of Caſtile. The death of Count Petillano. The Emperor deſpairing to be able to ouercome the Venetians, inducеth the French King to ſet vpon Vincenſa, Padua and Treuiſa; who finding himſelfe in great difficulties and doubts, ſendeth for aduice to the Pope, purpoſing to follow his decree. The Venetians demand pardon of the Pope, and obtaine it. Lib. 8.

Pope Iulio the ſecond forſaketh the league of Cambray, and practiſeth againſt the French King and the Emperour: He fauoureth the Venetians, and falleth out with the Duke of Ferrara. The French King and the Emperour enter league againſt the Venetians. Legnago taken by the French. The death of the Cardinall of Amboyſe. The Pope determineth to chaſe the French out of Italy. The Venetians beſiege Verona. The Pope taketh Mirandola, and maketh warre vpon the Duke of Ferrara. The families of Bentiuoley returne to Bolognia. A Councell is publiſhed at Piſa againſt the Pope. Lib. 9.

After the taking of Bolognia, the French armie returneth to the Duchie of Millan. The Pope falleth ſicke, and is thought to be dead, whereof ariſe ſome ſtirres. He recouereth, and followeth his purpoſe to chaſe the French out of Italy, and to that end maketh a league with the Venetians and with the king of Spaine. Contention betweene the Cardinals that were to go to Piſa, and the Florentines. The opinion that was had of this Councell, which is tranſferred to Millan, where many ſtirres happen. The Popes armie beſiegeth Bolognia. The French men take Breſſia. The deſcription of the battell of Rauenna, whereof the victorie remained to the French, but dearely bought with the death of their Generall. Rauenna ſacked by the victors. The Cardinals being aſtoniſhed, perſwade the Pope to hearken to peace. The King of Aragon is of a contrary mind. The Pope is in doubt, and Iulio de Medicis doth ſettle his mind, ſo that he reſolueth rather to abandon Rome, then to make peace, for which he is ſought vnto by the King. He publiſheth the Councell of Latran. And afterwards the affaires of the French begin to decline. Lib. 10.

The

The Duke of Ferrara is in great trouble. The Medices returne to Florence. The Emperour makes alliance with the Pope. Maximilian Sforce is put in possession of the Duchy of Millan. The French king maketh his preparations to recouer Millan. Pope Iulio dieth. Leo the tenth is created Pope. The French men are ouerthrowne neare to Nouaro: and the Venetians neare to Vincenſa. Lib. 11.

The King of England makes warre vpon the French king. The Venetians recouer Friuli. The Pope as Arbitrator pronounceth peace betweene them and the Emperour. King Lewis the xij. dieth. Francis the first cometh to the Crowne, and deſcendeth into Italy to recouer Millan. A league betweene the Emperour, the King of Spaine, the Duke of Millan, and the Swiſſers, againſt the French King, to whom the Pope ioyneth himſelfe. Lib. 12.

The Duke of Vrbin makes an enterpriſe to recouer his Eſtate out of the hands of Pope Leo. The French king makes a league with the Pope. The conſpiracie of Cardinall Petrucci againſt the Pope is diſcouered. The death of the Emperour Maximilian. Francis and Charles kings of France and Spaine, ſue for the Empire. Charles king of Spaine is choſen Emperour. Martin Luther writeth againſt the Pope. The Pope puts Iohn Paul Baillon to death. Lib. 13.

Italy hauing bene ſomewhat peaceable for the ſpace of three yeares, beginneth to enter againe into warre, whereof the Pope is the cauſe. He ioyneth in league with the Emperour againſt the French King. The French King loſeth the Duchie of Millan. Pope Leo dieth. Adrian the ſixt is created Pope. Francis Sforce reentreth vpon the Duchie of Millan. Warre is made in Tuſcane by Renſe de Cere. Lib. 14.

Pope Adrian comes to Rome. The Venetians make league with the Emperour. The Frenchmen beſiege Millan, and are conſtrained afterwards to abandon it. The Cardinall de Medicis is created Pope. King Francis deſcendeth into Italy: he taketh Millan and beſiegeth Pauie. The Emperour Charles ſendeth out an armie to the ſuccours of Pauie, where a battell is fought, and the French king taken priſoner. Lib. 15.

The taking of the French King putteth all the Potentates of Italy in great heauineſſe, and among others the Pope, who is ſolicited by the Venetians to confederate with them. He forſaketh the Venetians, and accordeth with the Emperour. Many practiſes are vſed for the Kings deliuerie. Moron conſpireth againſt the Emperour. The King is deliuered out of priſon, and returneth into France. Lib. 16.

The Pope and the French king, the Venetians and the Duke of Millan, draw into league againſt the Emperour. The Duke of Bourbon comes to Millan. The armie of the League breakes vp from before Millan. The Caſtle of Millan rendred to the Imperials. Many enterpriſes are dreſſed againſt the Pope. The Confederates ſend their armies by ſea to Genes. Rome is ſurpriſed by the Colonnois. The Pope makes truce with the Imperials, which hurteth the deuices of Lombardy. The Duke of Ferrara confederates with the Emperour. Lib. 17.

The Duke of Bourbon iſſueth out of Millan. The Viceroy and Colonnois make warre againſt the Pope in the Eſtate of the Church. The Marquis of Saluſſa entreth into Bolognia. The Pope maketh warre in the kingdome of Naples. The Duke of Bourbon leadeth his armie to Rome, taketh the towne, ſacketh it, and is ſlaine in the action. The Pope being abandoned of all hope, accordeth with the Imperials. A mutinie in Florence. The King of England is declared againſt the Emperor. The Confederates do many enterpriſes. Lib. 18.

Lawtrech beſiegeth Naples. In the meane while Anthony de Leua taketh Pauie, and beſiegeth Lode. Andrew Dore leaueth the pay of the French. Monſieur Lawtrech dieth. The French breake vp from before Naples. Monſieur de Saint Pol reconquereth Pauie. Andrew Dore taketh Genes. The Genowayes take Sauona, and ſet themſelues at libertie. Monſieur de Saint Pol is taken by Anthony de Leua. The Emperor falleth to accord with the Pope. Peace is made at Cambray betweene the Emperor and the French King. The Emperour paſſeth into Italy, where warre is made againſt the Florentines, and peace ſolicited with all others. Lib. 19.

The Emperour taketh the Imperiall Crowne at Bolognia, and from thence paſſeth into Almanie. The family of Medicis by the aide of the Emperours armie returne to Florence. Ferdinand is choſen king of Romaines. The Pope will not hearken to a Councell. The French King ſtirreth vp the Turke againſt the Emperour, and hath conference with the Pope at Marſeilles. Lib. 20.

THE

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Lodowike Sforce vncle and tutor to Iohn Galeas Duke of Millan, fearing leſt Ferdinand King of Naples would make warre vpon him, breaketh off from the league that had bene renewed betweene the ſaid Ferdinand, Iohn Galeas, and the Commonweale of Florence, againſt the Venetians. He procureth the French king Charles the viij. to paſſe into Italie to conquer the kingdome of Naples. Pope Alexander the ſixt alieth himſelfe with the King of Naples. The French King hauing ordered the affaires of the kingdome, deſcendeth into Italie, where he taketh many townes. Diuerſe emotions happen in the kingdome of Naples. The Pope is in great perplexitie and trauell. Piſa rebelleth againſt the Florentins. The French king entreth into Florence and Rome, and frō thence paſſeth to Naples.

HAuing in hand to write the affaires and fortunes of *Italy*, I iudged it conuenient to draw into diſcourſe, thoſe particularities that moſt neareſt reſemble our time and memorie, yea euen ſince the ſelfe Princes of that country calling in the armies of *Fraunce*, gaue the firſt beginning to ſo great innouations; a matter, for the variety, greatneſſe, & nature of ſuch things, verie notable, and well worthie of memorie: and for the heauie accidents, hatefull, bloudy, and horrible: for that *Italy* for manie yeares was trauelled with all thoſe ſorts of calamities, with the which mortall men are wont to be afflicted, aſwell by the iuſt wrath and hand of God, as through the impiety and wickednes of other nations. The knowledge of theſe things ſo great and diuerſe, may miniſter many wholſome inſtructions, aſwell to all men generally, as to euery one in particular. For by the triall, conſent and demonſtration of ſo many examples, all men may ſee to what inconſtancie (as a ſea driuen with diuerſe winds) humaine things are expoſed, and how harmefull are the ill meaſured counſels of Princes, many times to themſelues, but alwaies to their people and ſubiects, ſpecially when they are vainely caried away, either with their ſingular errours or priuate couetouſneſſe, without remembrance of the ordinarie changes of fortune; whereby turning to the domage of others, the power which is giuen them for the common good, they make themſelues, either by want of diſcretion, or too much ambition, authors of innouations and new troubles.

Intention of the Author.

The Italians cauſers of their owne calamities.

How harmfull be the errors of Princes.

But the better to make knowne the ſtate and condition of *Italy* at that time, together with the occaſions of ſo many afflictions hapning, it is to be conſidered, that their calamities began with ſo much the more diſpleaſure & aſtoniſhment in mens minds, by how much the vniuerſall eſtate of things ſtood both quiet, pleaſant and happie. For, it is euident that ſince the Romaine Empire (weakned chiefly by the change of ancient manners and cuſtomes) began a thouſand yeares afore to decline from that greatneſſe wherunto it was raiſed by a wonderful vertue and fortune, the Principalities of *Italy* had not taſted of ſo great and generall proſperitie, nor reioyced in a condition ſo happie, plauſible and well gouerned, as was that whereon it was with great ſurety repoſed the yeare of grace 1490, and ſome yeares afore and after: for that being on all ſides reduced into peace and tranquillitie, the hils and barren places tilled & made no leſſe fruitfull then the valleys and regions moſt fertill, & being ſubiect to no other Lords or Rulers then their own, it was not onely plentifully repleniſhed with people, & riches, but alſo greatly honored with the magnificence and maieſtie of many Princes, goodly aſpect of ſundrie right ſtately Cities, and with the ſeate and reſidencie of the throne of Religion: it floriſhed in men rare and excellent in adminiſtration of Commonweales, and infinite in good wits, ſeene and ſtudied in all ſciences and

The eſtate wherein Italy was Anno 1490.

Sudden inuaſion moſt dangerous to ſtates which haue liued moſt ſecurely.

The good eſtate of Italy afore the troubles.

The fruite of peace and native Rulers.

and artes of excellencie and induſtrie: laſtly, bearing alſo no ſmall praiſe and glorie for the ſeruice in war, according to the vſe & diſcipline of that time, it reteined iuſtly (by theſe gifts & bleſſings) a peculiar merite & reputation amongſt all other nations. This felicity being gotten with diuerſe occaſions, there were many things to entertaine & preſerue it, and amongſt others, common voyce & conſent gaue no ſmall praiſe and deſeruing to the induſtrie & vertue of *Laurence de Medicis* a citizen of *Florence*, in whom was expreſſed ſuch an excellencie of ſpirit & authoritie aboue the other citizens of that regiment, that vpon his counſell was repoſed the gouernment of the affaires of that Commonweale, which was at that time more mightie for the oportunity of ſituation, for the excellent wits and inuentions of men, and for the readie meanes of money, then for greatneſſe and circuite of Lordſhip or dominion: and by reaſon he was lately ioyned by parentage with Pope *Innocent* the viij. whom he had brought to repoſe almoſt an abſolute faith and credite in his counſels, his name was great through all *Italy*, and his authority mightie in the deliberation of common affaires. He knew wel that it would be a thing preiudiciall to the Commonweale of *Florence*, and no leſſe hurtfull to himſelfe, if any of the great Potentates of that nation ſtretched out further their power; and therefore he employed all his deuices, meanes, and directions, that the things of *Italy* ſhould be ſo euenly ballanced, that they ſhould not weigh more on the one ſide then on the other; a thing which he could not make to ſucceed without the preſeruation of peace, and a perpetuall care, diligence, and watching ouer all accidents, yea euen to the leaſt, baſeſt, and moſt inferiour.

Laurence de Medicis.

The commodities that made Florence rich & flouriſhing.

Equalitie a great maintainer of peace.

Ferdinãd king of Aragon.

In the ſame inclination to cõmon tranquility, was alſo concurrant *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* king of *Naples*, a Prince for his counſels deliberate, in his actions reſolute, and touching his affections verie moderate, notwithſtanding oftentimes before, he had ſhewed many ambitious thoughts, and farre off from counſell to peace; wherein he was much gouerned in that time by *Alphonſo* Duke of *Calabria*, his eldeſt ſonne, who vnwillingly ſuffered that *Iohn Galeas Sforce* his ſonne in law Duke of *Millan*, more then twentie yeares of age, but of a iudgement very incapable, and vnapt to great affaires, and retaining onely the name of Duke, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, & as it were kept ſmothered by *Lodowike Sforce* his vncle, who more then ten yeares afore, by the ignorance and vnchaſt life of Madame *Bonne*, mother to the ſaid *Galeas*, was ſeized vpon his minoritie, and by that meanes, had reduced by litle and litle into his power the ſtrong holds, men of warre, tributes and treaſures, and all other the grounds & foundations of the ſtate of *Millan*, perſeuering in the gouernment, not as a tutor and regent, but (except the onely title of Duke) with all demonſtrations and actions of an abſolute Prince. *Ferdinand*, with whom was more familiar the impreſſion of preſent vtilitie, then his ancient inclination, or the indignation of his ſonne (how iuſt ſoeuer it were) deſired that nothing ſhould be innouated in *Italy*, nor the preſent policie fall into alteration: perhaps he had regard to the experience of the yeares before, wherein (to his great danger) he had proued the hate of his Barons and vniuerſall ſubiects: and haplie he had not forgotten (by the memory of things paſt) what affection a great part of his people bore to the name of the houſe of *France*: which iuſt and wiſe coniectures drew him to ſuſpect leſt the diſcords of *Italy* might breed occaſion to the French to inuade the Kingdome of *Naples*: or perhaps, to make a counterſtrength againſt the might of the *Venetians* (at that time redowted throughout all *Italie*) he iudged it neceſſarie to allie himſelfe with others, and chiefly with the eſtates of *Millan* & *Florence*. Touching *Lodowicke Sforce*, notwithſtanding he was poſſeſſed with a mind trauelling, buſie, & ambitious, yet by the neceſſity of his condition, he was driuen to embrace the inclination and purpoſe to peace, aſwell for that they which commanded at *Millan* were no leſſe threatned then others', with the danger which the reſidue feared, touching the greatneſſe of *Venice*: as alſo for that it was more eaſie for him by the benefite of tranquillitie and peace, to keepe the authoritie he had vſurped, then by the trauels and troubles of warre. And albeit he kept a continuall dread, iealouſie and ſuſpition ouer the thoughts and deuices of *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo*, yet weighing with the diſpoſition of *Laurence de Medicis* to peace, the iealouſie he had likewiſe of their greatneſſe, and perſwading himſelfe alſo that for the diuerſitie of affections and ancient hatreds betweene *Ferdinand* and the *Venetians*, it was a thing vaine to feare that betweene them ſhould be contracted anie amitie firme and well aſſured: he held for certaine that they of *Aragon* ſhould not be aſſiſted by others to enterpriſe againſt him that, which alone and of their owne power they were not able to obtaine.

A great error of Ferdinand king of Naples

The occaſiõ & maner of the vſurpation of Lod. Sforce.

What iuſt and wiſe coniectures kept Ferdinãd in quiet

What reaſons reſtrained the ambition of Lod. Sforce.

Thus *Ferdinand*, *Lodowike* and *Laurence*, hauing one equall will and deuotion to peace, partly

ly for the perſwaſions aforeſaid, and ſomewhat for other inducements and conſiderations: the league & confederation contracted in the name of *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, *John Galeas* Duke of *Millan*, and the Commonweale of *Florence*, for the defence of their eſtates, was eaſily continued: it was begun manie yeares before, and afterward broken by many accidents, and now eſſoones renewed in the yeare 1480. for xxv. yeares, being competitors and parties therein almoſt all the meaner Potentates of *Italy*, in whom was any principall end and purpoſe not to ſuffer the *Venetians* to become great. The *Venetians* (for their parts) being in deed more mightie then any particular of the Confederates, but farre leſſe and inferior to them altogether, held their councels ſeparate from the common councell of the league, and watching to rayſe and increaſe their Eſtate by the diſcord & trauels of others, they had a continuall prepzration and readineſſe to take the opportunitie of all occurrences which might open vnto them the way to the Empire and Monarchie of all *Italy*; whereunto it was clearely ſeene that they did aſpire in diuers ſeaſons, but chiefly when abuſing the occaſion of the death of *Philip Maria Viſcount* Duke of *Millan*, they attempted vnder colour to defend the libertie of the people of *Millan*, to make themſelues Lords of that State; conſpiring in like ſort (but of later memory) to bring the Duchie of *Ferrara* by way of open warre, to their ſeruitude and ſubiection.

A league for 25. yeares betweene the king of Naples, Duke of Millan, and the Commonweale of Florence.

The ambition of the Venetians: and what occaſion they ſought to offend the Confederates.

This confederation did eaſily bridle the couetouſnes of the Senate of *Venice*; but it could not entirely knit the Confederates in a true and faithfull amitie, for that being indifferently repleniſhed with enuie and iealouſie, they ceaſſed not to keep a continuall care, obſeruation, and eye ouer the thoughts and behauiours of one another, breaking mutually all the reſolutions and plots whereby might come to any one of them enlargement of eſtate or reputation. A thing which made not the peace leſſe ſtable, but reuiued in them all a generall readineſſe to be carefull to quench all ſuch ſparkes as might be the cauſe of new fires.

Such was the eſtate of the affaires, ſuch were the foundations of the tranquillitie of *Italy*, diſpoſed and counterpeiſed in ſuch ſort, that much leſſe that there was any doubt of preſent mutation, ſeeing the wiſedome of man could not eaſily make coniecture, by what counſels, by what accidents, or with what armies, ſo great a tranquillitie could be troubled; when in the moneth of Aprill 1492. chanced the death of *Laurence de Medicis*, a death very pitifull for him in reſpect of his age (hauing not yet attained fortie foure yeares) but more bitter and intollerable to his countrey, which, for the wiſedome and reputation of the man, together with the naturall volubility of his wit, raiſed to all things concerning honor and greatnes, flouriſhed plentifully with riches, loue, and ciuilitie, and with all other benefits and felicities, which in the affayres of the world are wont to accompany a long concord and peace. This death hapned alſo very ill for the reſidue of *Italy*, as well for his generall deuices, cares, and actions for the common ſuretie, as alſo for that he was a meane in particular to moderate and bridle the differences and ſuſpitions, which for diuerſe occaſions, were often kindled betweene *Ferdinand* and *Lodowike Sforce*, Princes equall in ambition, and nothing inferiour in power. A few moneths after the death of *Laurence* (the time preparing euery day occaſions to the calamities to come) chanced the death of the Pope, whoſe life being in other things vnprofitable to the Commonweale, was at the leaſt conuenient in this, that hauing ſodainly left off the warre vnhappily rayſed in the entry and beginning of his Popedome againſt *Ferdinand*, at the incenſing of many Barons of the realme of *Naples*, he turned ſoone after all his thoughts and affections to vaine and idle pleaſures, not acquainting his minde (neither for himſelfe nor his friends) with any enterpriſe which might trouble the happy reſt, and good accord of *Italy*. To *Innocent* ſucceeded *Roderik Borgia* borne at *Valence*, one of the chiefe cities of *Spaine*: he was an ancient Cardinall, and one of the greateſt in all the Court of *Rome*: one meane that raiſed him to the ſeate of the Pope, was the difference betweene the Cardinals *Aſcanius Sforce*, and *Iulian S. Petri ad vincla*: but the chiefeſt thing that accompliſhed his election, was, that with a new example for that time, he bought by the conſent and knowledge of euery one, partly for money, and partly with promiſes of offices and great dignities, many voyces of the Cardinals; who reiecting the inſtruction of the Goſpell, were not aſhamed to paſſe to him by ſale, an authoritie and power to make merchandize of the holy treaſures, and that with the name of the celeſtiall authority, in the moſt high and eminent part of the temple. To which abominable negotiation many of them were induced by the Cardinall *Aſcanius*, but that was not more with perſwaſions and ſutes, then with his example: for that being corrupted with the infinite deſire of riches, he agreed with the Pope that for recompence of

Laurence de Medicis dieth 1492.

The death of Laurence Medicis cauſe of great warres in Italy.

Pope Innocent the viij. dieth.

Creation of Pope Alexander the ſixt.

Corruption of Cardinals in the election of the Pope.

his ſo great wickednesse, he ſhould haue the office of the Vicechancellorſhip, (the principall office in the Court of *Rome*) togither with benefices, caſtles, & his pallace of *Rome* full of moueables of great valure. But the Pope for all this, could not auoide neither for the time to come; the iuſtice and iudgement of God, nor for the preſent, the infamy and iuſt hate of men; in whom for this election, was no ſmall impreſſion of aſtoniſhment and horror, not onely for that it was done by meanes ſo diſhoneſt, but alſo becauſe the nature and conditions of the man choſen, were (for the greateſt part) knowne to many: and amongſt others it is notorious, that *Ferdinand* King of Naples, (though openly he diſſembled the griefe he had of the election) ſignified to the Queene his wife with teares, which he was wont to forbeare euen in the death of his children, that there was a Pope created, who would be moſt hurtfull to *Italy*, and the whole Commonweale of Chriſtendome. A iudgement not vnworthy of the wiſedome of ſuch a Prince: for that in *Alexander* the ſixth (for ſo would this new Pope be called) was a ſubtiltie, ſharpneſſe and expedition of wit moſt ſingular, a counſell excellent, a wonderfull efficacie in perſwaſion, and in all great affayres a iudgement and care incredible. But theſe vertues were marueloufly defaced by his vices; for, touching his manners and cuſtomes, they were very diſhoneſt, in his adminiſtrations he expreſſed little ſinceritie, in his countenance no ſhame, in his words ſmall truth, in his heart little faith, and in his mind leſſe religion. Of the contrary, all his actions were defiled with an inſatiable couetouſneſſe, an immoderate ambition, a barbarous crueltie, and a burning deſire to rayſe and make great (by what meanes ſo euer) his children, who were many in number; and amongſt others, one, no leſſe deteſtable then the father, to whoſe curſed counſels he became a wicked inſtrument. Great was the change in the affayres of the Church by the death of *Innocent* the eight, but no leſſe reuolution happened in the Commonweale of *Florence*, by the taking away of *Laurence de Medicis*, to whoſe greatneſſe (without contradiction) ſucceeded *Peter* the eldeſt of his three ſonnes, who as well for his age being yet young, as alſo for his other qualities was not fit for the gouernement of ſo heauie a charge, and leſſe capable to manage the affaires with that moderation which his father was wont to vſe in buſineſſe both forrain and domeſticall; and knowing diſcreetly how to temporiſe betweene Princes confederate, he had whileſt he liued augmented greatly the conditions and faculties both publike and priuate, and at his death, left vnto euery one a firme opinion that the peace of *Italy* was principally preſerued by his meanes.

Ill abodements of Pope Alexander.

Pope Alexander the ſixt ſtained with many vices.

Peter de Medicis heire to Laurence.

Peter was no ſooner ſucceeded to the adminiſtration of the Commonweale, then with a courſe directly contrary to the counſels of his father, and not communicating with thoſe ancient citizens which were wont to be called to the deliberation of buſineſſe of importance, he ioyned himſelfe ſo ſtraitly with *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo*, perhaps by the perſwaſion of *Virginio Vrſin* his parent depending wholly vpon them, that *Lodowyke Sforce* had iuſt occaſion to feare, that as often as the *Aragons* would annoy him, they ſhould be ayded (by the authority of *Peter de Medicis*) with the forces of the Commonweale of *Florence*. This intelligence (ſeminary, and originall of all the troubles) albeit at the beginning it was debated, and kept very ſecret, yet it began by and by to be ſuſpected by *Lodowyke*, a Prince very watchfull, and of right ſubtill vnderſtanding: for, as it hath bene an ancient cuſtome in Chriſtendome to ſend Embaſſadours to congratulate with the new Pope, as Chriſts Vicar on earth, and to offer him obedience: So *Lodowyke Sforce*, whoſe property it was to ſtudy to ſhew himſelfe more wiſe then the reſt, with inuentions ſtrange, & vnaduiſed with others, had giuen counſel that the Embaſſadors of the Confederates ſhould all enter *Rome* in one day, and preſenting themſelues altogether in the publike Conſiſtory afore the Pope, the Oration ſhould be expreſſed by one of them onely in the name of them all: for that by that forme and order of doing, beſides the increaſe of their common reputation, it ſhould appeare to all *Italy*, that there was amongſt them not onely a good will and confederation, but rather ſo great a coniunction, that they ſeemed as one body, one Prince, and one inueſted corporation. To this he adioyned, that as touching the vtilitie of this counſell, it was not onely expreſſed with the diſcourſe of reaſon, but iuſtified with a late and familiar example; for that (as was beleeued) the laſt Pope taking argument of the diſunion of the Confederates, in that at ſeuerall ſeaſons, and with counſels ſeparate, they had done him obedience, he was the more readie to inuade the kingdome of *Naples*. *Ferdinand* approued eaſily the aduice of *Lodowike*: the *Florentines* allowed it for the authoritie of the one and other: and *Peter de Medicis* was not againſt it in open councell, albeit in particular, the deuice was nothing agreeable

Lod. Sforce is iealous ouer the amities betweene Peter de Medicis and the Aragons.

The firſt preparatiue of all the calamities of Italy.

The conceit of Lod. Sforce.

to

to him: for that being one of the elect Embassadors for that Commonweale, and having an intention to make his legation glorious with proud and gorgeous demonstrations, he feared that if he should make his entry into the Citie and the Popes presence amongst the other Embassadors of the Confederates, the magnificencie of his traine would not be seene among so great a companie. This vanitie of the yong man was confirmed by the ambitious counsell of *Gentill* Bishop of *Aretze*, the other coembassador for *Florence*, to whom belonged the authority of the oration in the name of the *Florentines*, by reason of his dignity and profession in the studies of humanitie. And seeing by this manner no lesse vnlooked for then alwaies vnaccustomed, he saw himselfe depriued of the occasion to publish his eloquence in an assembly so honorable and solemne, he complained as if he had suffered wrong in his perpetuall reputation. For this reason, *Peter de Medicis*, pushed on partly by his owne vanitie and lightnesse, and partly by the pompe and ambition of the other, required the King of *Naples* (albeit with this caution, to keepe from *Lodowike* that he did impugne his counsell) to consider, that that forme of legation could not be executed in common without great confusion, and therefore that he would take vpon him to perswade, that the expedition might be separate, and passe according to the examples passed. The king of *Naples* desiring to gratifie him in his demand (but yet not without the displeasure of *Lodowike*) satisfied him in the effect, but not in the manner, plainely declaring to *Lodowike*, that he did not discondescend from the first plot and resolution for the Embassadors, for other occasion then at the instance and solicitation of *Peter de Medicis*. *Lodowike* for this sodaine mutation, was more moued in mind then the importance of the thing could deserue, and amid his complaints, he appropriated to himselfe this degree of iniurie, that to diminish his reputation, they reuoked the first deuice, whereof he was author, and alreadie had communicated it with the Pope and the whole Court of Rome. But that which most troubled his mind was, for that in this litle and vaine accident, he perceiued that *Peter de Medicis* had secret intelligence with *Ferdinand*; which by the euents that followed he discouered daily more apparently. *Langnilare*, *Ceruetre*, and other small holds and villages neare to *Rome*, were in the possession of *Franciſquin Cibo*, a Genoway, bastard sonne to Pope *Innocent*, who after the death of his father being gone to dwell at *Florence*, vnder the fauour and societie of *Peter de Medicis*, brother to *Magdalen* his wife: sold immediatly after his coming thither to *Virginio Vrsin* by the negotiation of *Peter*, all those places for the price of forty thousand duckats. A thing resolued on chiefly with *Ferdinand*, who lent him vnderhand the most part of the money, perswading himselfe that it could not but turne to his profit, if the greatnesse of *Virginio*, who was his parent and in his pay, should enlarge and stretch farre about the confines of *Rome*. The king considered that the power of the Popes was an apt instrument to trouble the Realme of *Naples* (an ancient freeholder and chiefe of the Church of *Rome*) for that it had large borders vpon the Ecclesiasticall territories; and he had not yet forgotten what differences he and his father had often had with them: and also he wisely foresaw, that there is alwaies some occasion of new contentions about the iurisdiction of Confines, both for tributes and collation of benefices, and for regard of entercourse of Barons, with many other quarrels hapning many times amongst estates borderers, and no lesse oftentimes betweene the vassall and the Lord Peramount: for which reasons, he held alwaies for one of the firme foundations of his securitie, that all, or the greater part of the mightiest Barons of the territory of *Rome*, should depend vpon him. A thing which in that time he wrought with so much the more care and diligence, by how much the world iudged that the authority of *Lodowike Sforce* was like to be great with the Pope by the meane of Cardinall *Ascanius* his brother. And as many beleeued, he was perhaps not the least pushed forward with feare, lest in *Alexander* were concurrant the couetousnesse and hatred of his vncle Pope *Calixtus* the third, who (for the immoderate desire of the greatnes of *Peter Borgia* his nephew) if death had not giuen impediment to his counsels, had immediatly after the decease of *Alphonso* father to *Ferdinand*, taken armes to dispoyle him of the kingdome of *Naples* (reuerted as he said to the Church). He did not remember (so litle force amongst men hath the memorie of benefits receiued) how by the meane of *Alphonso* (in whose kingdome he was borne, and to whom he had bene a seruant long time) he had obtained other Ecclesiasticall dignities, with a liberall fauour and aide to aspire to the Popedome. But it hath bene alwaies a thing very true, that wise men haue not at all times a discretion or iudgement perfect, seeing it is necessary that the signes of the weaknesse and frailty of mans vnderstanding should many times be discouered. The king of *Naples*, notwithstanding he

The vanitie of Pet. Med. in trifles cause of great mischief.

The first occasion of disunion amongst the Confederates.

Ferdinand a dissembled friend.

The second occasion of disunion among the confederates. Many reasons which moued Ferdinand to buy the castles for Virginio Vrsin.

he was recommended for a Prince watchfull, politicke, and foreſeeing, yet did he ouerſee to conſider how much this deliberation deſerued to be reiected, for that it containing no other hope, then of a ſmall vtilitie, it might on the other ſide breed many miſchiefes and harmes irreparable; for that the ſale of theſe ſmall caſtles, was no litle oportunitie to incite to new things, the minds of thoſe to whom it did either appertaine, or might be profitable to looke to the preſeruation of the common peace and concord. For the Pope pretending that by ſuch alienation, made without his knowledge, they were deuolued to the ſea Apoſtolike by the diſpoſing of the lawes, and making ſhew that the Pontificall authoritie was greatly wronged, he looked withall into the ends and purpoſes of *Ferdinand*, filled all *Italy* with complaints againſt him, *Peter de Medicis*, and *Virginio*; and reſolued that ſo farre as his power would ſtretch, he would not ſpare any thing, nor let paſſe any meanes to preſerue the dignitie and rights of the Sea of *Rome*. *Lodowike Sforce* was no leſſe moued, to whom were alwayes ſuſpected the actions of *Ferdinand*, and who, for the falſe opinion he had that the Pope would be gouerned by the counſels of *Aſcanius* and himſelfe, eſteemed it his proper loſſe, if any thing ſhould be diminiſhed of the greatneſſe of *Alexander*. But that which vexed him moſt, was that he could not doubt but that betweene the *Aragons* and *Peter de Medicis* was contracted a ſecret and an aſſured league, ſeeing that in that action they had proceeded vniformly and reciprocally: and therefore to raiſe impediments to thoſe plots and determinations as moſt dangerous to his affaires, and to make this an occaſion to winne the Pope the more, he ſtirred him vp as much as he could, to protect his proper dignitie: perſwading him that there was not ſo much neceſſitie to ſet before his eyes things that were done preſently, as to conſider how much it imported him, in the firſt dayes of his pontificacie, to ſuffer the maieſtie of ſuch a degree to be deſpiſed, euen by his proper vaſſals: he told him, he had not to beleeue, that the couetouſneſſe of *Virginio*, or the importance of the caſtles, or other reaſon of that nature had moued *Ferdinand*; but a certaine deſire to aſſay his patience and courage, with iniuries at the beginning ſeeming litle; but afterwards (if he would ſuffer ſuch things) he would not be without boldneſſe to tempt him euery day with offences of greater qualitie: he aduiſed him to beleeue, that the ambition of *Ferdinand* did nothing differ from his anceſtors kings of *Naples*, and perpetuall enemies to the Church of *Rome*, who had not forborne to perſecute the Popes with warres and armies, and ſometimes had occupied *Rome*: That the example is freſh and greene, that the king now reigning, in the perſon of his ſonne, diſpatched two armies at two ſeuerall times againſt two Popes, and made inuaſion euen to the walls of *Rome*: That he hath bene alwayes exerciſed in malice, conſpiracies, and warres againſt his predeceſſors; And now not onely the example of other kings, not onely his naturall couetouſneſſe to beare rule, did ſtirre him vp againſt him, but rather an old infected deſire of reuenge now burſt out by the memory of iniuries receiued of *Calixtus* his vncle. Therefore he aduiſed him with great diligence to looke into theſe things, leſt by ſuffering patiently the firſt wrongs, he ſhould ſee himſelfe honoured onely with ceremonies and vaine titles, and in effect deſpiſed and contemned of euery one; and ſhould alſo giue courage and boldneſſe to the partie to conſpire againſt him moſt dangerous enterpriſes: but if he would take this to heart, he ſhould with more facilitie preſerue the ancient maieſtie and greatneſſe, with the true reuerence due by all the world to the Popes of *Rome*. To theſe perſwaſions he ioyned many offers and promiſes of no ſmall importance, but deeds farre greater in effect; for that he lent him readily fortie thouſand duckets, and leuied with him at their common charge, three hundred men at armes, vnder this condition, that they ſhould be employed where it pleaſed the Pope. Notwithſtanding all this, *Lodowike* deſirous to ſhun the neceſſitie to enter into new troubles, he counſelled *Ferdinand* to diſpoſe *Virginio* to appeaſe the Pope by ſome honeſt meanes, leſt vpon ſo ſlender beginnings, there aroſe not troubles heauie and ſlanderous. But with greater libertie and efficacie, he admoniſhed oftentimes *Peter de Medicis*, that (conſidering how conuenient it was for the common peace of *Italy* that his father *Laurence* was alwayes as the mediator and indifferent friend of *Ferdinand* and him) he would rather follow the example of his father, ſpecially being a perſonage of ſo great valour, then beleeuing new counſels, to be driuen to giue occaſion to another, to make deliberations, which in the end would proue hurtfull to euery one: he willed him to remember what great reputation and ſuretie the *Sforces* and *Medices* had giuen reciprocally to their houſes; and with what wrongs and iniuries the family of *Aragon* had obtruded vpon his father, his anceſtors, and Common-

weale

The king of Naples incurreth great harmes for a litle benefit, and why?

Lodo. Sforce inſinuateth enuie into the Pope, againſt the Aragons and Medices.

Politicke dealing of Lodowike on both parts, with a pretenced ſhew of his innocencie.

weale of *Florence*: and laſtly, by how many meanes and times *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo* his father had conſpired ſometimes by armes and open force, and often by traines and ſubtilties, to make themſelues Lords of *Tuskane*.

But theſe counſels or aduiſements did rather hinder then further the expectation of the author; for that *Ferdinand* eſteeming it much to his indignitie to giue place to *Lodowike* and *Aſcanius*, by whoſe workings he ſuppoſed the Pope was ſetled into thoſe diſcontentments and indignations which he ſhewed; gaue ſecret counſell to *Virginio*, by the incitation of his ſonne *Alphonſo*, not to delay to take by vertue of his purchaſe, the poſſeſſion of the caſtles, promiſing to defend him againſt all diſpleaſures or troubles that might happen. And on the other ſide, gouerning himſelfe with his naturall induſtrie, he communicated with the Pope diuers meanes of compoſition, ſecretly incenſing *Virginio* notwithſtanding not to conſent to any but ſuch as might keepe the caſtles in his poſſeſſion, ſatisfying the Pope with ſome portion of money: which comforts ſet *Virginio* into ſuch a courage and reſolution of mind, that many times afterwards he refuſed certaine of the conditions, euen ſuch as *Ferdinand* (not to incenſe the Pope too much) ſolicited him inſtantly to accept. By theſe actions it was plainly perceiued, that *Peter de Medicis* perſeuered to follow the authoritie of the King, and that all that was done to draw him away, was in vaine and without fruite: therefore *Lodowike Sforce* deeply reuoluing how much it imported that the citie of *Florence* ſhould be at the deuotion of his enemies, whoſe temperature and good gouernment was wont to be the principall foundation of his ſecuritie, and ſeeming to ſee in his ſecret cogitation many impreſſions of dangers threatning him on all ſides, determined to prouide for his proper ſafetie, and to thoſe new perils to appropriate new remedies, ſpecially his conſcience telling him how vehemently the *Aragons* thirſted to take from him the gouernment of his Nephew: which deſire, albeit *Ferdinand* (to whom nothing was more familiar then to diſſemble his intentions) had ſought to couer in all his actions; yet *Alphonſo*, who by nature was more open, could not containe himſelfe, but that he complained publikly of the oppreſſion of his ſonne in law, pronouncing with more great libertie of words, then temperance of diſcretion, many iniurious ſpeeches tending to manifeſt threatning. Moreouer, *Lodowike* knew well, that *Iſabel* wife to *John Galeas*, a woman of high ſtomacke, would vſe perpetuall diligence to incenſe her father and grandfather, that if the indignitie which was done to her husband and her, would not moue them, atleaſt the conſideration of the perils whereunto their owne liues were expoſed, together with the lamentable ruine of their children, might draw them to compaſſion. But that which chiefly troubled his mind, was, that he knew well how hatefull his name was to the ſubiects of the Duchie of *Millan*, as well for the grieuous and vnaccuſtomed money-tributes which he had impoſed vpon them, as alſo for the compaſſion that euery one had of *John Galeas* their rightfull Lord. And although he trauelled by all meanes to make them of *Aragon* ſuſpected of a deſire to make themſelues Lords of that State, as though they did aſſume a title by the ancient rights of the teſtament of *Philip Maria Viſcount*, who had inſtituted his heire *Alphonſo* father to *Ferdinand*, and vnder that pretence meant to wreſt from him the gouernment of his Nephew; yet he found himſelfe vnable by all theſe meanes to remoue the hatreds that were conceiued againſt him, nor yet to hide from the whole world into how great miſchiefes the deſire and diſaſtrous luſt to beare rule doth leade men. Therefore after he had deeply pondered in his mind the ſtate of things preſent, and the dangers likely to happen, caſting aſide all other thoughts, his deuices at laſt brought forth this reſolution, to ſearch new confederates and new friends. Touching this reſolution he found a great oportunitie in the Popes diſdaine againſt *Ferdinand*, and in the deſire which he beleeued the State of *Venice* had, that this confederation ſhould change and alter, which of long time had giuen no ſmall impediments to their purpoſes: he made ſolicitation to both theſe, to contract in common a new confederacie for the publike benefite.

Virginio firſt hardened by Ferdinand, afterwards againſt his will obſtinate.

Cauſe moouing Sforza to alter the league openly.

Lodowike ſeeketh him new Confederates.

But the Pope reiecting all paſſions of anger, and all other affection, had his mind onely poſſeſt with an vnbrideled couetouſneſſe to raiſe and make mightie his ſonnes; in whom hauing ſetled a blind fancie, he was not aſhamed, contrary to the cuſtome of former Popes (who to caſt ſome cloke ouer their infamie, were wont to call them their Nephewes) to call them his children, and expreſſed them to the world for ſuch: and not finding as yet other fit occaſion to giue beginning to his ambitious intention, he made inſtance to marry one of his two ſonnes to the baſtard daughter of *Alphonſo*, demanding a downie of ſome rich eſtate in the kingdome

The impudencie of the Pope to inſtile his children.

The plain ſubtilties of Popes to call their ſonnes, nephewes.

of *Naples*; from which hope ſo long as he was not excluded, he hearkned rather with his eare then his heart to the confederation offered by *Lodowike*. And if in this deſire he had bene ſatiſfied, the peace of *Italy* had not perhaps fallen into ſo ſodaine alteration and trouble.

Ferdinand haply had not his mind much eſtranged from that motion: but *Alphonſo*, to whom was hatefull the ambition and pride of the Pope, denied conſtantly his conſent; and therefore making no open ſhew of diſlike to the mariage, but laying all the difficultie vpon the qualitie of the dowrie that was demanded, they ſatisfied not *Alexander*; who being much offended for this cauſe, reſolued to embrace the counſels of *Lodowike*, his humors being turned all into diſdaine and ambition, and his mind trauelled with feare: for that not onely *Virginio Vrſin* was mercenary to *Ferdinand*, and for the many fauours he had receiued of him and them of *Florence*, and being withall of the faction of the *Guelffes*, was at that time very mightie throughout the whole dominions of the Church: but that which more was, *Proſper* and *Fabricius* principall heads of the family of the *Collonnoys*, and the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincla*, a Cardinall of great reputation (then retired to the Caſtle of *Oſtie*, which he held as Biſhop of the place, leſt the Pope ſhould dreſſe ſome ambuſh againſt his life,) was now become a great friend to *Ferdinand*, to whom before he was a profeſſed enemie, and had many times ſtirred the Popes *Sixtus* and *Innocent* againſt him. But the Senate of *Venice*, contrary to the opinion and expectation of the world, made no great ſhew of readineſſe to this confederation. For, albeit the diſunion of others was very agreeable to them, yet the infidelitie of the Pope being euery day more ſuſpected to euery one, made them more ſlow to hearken to the league; the remembrance of the alliances made by them with *Sixtus* and *Innocent* the Popes lateſt predeceſſors, ſeruing much to their preſent diſtruſt. This was when the warre was moſt hot againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, whereunto after he had prouoked them, and intangled them with the quarrell, receiuing of the one great diſpleaſures without any profit; and for *Sixtus*, he did not onely change purpoſe, but alſo recompenced them with his ſpirituall curſes, and (together with the reſidue of all *Italy*) he proceeded againſt them with his temporall corrections. But notwithſtanding all theſe, the induſtrie and diligence of *Lodowike* continually ſoliciting the Senate, and priuatly working with many in particular, all theſe difficulties were vanquiſhed, and at laſt was contracted in the moneth of Aprill, 1493. betweene the Pope, the Senate of *Venice*, and *John Galeas* Duke of *Millan* (for all expeditions were diſpatched in his name) a new confederation, for their common defence, and particular preſeruation of the gouernment of *Lodowike*: one of the conditions was, that the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, and euery one of them ſhould ſend immediatly to *Rome* for the ſuretie of the Pope and State Eccleſiaſtike, an hundred men at armes; and as well with thoſe, as with greater forces (if need required) they ſhould ioyne with him for the recouery of the caſtles detained by *Virginio*.

Cauſes why the Pope embraceth the counſels of Sforſa.

The moderate and wiſe proceeding of the Venetians.

Confederation betweene the Pope, the Venetians and the Duke of Millan.

Theſe new counſels moued not a litle the minds of all *Italy*, for that the Duke of *Millan* remained now deuided from that league, by the which for more then a dozen yeares their common ſecuritie was maintained, being in it expreſly defended, that none of the Confederates ſhould enter any new alliance without conſent of the reſidue. And therefore ſeeing that vnitie was broken with vnequall diuiſion, wherein conſiſted the equalitie of their generall and common buſineſſe; and the minds of the Princes repleniſhed with ſuſpitions and diſpleaſures, there could be no expectation of other ſucceſſe, then that to a generall and common hurt; there would reſort fruites equall and conformable to ſuch ſeeds. Now, the Duke of *Calabria* and *Peter de Medicis*, iudging it more for the ſuretie of their eſtates to preuent then to be preuented, inclined eaſily to *Proſper* and *Fabricius Colonne*, who being alſo ſecretly incenſed by the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincla*, offered to ſurpriſe the towne of *Rome* with their companies of men at armes and the aid of the faction of the *Gibelins*, ſo that the *Vrſins* would follow them, and the Duke of *Calabria* march ſo neare, that he might reſcue them within three dayes after their entry into *Rome*.

A practiſe to the ſurpriſe of Rome.

But *Ferdinand*, who now deſired no more to vexe, but to appeaſe the courage of the Pope, and to correct that which heretofore had bene done by a raſh counſell and without diſcretion, reiected altogether thoſe counſels which he iudged would not breed ſecuritie, but raiſe and nouriſh great troubles and dangers: he determined now, not fainedly, but with all his heart, to do all he could to compound and accord the controuerſie of the caſtles; perſwading himſelfe that that occaſion of ſo great emotion and change being taken away, *Italy* would ſpeedily re-

Ferdinand repenteth all too late.

turne

turne, with litle or no trauell, to her first estate. But it hapneth not alwayes, that in taking away the occasions, the effects do ceasse, hauing had of them their first beginning: for, as it oftentimes hapneth, that resolutions made by feare, seeme to him that feareth, lesse then the perill; so *Ladowike* had no great confidence, in that he had found a remedie sufficient for his securitie: but doubting, by reason the Pope and the *Venetians* had intentions and ends other then his, that his foundation could not long last, which he had laid vpon the confederation lately made with them, and that therefore his affaires by diuers accidents should be in danger to be reduced into hard termes and many difficulties: he applied all his thoughts, more to cure euen to the roote the originall ill that he set before his eyes, then to prouide a salue for such accidents as might happen by it; neither remembring how dangerous it is to vse a medicine stronger then the nature of the disease or complexion of the patient will suffer, nor that to enter into greater perils, can be the onely remedie for dangers present. And to the end to build his suretie vpon forreine strength, seeing he had no confidence in his owne forces, and lesse expectation of trust in the *Italian* amities, he determined to do all that he could to stirre vp the French king *Charles* the viij. to assaile the kingdome of *Naples*, which he pretended to appertaine to him by the ancient rights and descents of the house of *Anion*.

Ladowike first calleth in forreine armes into Italy.

The kingdome of *Naples*, which in the inuestitures and buls of the Church of *Rome*, whereof it is an ancient freehold, is absurdly called the Realme of *Sicile* on this side the riuer of *Far*; and being vniustly vsurped by *Manfroy* bastard sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke* the second, was giuen in chiefe together with the Ile of *Sicile*, vnder the title of both *Siciles*, the one on this side, and the other beyond *Far*, by Pope *Vrbin* the fourth, to *Charles* Earle of *Prouence* and *Anion*, brother to that *Lewis* king of the French, who much renowmed for his power and strength, but more recommended for the holinesse of his life, deserued (according to the vaine affections of the Frenchmen) to be translated after his death into the number of Saints. This *Charles* with force of armes obtained effectually that, whereof the title was giuen to him by the authoritie of the Church: after his death, succeeded to the kingdome *Charles* his sonne, called by the Italians (to distinguish him from his father) *Charles* the second, who left the inheritance of the Realme to *Robert* his sonne. But becausse *Robert* died without issue male, *Ioane* daughter of *Charles* Duke of *Calabria*, sonne to *Robert*, who died in yong age before his father, aspired to the kingdome: but her authoritie began immediatly to be deiected, no lesse for the infamie of her life and conditions, then for the common imbecillitie of that sexe; whereupon, with the increase of time, the Realme being throwne into many discords and warres, not with strangers, but amongst the selfe successors of *Charles* the first, descending of diuers children of *Charles* the second, *Ioane* despairing not to be able to defend her selfe, adopted for her sonne, *Lewis* Duke of *Anion*, brother to the French king *Charles* the fift: he to whom the Frenchmen gaue the surname of wise, for that he had obtained many victories without feeling the power of *Fortune*. This *Lewis*, after he had passed into *Italy* with a mightie armie (*Ioane* being aforehand deceassed by violent meanes, and the kingdome transferred to *Charles* called *Durazzo*, descending likewise of *Charles* the first) died of a feauer in *Apulia*, euen when he was almost in possession of the victorie: so that there came no other thing to them of *Anion* by his adoption, then the Earldome of *Prouence*, which had bene alwayes possessed by the issues of *Charles* the first. But yet of that arose the originall of the colour, vnder the which afterwards both *Lewis* of *Anion*, sonne to the first *Lewis*, and at another time a sonnes sonne of the same name, both stirred vp by the Popes, being then in variance with the same kings, to make many inuasions vpon the kingdome of *Naples*, but with great misfortune and preiudice. Touching *Charles Durazzo*, *Ladislao* his sonne succeeded him, who dying without issue in the yeare 1414. the crowne deuolued to his sister *Ioane* the second; a name very vnfortunate for the kingdome of *Naples*, and no lesse vnhappie to both the one and other of the women, resembling one another in dissolute gouernment and wanton customes of life: for this *Ioane* putting the policie and direction of the Realme into the hands of those persons with whom she communicated vnchastly her body, was immediatly brought into such straits and difficulties, that being tormented by *Lewis* the third, with the aide of Pope *Martin* the fift, she was at last constrained, for the last refuge, to make *Alphonso* king of *Aragon* and *Sicile*, her sonne by adoption. But entring soone after into contention with him, she brake that adoption vnder colour of ingratitude, and made a new adoption, calling to her succours the selfe *Lewis*, who by persecuting her with warre, had compelled her to make

The title of the house of Anion to the kingdome of Naples. 1264.

The name of Ioane a name vnhappie for the kingdome of Naples.

the first adoption: and hauing by force chased *Alphonso* wholly out of the kingdome, she enioyed it in peace all the residue of her life: then dying without issue, she instituted for her heire (as the brute went) *Rene* Duke of *Anion* and Earle of *Prouence*, brother to *Lewis* her sonne adoptiue, who perhaps died the same yeare. But the succession of *Rene* displeasing much the Barons of the Realme, (besides a brute running that the testament was forged by them of *Naples*) *Alphonso* was reuoked by a part of the Barons and people: and from thence kindled the fire of the warres betweene *Alphonso* and *Rene*, which for many yeares brought great affliction to that noble Realme; and the actions of the said warre, were more by the proper forces of the Realme, then by the strength of the parties. In this sort (the wils of men being different and contrary) were kindled the factions not yet altogether quenched betweene the *Aragons* and them of *Anion*, their titles and colours of right changing with the time; for that the Popes following more their couetousnesse, or the necessitie of times, then iustice or equitie, consented diuersly to the inuestitures of them. But touching the warres betweene *Alphonso* and *Rene*, the victorie remained to *Alphonso*, a Prince for his valure more renowmed, and for his power more mightie: who dying soone after without lawfull heires, and without making any mention of *Iohn* his brother and successor to the realme of *Sicile* and *Aragon*, bequeathed by testament the kingdome of *Naples* to *Ferdinand* his bastard sonne, as a thing conquered by himselfe, and therefore not appertaining to the Crowne of *Aragon*: who notwithstanding he was inuaded by *Iohn* the sonne of *Rene* immediatly after the death of his father, and that by the support of the principall Barons of the realme; yet with his fortune and vertue he not onely defended himselfe, but also so chased his aduersaries, that neuer after during the life of *Rene* (surviuing many yeares his sonne) he neither had to debate with those of *Anion*, nor yet stood in feare of their inuasions. In the end *Rene* died, and hauing no issue male, he established as heire ouer his whole Estates, *Charles* the sonne of his brother; who dying soone after without children, left by his will his inheritance to the French king *Lewis* the xj. to whom did not onely returne as to his Lord soueraigne the Duchie of *Anion*, (which suffereth no succession in women, for that it is a member of the Crowne) but also he put himselfe in the possession of *Prouence*, notwithstanding the Duke of *Lorraine* descending of one of the daughters of *Rene*, iustified the inheritance of his Estates to appertaine vnto him. And the said *Lewis* by iust vertue of the same testament, had good power to pretend that the rights which those of *Anion* had to the kingdome of *Naples*, should be appropriated to him. All which inheritances being passed and continued after his death to the person of *Charles* the viij. his sonne, *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* began to haue a mightie enemie, and great oportunitie was offered to whomsoeuer desired to annoy him. For at that time, this was the estate of the realme of *France*: it was very populous in multitudes of men, for wealth and riches euery particular region most fertill and plentifull, for glorie in armes most flourishing and renowmed: a policie well directed, discipline administred, an authoritie dreadfull, and in opinion and hope most mightie; lastly their generall conditions and faculties so well furnished, as perhaps it was not more happie in these mortall felicities since the dayes of *Charlemaine*. It was newly amplified in euery one of the three parts, wherein all *Gaule* stood deuided by the ancients: for, fortie yeares before vnder *Charles* the seuenth (a Prince for his victories obtained with great dangers called happie) *Normandie* and the Duchie of *Guyen* holden by the *English*, were reduced to the obedience of the *French* Crowne. And in the last dayes of *Lewis* the xj. the Earldome of *Prouence*, the Dukedome of *Burgondie*, almost all *Picardie*, together with the Duchie of *Britaine*, were by a new mariage inuested in the power of *Charles* the viij. There was no want of inclination in this King to aspire to conquer by force of armes the kingdome of *Naples*, as iustly appertaining to him: which continuing from his infancie by a certaine naturall instinct, was entertained and nourished by such as were about him, and for the conformitie of humors, very agreeable with him; who raised his mind into vaine thoughts, and told him that this was an occasion to make him surmount the renowme of his predecessors; for that the Realme of *Naples* being conquered, it would be easie for him to bring vnder his subiection the Empire of the *Turks*.

The state of the Realme of France vnder Charles the 8.

A right description of parasites.

These things being knowne to many, brought many hopes to *Lodowike Sforce* to perswade easily the thing he desired, who also relied much on the friendship and familiaritie which the name of *Sforce* had in the *French* Court: for, both he and his brother *Galeas* before him, had continued by many demonstrations and good offices, the amitie begun by *Francis Sforce* their father,

ther, who thirtie yeares before hauing receiued in fee of *Lewis* the xj. (whose mind abhorred alwayes the things of *Italy*) the citie of *Sauone*, with the right which he pretended to haue to *Genes* possessed aforetime by his father, neuer failed him in his dangers, neither with counsell, succors, nor affection.

But *Lodowike* to solicite in *France* with more credite and authoritie, and iudging himselfe vnable alone, both for the importance and danger of the thing, to handle so great an enterprise: sought first to communicate and perswade all things with the Pope, in whom he knew had most dominion, ambition and disdaine: he told him, that not by the fauours of the Princes of *Italy*, and much lesse by the meanes of their armies and helpes, he should be reuenged of *Ferdinand*, nor haue hope to compasse estates worthy and honorable for the aduancement of his sonnes. He found the Pope to beare a ready will to the matter, either for a desire to innouate things, or else to obtaine of the *Aragoni* by feare, that which willingly they would not accord to him. After they had communicated their counsels, they dispatched secretly into *France* personages of trust, to sound the will of the King and such as gouerned him: who shewing themselues not farre from their intention; *Lodowike* turning his whole wits to the deuice of this enterprise, sent in the sight of all the world (but shadowing it with other occasions) one *Charles Balbian* Earle of *Bel-ioyeuse*, who soliciting the King certain dayes in priuate audience, and working particularly with sundry of his principall fauorites, was at last introduced into open Councell, the King present, where in a publike hearing of the Prince, his Lords and Prelates of the Court, he deliuered this forme of discourse:

Lodo Sforce seeketh to draw the Pope to his purpose.

The Embassador of Millan perswades the French king to the voyage of Naples.

Most Christian King, The experience of the disposition of hearts diuersly inclined, makes me doubtfull, whether vnder a direct and absolute forme, I should begin my discourse; or vsing the custome of Orators, bring into question such obiections as may be opposed against the present matter: for, in causes of perswasion, the one with the other must orderly concurre, left for want of due office in the speaker, the matter seeming to suffer imperfection and error, do not bring forth resolution and effect according to the expectation of the parties for whom he soliciteth. And albeit the vniuersall coniecture and opinion of your Maiesties many vertues, and the graue aspect and face of your right wise Councell here assembled, promise no lesse ready consent and liking, then the matter is iust and innocent: yet for your Maiesties better inducement, and generall satisfaction of your Lords and Prelates assisting, I will ioyne my selfe to the refutation of that generall doubt, which in negotiations of this nature, are commonly obiected, more by custome then iust cause arising. If therefore (right Christian King) any man for what occasion soeuer, will hold for suspected the integritie of mind and faith, with the which *Lodowike Sforce* comes to counsell you to beare armes to conquer the kingdome of *Naples*: he may easily deliuer his mind of that ill grounded suspition, if he either looke into the offers, offices and conditions wherewith he doth accompanie his perswasion and counsell, offering you the commoditie of his treasures, men, and all other oportunities: or at least will call to his memorie with what deuotion both he, *Galeas* his brother, and originally *Francis* his father, did honor the late king *Lewis* your father, continued with no lesse constancie, faith and pietie to the glorious name of your Maiestie. Let him consider also that by this enterprise, *Lodowike* stands possible to many great dangers, with a very naked hope of any profit: yea in this is contained the onely benefit he shall haue, to see a iust reuenge of the ambushes and wrongs done by them of *Aragon*: where your Maiestie by meanes of the victorie, shall haply aspire to a most flourishing kingdome, bringing with it a greater glorie and oportunitie of farre more high and honorable merite; an action whereunto the thoughts of mightie Princes ought to be fashioned. And on the other part, if it happen that you come not to the end of this enterprise, yet your Maiestie loseth no reputation, nor your greatnesse the more diminished: for that onely the fortunes of Princes are subiect to opinions, but not their estate and maiestie empaired. But for *Lodowike*, he is of nothing more sure then to suffer generall ill will and contempt; and of nothing more vnsure then to find remedie in his perils: for that if him would concurre all the displeasures and slanders which may concerne his estate, life or reputation. And therefore I see not how it could be suspected the counsels of him, whose conditions and fortunes are so vnequall and inferiour to yours. But there be reasons stirring you to this honorable condition, which for the simplicitie, roundnesse and innocencie they containe, will admit no doubt: for that in them are liberally conteined all the grounds and foundations, which in consulting of enterprises, vse to

oldom chiefest

" chiefeſt conſideration; that is to ſay, the iuſtice of the cauſe, the facilitie of the conqueſt, and
" the great fruite of the victorie: it is manifeſt to all the world, how reſolute and apparent be the
" rights which the houſe of *Anioy*, to whom you are lawfull inheritor, hath to the realme of
" *Naples*; and how iuſt is the ſucceſſion which this Crowne pretends to it by the iſſues of *Charles*,
" who firſt of the bloud royall of *France*, obtained the ſame kingdome, both with the authoritie
" of the Pope, and by his proper valour. And it is no leſſe eaſie to conquer it, then the action is
" iuſt: for who knowes not, how much the King of *Naples* is inferiour in force, authoritie and
" fortune to the moſt mightie King in all Chriſtendome? And no nation doubteth, with what
" terror and renowme the name of the *French* thundereth throughout the regions of the world,
" neither with what aſtoniſhment the brute of your armies keepeth other countreys in dread. At
" no time did the inferiour Dukes of *Anioy* aſſaile the kingdome of *Naples*, that they put it not
" in great hazard: and it is too late to be forgotten, how *Iohn* the ſonne of *Rene* had in his hand the
" victory againſt *Ferdinand* now reigning, if Pope *Pius* had not taken it from him: but much more
" *Francis Sforce*, who forbare (as is well knowne) to obey *Lewis* the xj. your father. If thoſe ſmall
" forces trained with them ſo great fortunes, what may be hoped for of the armies and authoritie
" of ſo mightie a King, all oportunities being increaſed, and the difficulties obiected againſt
" *Rene* and *Iohn* diminiſhed? ſeeing the Princes of thoſe Eſtates which gaue impediments to their
" victories, haue now vnitie and confederation with you: and in them be no ſmall meanes to of-
" fend the kingdome of *Naples*: for, the Pope by land, by reaſon the territories of the Church
" are frontiers to *Naples*; and the Duke of *Millan* by ſea, applying to you the commoditie and
" ſeruice of *Genes*, will be furtherers of your victorie, with many helpes, fauours and commodi-
" ties. Beſides theſe, there is no potentacie or iuriſdiction in *Italy* will oppoſe againſt you: for, it
" cannot be iudged of the *Venetians*, that they will throw themſelues into expences or dangers;
" and much leſſe depriue their Eſtate of the amitie, wherein ſo long time they haue bene entet-
" tained with the Kings of *France*, to preſerue or protect *Ferdinand* an ancient enemie to their
" name and greatnes: for that amongſt eſtates and kingdomes, the remembrance of iniuries paſt,
" keepes mens minds from reconcilement. And there is no reaſon to beleeue, that the *Florentines*
" will depart from the naturall deuotion which they haue borne to the Crowne of *France*, ſeeing
" it is but iuſt to owe faith, ſeruice and affection, to thoſe who gaue them their firſt creation, dig-
" nitie and greatneſſe. But be it, that following the common ingratitude of mortall men, they
" would obiect themſelues againſt you; what are they againſt ſo great a power, compounded vp-
" on ſo warlike a nation, which many times againſt the wils of all *Italy* hath paſſed the *Alpes*, and
" with a wonderfull glorie and happineſſe haue brought home many victories and triumphs? And
" in what time hath the realme of *France* bene euer more happie, more glorious or more mightie
" then at this houre? neither had this Crowne any time heretofore ſo conuenient and readie
" meanes to eſtabliſh a firme peace with all his neighbours. All which oportunities, if they had
" ſo generally met together in the dayes of your father, he would perhaps haue bene more readie
" to this ſelfeſame expedition. And touching them of *Aragon* your enemies, the difficulties be
" no leſſe augmented againſt them, then to you the oportunities be fauouring, becauſe in the
" ſame Realme both the faction of *Anioy* is yet mightie, and no leſſe the intelligences of many
" Princes and gentlemen chaſed out vniuſtly within theſe few yeares. Beſides, the iniuries done at
" all times by *Ferdinand* to the Barons and people, yea euen to them of the partie of *Aragon*,
" haue bene of ſo bitter taſte and toleration, together with his diſloyaltie ſo great, his couetouſ-
" neſſe ſo inſatiable, and the examples of crueltie in him and his eldeſt ſonne *Alphonſe* ſo notorious
" and horrible, that it is certain that all the Realme puſhed forward with a iuſt hate againſt them,
" will riſe into willing commotion at the brute of your coming. (ſo great authoritie hath as yet
" the remembrance of the liberalitie, ſinceritie, humanitie and iuſtice, which the French Kings
" haue vſed.) The onely deliberation to make the enterpriſe is ſufficient to make you victorious:
" for your men at armes ſhall no ſooner paſſe ouer the mountaines, nor the armie at ſea no ſoo-
" ner be prepared in the hauen of *Genes*, then *Ferdinand* and his ſonne ſtriken with the conſci-
" ence of their wicked neſſe, will take more counſell to flie then to fight: ſo ſhall you with great
" happineſſe recouer for the poſteritie of your bloud a kingdome, which albeit can hold no com-
" parſon with the large realme of *France*, yet, beſides his riches, amplitude and fertilitie, it will
" merite account and reckning, for the helpes and infinite commodities which by it may be in-
" creaſed to this your imperiall Crowne; matters which I would particulate, were it not that the

noble

noble minds of the *French* reach vnto greater ends; and that the high and excellent thoughts of ſo valiant and glorious a King, regard not ſo much profits priuate or particular, as they behold the vniuerſall greatneſſe of the whole Commonweale of Chriſtendome: wherein touching this, what oportunitie more greater, what more ample occaſions, what ſeate of countrey more proper or conuenient to manage warre againſt the enemies of our religion? The ſea that deuides the kingdome of *Naples* and *Greece*, containes not in ſome part aboue lxx. miles in largeneſſe: a prouince ſo oppreſſed and torne in peeces with the tyrannies of the *Turks*, that they deſire nothing with more generall gladneſſe then to ſee the banners of Chriſtians and men of warre marching for their deliuerie. There is nothing more eaſie then to runne euen into the intrails of that Nation, and to batter *Conſtantinople* the ſoueraigne reſidencie of that Empire. This enterpriſe, for the maieſtie and nature of it, doth moſt worthily become your perſon and greatneſſe, with whoſe high and aſpiring thoughts it ſeemes to haue a certaine liuely affinitie. And for the reaſon and neceſſitie of it, it cannot ſo iuſtly appertaine to any as to you, bearing the ſurname of *Moſt Chriſtian*, a title wherein your predeceſſors haue flouriſhed with no ſmall examples of triumph and glorie, they iſſuing in armed maner out of this Realme, ſometimes to deliuer the Church of God from the oppreſſion of tyrants, ſometimes to inuade the infidels, and recouer the holy ſepulcher, haue raiſed euen to the third heauen their names and maieſtie of the French kings. With theſe counſels, with theſe meanes, with theſe actions, with theſe ends that mightie and triumphant *Charles* became great and Emperour of *Rome*, of whom as you beare the name, ſo now the time offereth you occaſion to communicate with his glorie and titles. But it is a time vainly ſpent, to ſtand long vpon the recapitulation of theſe reaſons, as though it were not more conuenient and more agreeing with the order of nature, to conſider how to keepe, then how to get: for, conſidering the oportunitie of ſo many and great occaſions calling you, it could not but intangle your greatneſſe with apparent infamie and diſhonor, to ſuffer any longer *Ferdinand* to vſurpe vpon you ſuch a kingdome, which for almoſt two hundred yeares hath had continuall poſſeſſion in the Kings of your bloud. And ſeeing by cleare iuſtice and all iudiciall courſe of lawes, it appertaines vnto you, who doubts how iuſtly it agreeth with your dignity to recouer it: but ſpecially how much it concernes your pietie to deliuer from the cruell tyrannie of thoſe *Catilines*, thoſe people which beare deuotion to your name, and do craue by right to beare you the dutie and office of ſubiects? Thus moſt high and glorious King, is the enterpriſe proued iuſt, eaſie and neceſſarie, and withall no leſſe glorious and holy, as well for it ſelfe in particular, as for that it openeth the way to other enterpriſes worthy of a right Chriſtian King of *France*: whereunto not onely the reaſons of men, but euen the ſelfe voice of God, doth call you with great and manifeſt occaſions, aſſuring you afore, the beginning of a moſt great happineſſe and fortune, ſince no greater worldly happineſſe can happen to no Prince, then to ſee his deliberations and counſels (bringing glorie and greatneſſe) to be accompanied with ſuch circumſtances and conſequences, that they concerne not onely the benefite and vniuerſall ſafetie, but much more do conſider the exaltation of the whole communitie of Chriſtendome.

The Nobilitie of France miſlike the iourney into Italy.

This propoſition had no willing paſſage into the eares or hearts of the great Lords of *France*, but ſpecially of ſuch, who for their nobilitie and opinion of wiſedome held greateſt authoritie. They iudged that ſuch a warre, whereof he had opened the way and entrie, could not but containe many difficulties and dangers, both for the conduct of armies into a countrey ſtrange and farre remoued from the realme of *France*, and alſo againſt enemies bearing reputation of valour, policie and diſcipline: for, for wiſedome, forecaſt, and ſtayed diſcretion, *Ferdinand* bare a high recommendation: and for valour, conduct and direction in warre, his ſonne *Alphonſo* was no leſſe renowmed. Beſides, they made this coniecture, that *Ferdinand* hauing reigned thirtie yeares, and ſacked and confiſked at ſundry times many of the Barons, had heaped together no ſmall treaſure: on the behalfe of the King, they conſidered that his capacitie was too greene to ſuſtaine alone ſo heauie a burden; and for the direction of warres and eſtates, the counſell weake, and the experience leſſe aſſured of ſuch as he beleeued moſt in. To theſe they added the want of money, whereof they eſteemed to need a great quantitie. They wiſhed that the deceits and ſubtilties of the *Italians* might be deeply looked into, aſſuring themſelues that it could not be pleaſing neither to others nor to *Lodowike Sforce* himſelfe (a man confeſſed by all the *Italians* to be of litle faith) that the kingdome of *Naples* ſhould paſſe into the power of

of a King of *France*: they iudged it hard to winne, and leſſe eaſie to keepe thoſe things that ſhould be wonne. For that reaſon (ſaid they) *Lewis* the father of *Charles* (a Prince in all his actions following more the truth then the apparence of things) would neuer accept the hopes which were offered him of the matters of *Italy*, and much leſſe make reckoning of the rights fallen to him in the Realme of *Naples*: no, he ſaw in his iudgement, that to ſend armies beyond the mountaines, was no other thing then to ſearch enemies and dangers with the waſte of infinite treaſure and bloud of the Realme of *France*. They held it neceſſary afore all things (if this expedition ſhould proceed) to reunite controuerſies with the Kings borderers; for that with *Ferdinand* king of *Spaine*, was no want of occaſions of quarrels and ſuſpitions; and with *Maximilian* king of the *Romaines*, and *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtrich* his ſon, not onely many heart-burnings and iealouſies, but alſo diſpleaſures & iniuries: whoſe minds albeit they could not be reconciled without condeſcending to ſome things hurtfull to the Crowne of *France*, yet neuertheleſſe ſuch reconcilements would be more by demonſtrations then effects: for, ſay they, if any ill accident happen to the Kings armie in *Italy*, what accord can be ſo well aſſured, which will hold them from inuading the Realme of *France*; ſeeing this is familiar with Princes, to hold for ſuſpected the greatneſſe and fortunes of their neighbours, and are ouer nothing ſo watchfull, as ouer opportunities and occaſions? And touching the King of *England*, *Henrie* the vij. it was not to be doubted that the naturall hate of the *Engliſh* toward the *French*, had not more force then the peace made with him two moneths before; for that it is manifeſt, that no one thing brought him more to the compoſition, then that the preparations of the King of *Romaines* anſwered not the promiſes wherewith he had induced him to lay ſiege to *Bollogne*. Of this nature were the reaſons alleaged by the Lords, partly debated amongſt themſelues, and partly diſputed in the preſence of the King. The chiefeſt of thoſe that iuſtified theſe arguments afore the King, was one *Iames Grauille* Admirall of *France*, whoſe greatneſſe albeit was ſomewhat diminiſhed, yet his authoritie ſuffered no alteration, for the ancient name and credit of his wiſedome, roving liberally through all the Realme of *France*. But the Kings mind with a wonderfull greedineſſe was wholy inclined to the contrary aduice; what with the greenneſſe of his yeares aſpiring now to two and twentie, and by his vnſtayed nature, not yet experienced in the affaires of the world, he was caried into a wonderfull ambition to enlarge his Empire, following an appetite of glorie, founded rather vpon a light will and furie of youth, then vpon maturitie of counſell, ſeeing that either by his proper nature, or rather the examples and admoniſhments of his parents, he repoſed litle faith in his Lords and Nobles of his Realme. And ſince he came forth of the tutorſhip and iuriſdiction of *Anne* Ducheſſe of *Burbon* his ſiſter, he bare no more care to the counſels of the Admirall, nor to others that had bene great in the gouernment; but gaue himſelfe ouer to the directions of certaine men of baſe condition, trained vp almoſt alwayes in the ſeruice of his perſon: of theſe, ſuch as had moſt fauour and place with him, perſwaded him greatly to embrace the enterpriſe, being partly corrupted (for the counſels of Princes are oftentimes mercenarie) with the promiſes and preſents of *Lodowikes* Embaſſadour, by whom was not forgotten any diligence or art to draw the fauours of ſuch as might do moſt in this action. They were partly puſhed on by certaine hopes, either to be raiſed to eſtates in the kingdome of *Naples*, or to obtaine of the Pope dignities and penſions in the Church. The principall of all theſe, was one *Stephen de Vers*, borne in *Languedocke*, of baſe place, but bred vp of long time with the King, in whoſe chamber he vſed to lie, and by the Kings creation made *Seneſchall* of *Beucaire*: with this man did communicate one *William Briconnet*, who of a merchant created firſt Generall of *France*, and after made Biſhop of *S. Malo*, had not onely the charge and adminiſtration of the Kings reuenue (which the *French* call Superintendent of the Finances,) but alſo hauing confederacie with *Stephen*, had by his meanes a great entrie into all the affaires of importance, albeit he had no great inſight in the policie and gouernment of matters of eſtate. To the helpe of this enterpriſe, were adioyned the perſwaſions of *Antonell* of *S. Seuerin*, Prince of *Salerne*, and of *Bernardin* of the ſame family, Prince of *Biſignan*, together with many other Barons baniſhed the Realme of *Naples*; who being withdrawne many yeares before into *France*, had continually ſolicited the King to that enterpriſe, laying before his eyes the great calamitie, or rather generall deſpaire of the whole kingdome, and the factions, and many followers, which they promiſed themſelues to haue in the ſame.

A true ſaying of King Lewis the xi.

Iuſt reaſons by the Nobility alleaged.

King Charles led by baſe men, and ſuch as by money were corrupted

The counſels of exiles are alwayes deſperate.

In this diuerſitie of perſwaſions, the deliberation remained ſuſpended for certaine dayes; others

others being not onely in doubt what to determine, but also the Kings will wauering and vncertaine, for that sometimes inclining to his ambition and glory, and sometimes restrained with feares and dangers, he would often be irresolute, and ofttimes turne to the contrary of that which he had afore determined. But in the end, his first inclination, together with the cursed destinie of *Italy*, being of more force then any thing that could be said to the contrary, the well gouerned and peaceable counsels of his Nobles were altogether reiected, and communicating onely with the Bishop of *S. Malo*, and the Seneshall of *Beaucaire*, and partaking nothing with the assent and priuitie of all others, there was an agreement made with *Lodowikes* Embassador, whose conditions albeit were holden secret for many moneths, yet this is the capitulation and summe of them.

Confederation betweene the king of France and Lodowike Sforce.

The King *Charles* either going in person into *Italy*, or sending thither an armie for the conquest of *Naples*, the Duke of *Millan* was bound to giue him passage through his iurisdictions: To send thither with his men, fiue hundred men at armes payed: To suffer him to arme at *Genes* so many vessels as he will: And to lend him before he departed out of *France*, two hundred thousand duckets.

Touching the King, he was bound to the defence and protection of the Duchie of *Millan* against all men, with particular mention to preserue the authoritie of *Lodowike*: to entertaine during the warre within the citie of *Ast*, belonging to the Duke of *Orleance*, two hundred Lances to giue succours to the necessities of that Duchie. Lastly, he promised either at that time or soone after, by a writing subsigned with his owne hand, that hauing once conquered the realme of *Naples*, he should giue to *Lodowike* the principalitie of *Tarente*.

Great promises slenderly performed.

But let vs looke somewhat into the variation of times and things of the world: albeit *Francis Sforce* father to *Lodowike*, a Prince of rare wisedome and valour, was a professed enemie to those of *Aragon*, for the many displeasures he had receiued of *Alphonso*, *Ferdinands* father, and an ancient friend to the house of *Anjow*: yet this was his moderation in the actions concerning those two families, that in the yeare 1457. when *Iohn* the sonne of *Rene* inuaded the kingdome of *Naples*, he ministred succours to *Ferdinand*, with such a wonderfull diligence and readinesse, that the victorie was acknowledged to happen wholy by his helpe: he was stirred to this, for no other reason, then that he saw it was too perillous for his Duchie of *Millan*, that the *French* his neare neighbours should make themselues Lords ouer so mightie an Estate. The same reason induced *Philip Maria Viscount* (abandoning them of *Anjow*, to whom he had alwayes before borne fauor) to deliuer *Alphonso* his enemy, who taken of the *Genoways* in a battell at sea neare to *Caiette*, was brought to him prisoner to *Millan*, with all the Nobilitie of his realmes. On the other side, *Lewis* the xj. father to *Charles*, being oftentimes perswaded by many, and not with light occasions, to hearken to the things of *Naples*; and being withall with great instance called by the *Genoways* to be Lords ouer their countries as *Charles* his father had bene afore him, did alwayes refuse to intangle himselfe with the doings of *Italy*, as matters full of expences and difficulties, and in the end hurtfull to the Realme of *France*. But now the opinions of men being changed, but perhaps the reason of things not changed, we see how *Lodowike* cals the *French* ouer the mountaines, not fearing by so mightie a King (if *Naples* should fall into his hands) that danger which his father (no lesse valiant in armes then he) would haue feared, if but a litle Earle of *Prouence* had conquered it. And on the other side, we see *Charles* now reigning, inflamed with a desire to make warre in *Italy*; preferring the rashnesse of men of base place and vnexperienced, afore the counsell of his father, a Prince of singular wisedome, temperance and forecast. It happeth too often, that new Princes haue new counsels, and of new counsels commonly resort new effects; euen such as in a ship, when a raw man is put to the helme, the course must needs alter.

Wise considerations of Francis Sforce not followed.

Mens mindes often change, but the reason of things alters not.

It is not vnlike that *Lodowike* was drawne to so great a deliberation by *Hercules de Este* Duke of *Ferrara*, his father in law, who nourishing a vehement appetite to recouer *Polesine de Rouigne*, a countrey confining, and importing much the suretie of *Ferrara*, which the *Venetians* had taken from him in the warres ten yeares past; foresaw that the onely meanes to recouer it, was to set all *Italy* in trouble, and innouate the States with most great emotions. Besides this, many beleeued, that albeit in *Hercules* appeared a disguised apparence and will to wish well to his sonne in law, yet in secret he followed him with an extreme hatred; for that in the same warre, all the residue of *Italy* which had taken armes for him, being farre more mightie then the *Venetians*;

Lodowike gouerning then the State of *Millan*, and regarding his proper respects and particular interests, constrained the others to make peace, with condition that *Polesine* should remaine to the *Venetians*. And therefore *Hercules* hauing no meanes to reuenge so great an iniurie by armes and warre, sought to execute his long smothered malice by giuing him a dangerous counsell; such are the operations of malice, working in minds mightie, who seldome hold it any breach of iustice to be reuenged of him that offereth the first iniurie.

A reuenge taken vnder the colour of great fauour.

But now *Italy* being possessed with a brute of those things which were in practise on the other side the mountaines, and whose first authors at the beginning were vncertaine, many thoughts and discourses appeared in the vnderstandings of men. For to many (weighing the power and strength of the *French* King, and the readinesse of that Nation to new broiles and innouations, with the present diuisions and factions of the *Italians*) it seemed a businesse of great qualitie and importance: and others, by reason of the Kings greennesse in age, and also considering the negligence naturall to that nation, and lastly, looking into the impediments which great enterprises haue; construed all not to a counsell well grounded, but to a hot and vnbridled affection of youth, which after it had a litle throwne out his fume and fire, would easily vanish & dissolue. *Ferdinand* himselfe (against whom all this businesse was conspired) shewed litle appearance of feare, saying, it was an enterprise intangled with many difficulties; for that if they made their inuasion by sea, they should find him furnished with a plentifull nauie, armed able to giue him battell in the plaine sea, his ports being furnished, and his forts well manned and victualled: neither was there any Baron in the Realme able to receiue them, as had bene done afore to *Iohn* of *Anion*, by the Prince of *Bossane*, and other great ones of the land. And touching their expedition by land, it was full of incommodities, suspitious to many, and a painfull march farre off; for that their way lying all along the length of *Italy*, the residue of the Princes could not be without their particular feares, and perhaps *Lodowike Sforce* more then others, notwithstanding he made shew of the contrary; seeming as though a common perill brought interest to euery particular: for that the proximitie and neighborhood of *Millan* with *France*, gaue vnto the King a greater oportunitie, and in true likelihood, a greater desire to possesse and occupie that Duchie. And seeing the yong and true Duke of *Millan* was of neare kindred to the King, *Lodowike* could not other waies assure himselfe; but that the King caried an intention to deliuer him from his oppression; hauing not many yeares before protested openly, that he would not endure that *Iohn Galeas* his cousin should be so vnworthily restrained and kept vnder: That the state of them of *Aragon* stood not vpon such termes and conditions, as the hope of their weakenesse might induce the courage of the *French* to make inuasions vpon them; for that they were plentifully furnished with many numbers of valiant men at armes, great troupes of horses of seruice, many stores of munitions and artilleries, and all other necessary things for the warre, together with so rich a mint of money, that it suffised against all wants, prouisions and fortunes: That besides many honorable Captaines trained and experienced, he had for the conduct of his armies, his eldest sonne, Duke of *Calabria*, a Leader of great renowme, and no lesse vertue, growne into a mind resolute, a counsell stayed and well aduised, and an assured experience, by following all the warres in *Italy* for many yeares before. To these forces he added the powers of his kindred and allies, of whose ready aide and assistance he nothing doubted, hauing speciall expectation to receiue plentifull succours from the King of *Spaine* his cousin, and brother to his wife, not onely in respect of the double knot of parentage, but also for that in good policie it stood him vpon, to hold for suspected the neighbourhood of the *French* men to *Sicile*.

The thoughts of Ferdinand King of Naples.

Ferdinand doth flatter himselfe.

This was the glorious humor of *Ferdinand*, bringing forth in publike many brags touching his owne power and greatnesse, and to the contempt and lessening of the forces and meanes of his aduersaries. These be properties oftentimes familiar with Princes, to whom there cannot be a more sensible and apparent token of their aduersitie or ruine, then when they esteeme themselues more then they are, and make their enemies lesse then they find them.

But *Ferdinand*, as he was a Prince of singular wisedome, and well assured experience; so in himselfe he found his mind tormented with many very grieuous thoughts, beholding with a fresh memory the troubles he had receiued of the *French* nation in the beginning of his raigne: he debated deeply, that he should haue to do with enemies warlike and mightie, for their troupes of horsmen farre aboue him; in footmen infinite, in ensignes well appointed, trained and disciplined: for prouisions at sea, nothing wanting to an army royall: for artilleries plentifull,

full, ſundry, and terrible: for money, his Mines and mintings furniſhed aboue all wants that could happen: and of men, infinite in multitudes, reſolute in minds, for ſeruice apt, of faith aſſured, of wils tractable, for commandement obedient; and laſtly, bearing all one common deſire to commit their liues to any danger for the glory and greatneſſe of their naturall King. But of the contrary, touching himſelfe, all things were ſuſpected of him, his Realme being full of hatred againſt the name of the *Aragons*, or at leaſt of no litle inclination to commotion, and the moſt part of the reſidue, of an ordinary deſire to haue new kings, wherein fortune may be of more power then faith: his ſtrength was mightier in opinion then in true forces: his treaſure laid vp and reſerued, not ſufficient to carry the neceſſary expences for his defence, ſince all things by the warre being turned into rebellion and tumults, his reuenues would conuert to nothing in a moment. He ſaw that in *Italy* he had many enemies, and with none any friendſhip firme or well aſſured; hauing at ſome times bene grieuous to all, either by armes, or other violent meanes. And for *Spaine*, according to the examples paſt, and conditions of the ſame Realme, he had no expectation of other ſuccours for his perils, then large promiſes, with a great name of operations, but very ſlender and ſlow effects. Laſtly, his feares were augmented by the vnfortunate predictions that went of his houſe, come to his knowledge at ſundry times, partly by ancient writings found out of new, partly by the interpretations and words of men for the moſt part vncertaine of the preſent, whom he eſteemed certaine touching things to come: which things in proſperitie we beleeue but litle, and in aduerſitie too much, ſpecially if there ariſe any apparence.

What Ferdinand feared.

The maner of the Spaniards.

The King of *Naples* wandring in theſe conſiderations, and his feares being greater without compariſon then his hopes, he ſaw there were no better remedies againſt ſo great dangers, then either with all ſpeed poſſible to remoue by ſome agreement, ſuch thoughts from the *French* Kings mind, or at leaſt to take from him part of the foundations which ſtirred him to the warre. And therefore hauing ſent Embaſſadors into *France*, to treate of a marriage betweene the King of *Scots* and *Charlot* daughter of *Dom Federicke* his ſecond ſonne; the diſpoſition of which marriage was gouerned by the *French* King, for that the yong Ladie was nouriſhed in his Court, and borne of a ſiſter of the mother of King *Charles*: he diſpatched new commiſſions for the matters preſent and running; he ioyned with them in deputation and aſſiſtance, *Camille Pandon*, hauing bene vſed in negotiation for him there before, the better to labour priuatly ſuch as were chiefeſt guiders of the Kings counſels, and others bearing inclination to profit, promiſes, and corrupt offers: and if they could not by other meanes appeaſe or remoue the Kings intention to the warre, then to offer him conditions of tribute, and other ſubmiſſions; and ſo, if it were poſſible, to obtaine peace. Beſides this, he applied not onely all his thoughts, diligence and authoritie to compoſe the difference of the Caſtles bought by *Virginio*, (to whoſe intractabilitie and obſtinacie he referred the chiefe occaſion of all theſe diſorders) but alſo he ſtudied to giue a new life to the practiſes of parentage, commuued vpon before betweene the Pope and him. But aboue all others, his deepeſt care and thought was, to appeaſe and aſſure *Lodowike Sforce* (firſt author and mouer of all the miſchiefe,) perſwading himſelfe, that feare, more then other occaſion, led him to ſo dangerous a counſell. And therefore (according to the neceſſities that followed him) preferring his particular ſuretie afore the naturall reſpect and intereſt of his Neece, or the ſafetie of the ſonne borne of her: he offered by many embaſſages to referre himſelfe wholly to his will, touching the things of *John Galeas*, and the Duchie of *Millan*. In which offers, more generall then honorable, he had no regard to the aduice of his ſon *Alphonſo*; who to amaze, confuſe and threaten *Lodowike*, iudged it the readieſt meanes to make him giue ouer thoſe new counſels: wherein albeit he might take courage of the naturall fearfulneſſe of *Lodowike*, yet we often ſee, that no leſſe eaſily is the timorous man caried by deſpaire into deliberations headlong and hurtfull, then the raſh man, by credulitie, fury and want of conſideration, runneth into enterpriſes that bring forth danger, diſhonor and ſhame.

Ferdinand is wiſe, but too late.

At laſt were appeaſed the controuerſies of the Caſtles, after many difficulties proceeding more of *Virginio* then of the Pope; to the concluſion of which compoſition, came *Dom Federike*, ſent to *Rome* by his father for that effect. The accord ranne, that they ſhould remaine in the poſſeſſion and right of *Virginio*, repaying to the Pope equall proportion of money, which he had giuen at firſt to *Franceſquin Cibo*: together with this, was knit vp the mariage of the Ladie *Sances* baſtard daughter to *Alphonſo*, with *Dom Geffray* yongeſt ſonne to the Pope, (both the one

and other, by reaſon of their greene age, vnable to conſummate or accompliſh the marriage.) Theſe were the conditions: That *Dom Geffray* ſhould go to remaine at *Naples* after a few moneths: that he ſhould receiue in dowry and reſpect of the mariage, the principalitie of *Squillace*, valued at ten thouſand duckats in yearly reuenue; and that *Ferdinand* ſhould giue to him a company of an hundred men at armes. This confirmed the opinion of many, that all that the Pope ſolicited in *France*, bare no other meaning, then by feare to draw them of *Aragon* to theſe agreements. This was one argument to approue their coniectures; that *Ferdinand* laboured to make a confederation with him for their common defence: but the Pope obiected ſo many difficulties, that there was no other thing obtained of him then a very ſecret promiſe by writing to defend the kingdome of *Naples*, ſo that *Ferdinand* would equally promiſe to protect the eſtate of the Church.

The Pope doth vſe his aduantage.

Theſe things diſpatched, the companies of men at armes which the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* had ſent to the Pope for his ſuccours, retired with licence and fauour out of the Church dominions. *Ferdinand* alſo began now with no leſſe hope of happie ſucceſſe to treate with *Lodowike Sforce*, who with a wonderfull ſubtiltie and art, ſhewed himſelfe ſometimes ill contented with the inclination of the *French* King to the matters of *Italy*, and ſometimes excuſed and iuſtified himſelfe vpon his neceſſitie, for that by reaſon of his chiefe of *Genes*, and the ancient confederation with the houſe of *France*, he was conſtrained to hearken to the requeſts made to him (as he ſaid) by the ſame King. But ſometimes he promiſed to *Ferdinand* in publike, and ſometimes to the Pope and *Peter de Medicis* apart and ſeuerally, to do all he could to moderate the Kings deſire, aſſaying to lull them aſleepe in this hope, to the end they conſpired or dreſſed nothing againſt him, before the affaires of *France* were well proceeded and eſtabliſhed: wherein they were the more eaſie to beleeue him, by how much they iudged the reſolution to bring the *French* King into *Italy*, ſo ill for his owne ſuretie, that in conſideration of his particular perill, and the common intereſt of *Italy*, they ſuppoſed he would vtterly diſclaime and ſhake it off. All this Sommer paſt in this nature of doings, *Lodowike* working vnder ſuch diſguiſed formes and maners, that without giuing any ſuſpition to the *French* King, neither *Ferdinand*, the Pope, nor the *Florentines* deſpaired of his promiſes, nor yet altogether truſted him.

The ſubtilties of Lod. Sforce.

But in this meane while were laid in *France* with no ſmall ſtudy, the foundations of the warre and expedition to come, whereunto (contrary to the counſels of moſt of the greateſt) inclined more and more the affection of the King; who, to be more at libertie, accorded the differences he had with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* King and Queene of *Spaine*, Princes in thoſe times of great report and name for gouernment and wiſedome, both for that they had drawne their Realmes out of great troubles into a ſetled tranquillitie, and alſo had recouered to Chriſtianitie (with a warre of ten yeares continuance) the kingdome of *Granado*, vſurped by the *Moores* of *Affrica* ſor almoſt eight hundred yeares. It was expreſſed in this recapitulation (ſolemnly iuſtified by publike oath of both parts in the Church) that in *Ferdinand* nor *Iſabel* (for *Spaine* was gouerned vnder their common name) ſhould be no action of aid to the *Aragons* directly nor indirectly: no contract of any new affinitie or alliance: nor that in no ſort they ſhould oppoſe againſt King *Charles* for the defence of the Realme of *Naples*. The King, in counterchange and recompence of theſe, (beginning by a loſſe certaine, for a hope of gaine vncertaine) reſtored without any repaiment of money, *Parpignian*, with all the Earldome of *Roſſellion*, pawned many yeares before to *Lewis* his father, by *John* King of *Aragon* and father to *Ferdinand*: an exchange altogether againſt the will and liking of the whole Nation of *France*; for that that Earldome ſeated at the foote of the hils *Pyrenei*, and conſequently according to the ancient diuiſion, part of *Gallia*, gaue alwayes neceſſary impediments to them of *Aragon* for entring into *France* on that ſide.

Preparations in France for the warres of Italy.

Charles begins with a loſſe certaine for a gaine vncertaine.

The King, for the ſame occaſion made peace with *Maximilian* King of the *Romaines*, and with his ſonne *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtrich*, in whom was no want of occaſion either of old or new hatreds againſt him: but ſpecially for that his father *Lewis*, by the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgondie* and Earle of *Flanders*, with many other countries conioyning, did impatronize himſelfe vpon the Duchie of *Burgondie* and Earldome of *Arteys*, with many other places which the ſaid Duke poſſeſſed: whereof growing no ſmall warres betweene King *Lewis* and *Marie* the onely daughter of Duke *Charles*, married after the death of her father to *Maximilian*: there was made at laſt (*Marie* being dead, and *Philip* the common ſonne of *Maximilian* and her, ſucceeding to the inheritance of his mother) an accord amongſt them, more by the wils of the people

of

of *Flanders*, then readineſſe of *Maximilian*. The better to confirme this accord, *Margaret* the ſiſter of *Philip*, was married to *Charles* the ſonne of *Lewis*, and (notwithſtanding ſhe was very yong) led into *France*; where after ſhe had remained many yeares, *Charles* refuſed her, and tooke to wife *Anne*, to whom by the death of *Francis* her father leauing no iſſue male, the Duchie of *Brittaine* was deſcended. This was a double iniury to *Maximilian*, being at one time made fruſtrate the mariage of his daughter, and his owne, hauing by procuration afore married the ſaid *Anne*: and yet, for that he was not able of himſelfe to ſuſtaine the warre recontinued by occaſion of this iniury, and that the people of *Flanders* (gouerning themſelues by their proper counſell and authoritie, by reaſon of the minoritie of *Philip*) would not dwell in warre with the Realme of *France*; and laſtly, ſeeing that the Kings of *Spaine* and *England* had diſſolued their armies which they had leuied againſt the *French*, he conſented to the peace; by the which King *Charles* reſtored to *Philip* his ſiſter *Margaret* detained in *France* till then, together with the townes of the Earldome of *Artoys*, reſeruing to himſelfe the Caſtles, but vnder bond to render them at foure yeares end; at what time *Philip* being riſen to his maioritie, might in good validitie confirme the accord paſt. Thoſe townes when the peace was made by King *Lewis*, were acknowledged by cõmon agreement as the proper right of the ſaid *Margaret*. The generall peace thus eſtabliſhed with all the neighbours to the Realme of *France*, the reſolution of the warre againſt the kingdome of *Naples*, was confirmed for the yeare following: in which time were prepared all prouiſions neceſſary, continually ſolicited by *Lodowike Sforce*; who (the thoughts of men aduancing from degree to degree) occupied his wits now not onely how to aſſure the gouernment to him, but lifting vp his mind to higher conceits, he had an intention to transferre to himſelfe the Duchie of *Millan*, vnder the occaſion of the warre againſt the *Aragons*; wherein to giue ſome colour of iuſtice to ſo great an iniuſtice, and with more firme foundations to aſſure his affaires againſt all fortunes that might happen, he married *Blanche Marie* ſiſter to *John Galeas*, and his Neece to *Maximilian* newly aſpired to the Empire of *Rome*, by the death of *Federike* his father: to him he promiſed in dowry to be paid within a certaine time foure hundred thouſand duckats of ready mony, with iewels and other ornaments to the value of fortie thouſand duckats: and of the other part, *Maximilian* thirſting more after money then affinitie by his mariage, bound himſelfe to endow *Lodowike* (to the preiudice of *John Galeas*, his new brother in law) with the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, for him, his children and ofſpring, as though that Eſtate had remained without lawfull Dukes euer ſince the death of *Philip Maria Viſcount*. At the latter paiment of the money, he promiſed to giue him all the priuiledges and prerogatiues accompliſhed in moſt ample forme.

The Duchie of Britaine inueſted in the crowne of France.

Mariage of Blanche Mary Sforce with the Emperour Maximilian.

The *Viſcounties*, gentlemen of *Millan*, during the bloudy factions in *Italy* betweene the *Gebelins* and *Guelffes*, and after the *Guelffes* were ſuppreſſed: of principall men of one part of *Millan*, became Lords and abſolute maſters of the whole Citie, (ſuch fruits for the moſt part are bred by ciuill diſcords.) And in this greatneſſe, after they had continued many yeares, they ſought (according to the common aduancement of tyrannies, the better to diſguiſe their vſurpation with a ſhew of right) to ſtrengthen firſt colours lawfull, and after to ſet out their fortune with moſt ample titles: therefore after they had firſt obtained of the Emperours (of whom *Italy* began to know rather the name then the power) the title of Captains, and then of Vicars of the Empire; in the end, *John Galeas* (who for that his father in law *John* king of *France* had giuen him the Earldome of *Vertus*, called himſelfe Earle of *Vertus*) obtained of *Vinceſlao* king of *Romaines*, for him and his iſſue males, the dignitie of Duke of *Millan*; in which ſucceeded him the one after the other, *John Maria* and *Philip Maria* his ſonnes. But the line maſculine being determined by the death of *Philip*, albeit by his teſtament he had inſtituted as his heire *Alphonſo* king of *Aragon* and *Naples*, partly for the recompence of the amitie he ſhewed at his deliuery, but more for that the Duchie of *Millan* defended by ſo mightie a Prince, ſhould not fall into the ſubiection of the *Venetians* aſpiring manifeſtly to it: yet *Francis Sforce* at that time a Captaine valiant, and equally ſeene in affaires of peace and warre, being aſſiſted with many occaſions then occurrent, and more eſteeming to reigne then to keepe faith, held with armes the ſaid Duchie as appertaining to *Blanche Maria* his wife, the baſtard daughter of *Philip*: and albeit it was ſuppoſed, that ſoone after with a ſmall portion of money he might haue purchaſed of the Emperour *Federike* the inueſtiture of that State; yet truſting he was able to keepe it by the ſame meanes wherewith he had wonne it, he made ſmall reckoning of that office in the Emperour.

Thus without inueſtiture continued *Galeas* his ſonne, and *Iohn Galeas* his latter ſonne; by reaſon whereof *Lodowike* bearing himſelfe wickedly at one time againſt his Nephew liuing, and doing wrong to the memory of his father and brother deceaſſed, maintained that not one of them were lawfull Dukes of *Millan*; procuring himſelfe, as of an Eſtate deuolued to the Empire, to be inueſted by *Maximilian*; and by that reaſon bare the title, not of the ſeuenth, but of the fourth Duke of *Millan*: which things (ſo long as his Nephew liued) were not ſuffered to come but to a few mens knowledge. Beſides, following the example of *Cyrus*, yonger brother to *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, (which alſo he confirmed with the authoritie of many Lawyers) he auouched that he was before his brother, not in yeares and age, but for that he was the firſt borne after their father became Duke of *Millan*. This reaſon, together with the firſt, was beſtowed amongſt the Imperiall priuiledges; wherein to cloke with a vaine couer the ambition of *Lodowike*, there was alſo written in letters ſeparate, that it was not the cuſtome of the holy Empire to conſent or paſſe any Eſtate to any that afore had holden it vnder the authoritie of another; for which cauſe *Maximilian* had kept no reckoning of the petitions made by *Lodowike* to obtaine the inueſtiture for *Iohn Galeas*, hauing afore acknowledged the ſame Duchie of the people of *Millan*.

Ridiculous reaſon confirmed by force.

In this mariage made by *Lodowike* of his Neece with *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* tooke increaſe of hope, that *Lodowike* would eſtrange himſelfe from the amitie of the *French* King: theſe were the reaſons and arguments of his hope; for that he had knit himſelfe with *Maximilian* enemy and corriuall to the French king by many occaſions: the departing with ſo great a ſumme of mony might induce the Kings ſuſpition againſt him: and laſtly, this new coniunction miniſtring occaſion of courage and heart, he ſuppoſed he would not be fearfull to diuide himſelfe from the *French* doings. This hope *Lodowike* nouriſhed with great cunning; and with the veile of the ſame ſo blinded all others, that at one time he communicated with *Ferdinand* and the other Potentates of *Italy*, and withall entertained the King of *Romaines*, and yet kept the *French* from iealouſie. *Ferdinand* alſo iudged that it could not but be diſpleaſing and intollerable to the Senate of *Venice* (to whom he had ſent Embaſſadors) that a Prince ſo mightie aboue them, ſhould enter the heart of *Italy*, wherein they had the chiefeſt place, opinion and authoritie: beſides, he fed much of the hopes in the King and Queene of *Spaine*, who had promiſed him great ſuccours, if neither by perſwaſions, offers nor authoritie, he could not breake the enterpriſe. On the other ſide, the *French* king hauing taken away all impediments on that ſide the mounts, began to practiſe to remoue ſuch difficulties as might fall to his hinderance on the other ſide the hils: In that action he ſent *Peron de la Bache*, a man not ignorant in the affaires of *Italy*, by the experience he had there vnder *Iohn* of *Anion*; who after he had made knowne to the Pope, the Senate of *Venice*, and the *Florentines*, the reſolution of his King to recouer the kingdome of *Naples*, he made petition to them all to enter ſocietie, fellowſhip and communitie with him: but he reaped no other fruite then fraile hopes and generall anſwers; for that the warre being not to be executed till the next yeare, euery one refuſed to diſcouer ſo long before his intention. In like ſort, the King required of the Embaſſadours of *Florence* (ſent to him a litle before by *Ferdinands* conſent, to excuſe themſelues of the imputation that they inclined to the partie of the *Aragons*) to haue paſſage and victuals for his armie in their iuriſdictions at reaſonable rate; and that to accompanie him to the kingdome of *Naples*, they would furniſh him with an hundred men at armes, which he ſaid, he required as a ſigne, that the Commonweale of *Florence* ſtood with him in amitie. Albeit they anſwered him with many reaſons and declarations, that they could not in that ſort proteſt without great peril, vntil his armie were paſſed into *Italy*; and albeit they affirmed, that he might be well aſſured that in all accidents and fortunes, that Citie ſhould not faile to miniſter to him all thoſe conuenient effects, of office, obſeruance and deuotion which of long time they had borne to the Crowne of *France*; yet they were conſtrained, according to the *French* importunities, to promiſe all thoſe things, otherwiſe they were threatned to ſuffer priuation of that great Mart and traffike of merchandize which the *Florentine* Nation had in that Realme. It was knowne after, that theſe compulſions were enforced by *Lodowike*, at that time the principall diſpoſer of all the *French* practiſes with the *Italians*.

Peter de Medicis laboured much to perſwade *Ferdinand*, that thoſe demaunds imported ſo little the ſubſtance of the warre, that it would be more for his profit if the Commonweale and he continued amitie with the *French* King, hauing by that meanes good way and oportunitie

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to make ſome compoſition, then in refuſing thoſe ſmall demands, to declare themſelues his enemies, and ſo ſuffer no poſſibilitie to do good to him. He alleaged withall the generall complaints and hatreds which he ſhould heape vpon himſelfe, if the traffike of *Florence* were reſtrained in *France*; or that the entercourſe there, ſo neceſſary to the vpholding of the Citie, ſhould ſuſpend, and perhaps come in time to loſe his libertie and practiſe. He told him, it was conuenient, in good faith and meaning (the principall ground of confederations) that euery confederate ſhould ſuffer patiently ſome incommoditie, to the end the other runne not into more greater harmes. But *Ferdinand*, who conſidered how much of his reputation and ſuretie would diminiſh if the *Florentines* were deuided from him, was not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, but complained grieuouſly, that the faith and conſtancie of *Peter* began ſo ſoone not to anſwer his owne promiſe and the expectation he had conceiued of him: by reaſon whereof, *Peter* reſolutely diſpoſed aboue all things to continue in amitie with them of *Aragon*, vſed many meanes to ſuſpend and deferre the anſwer importunatly demanded by the *French*; referring them in the end to vnderſtand the full wils and intentions of the Commonweale by new Embaſſadors.

Good reaſons alleaged by Peter Medicis and by him not executed.

About the end of this yeare, the alliance made betweene the Pope and *Ferdinand*, began to wauer and ſhake, either for that the Pope in obiecting new difficulties, aſpired to obtaine of him greater things then he had; or elſe that he perſwaded himſelfe to induce him by this meanes to bring again to his obedience the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula*, whom (offering firſt for his ſecuritie, the faith of the Colledge of Cardinals, of *Ferdinand*, and of the *Venetians*) he deſired much to ſee returned to *Rome*: he held his abſence much ſuſpected, for the importance of the rocke of *Oſtia*; holding in his hands about *Rome*, *Roncillon* and *Grotaferrata*, by the fauours, opinion and authoritie which he had in the Court: but chiefly he was iealous ouer him, for that naturally he was deſirous of innouation, and obſtinate to hazard rather all danger, then to be cut off from one point of his counſels and purpoſes. *Ferdinand* excuſed himſelfe much, that he had no power to apply the Cardinall thereunto, whoſe ſuſpition was ſo great, that all ſuretie ſeemed to him leſſe then the perill: he complained to the Pope of his hard fortune, that on him alwayes was laid the imputation of things which in truth proceeded from others: he was ſory that the Pope had beleeued, that by his motion and by his money, *Virginio* had bought the Caſtles, being indeed bought without his priuitie or medling. Indeed he had diſpoſed *Virginio* to the compoſition; and for that effect had furniſhed him with the money which was giuen in repaiment and recompence of the Caſtles. The Pope receiued not theſe excuſes, but with hard and bitter words complained of *Ferdinand*, and ſo gaue ſhew that there could be laid no firme ground of their reconciliation.

The Pope doth faile Ferdinand.

With ſuch a diſpoſition of minds and confuſion of things, ſo apparently drawing to new troubles, began the yeare 1494. (I interprete the yeare according to the vſe of *Rome*.) A yeare very vnhappie for *Italy*, and indeed the firſt of the vnfortunate and miſerable yeares, for that in it was made open the way to infinite and horrible calamities, whereof we may well ſay, a great part of the world by many accidents hath taſted euer ſince. In the beginning of this yeare, King *Charles* refuſing to heare ſpeake of any agreement with *Ferdinand*, enioyned his Embaſſadours as meſſengers of a King enemy, to depart with ſpeed out of the Realme of *France*: and almoſt in the ſame concurrence of time, the ſaid *Ferdinand* died ſuddenly of an Apoplexie, being more trauelled with cares and perplexities of mind, then loaden with yeares, or weaked with old age: he was a Prince of ſingular wiſedome and induſtrie, with the which (accompanied with happie fortune) he kept himſelfe in the kingdome newly obtained by his father, againſt many difficulties appearing euen in the beginning of his raigne; and brought to it much more amplitude and greatneſſe, then was done vnder any other King perhaps long before: A good King, if he had continued to raigne in the ſame maner he began: but either with the variation of times, or change of manners, becauſe he knew not (with moſt Princes now adayes) how to reſiſt the fury of dominion and rule; or perhaps according to the iudgement of euery one, his nature and inclination beginning now to diſcloſe, which he had couered afore with great cunning: he was eſteemed a man of litle faith, and of ſuch violent and cruell moods, that euen by his owne followers he was iudged worthy of the name of inhumanitie. The opinion was, that the death of *Ferdinand* hapned very inconuenient for the common affaires; for that where he would haue proued all remedies to hinder the deſcending of the French men, it was not now to be doubted but it would be more hard to make *Lodowike* aſſure himſelfe of the haughtie and immoderate

1494.

Death of Ferdinand king of Aragon.

nature of *Alphonſo*, then it was to diſpoſe him to renew amitie with *Ferdinand*, in whom was for the moſt part expreſſed a ready inclination (the better to auoid all quarrels with the State of *Millan*) to yeeld and condeſcend to his will. And amongſt other things, it is manifeſt, that when *Iſabel Alphonſoes* daughter was brought to *John Galeas* her husband, *Lodowike* at the firſt ſight ſuffered himſelfe to ſlide into ſo great affection towards her, that he deſired her of *Alphonſo* for his wife; and to that end (according to the vniuerſall opinion of *Italy*) he did ſo much by magicke and enchantments, that *John Galeas* for many moneths was made vnable to the action of mariage. *Ferdinand* was not intractable to this mariage; but *Alphonſo* ſo refuſed and reſiſted it, that *Lodowike* making no hope of it, tooke another wife, by whom hauing children, he turned all his ſtudies and thoughts to transferre to them the Duchie of *Millan*. Some ſuppoſe and write, that *Ferdinand* being determined (for the auoiding of the preſent warre) to ſuffer all indignities and incommodities, had an intention, as ſoone as the calmneſſe of the time would ſuffer, to go by ſea to *Genes*, and from thence by land to *Millan*, to ſatisfie *Lodowike* in all his deſires, and to bring againe to *Naples* his Neece, hoping that not onely with effects, but alſo with this publike confeſſion, by the which he acknowledged to hold all his eſtate and well doing by him, he ſhould remoue his mind from the warre, or at leaſt ſomewhat moderate his conſpiring intentions; the rather for that it was ſeene to all men of obſeruation, with what wonderfull ambition and deſire he aſpired to be noted the onely arbitrator and oracle of all *Italy*. *Alphonſo* immediatly after the death of his father, diſpatched foure Embaſſadors to the Pope, who albeit he ſhewed manifeſt ſignes that he was returned to the firſt inclination of amity with the *French*; and had at the ſame time by Bull ſubſigned by the colledge of Cardinals, promiſed at the *French* Kings requeſt, the eſtate of Cardinall to the Biſhop of *S. Malo*, and retained in common with the Duke of *Millan Proſper Colonne*, whom the King afore had taken to his pay, together with other Captaines and leaders of men of warre: yet he made no great difficultie to accord, in regard of the profitable conditions offered by *Alphonſo*, who deſired much to be aſſured of him, and to bind him to his protection and defence. They made theſe open agreements; That there ſhould be betweene them a confederation for the defence of their Eſtates, with equall leuies of men by both: That the Pope ſhould conferre vnto *Alphonſo* the inueſtiture of the kingdome, with diminution of tribute obtained by *Ferdinand* of other Popes for his life onely: That the Pope ſhould ſend a Legat to crowne him: That he ſhould create Cardinall *Lodowike* ſonne of *Henrie*, baſtard brother to *Alphonſo*, who afterwards was called Cardinall of *Aragon*: That King *Alphonſo* ſhould pay immediatly to the Pope thirtie thouſand duckets: That he ſhould endow the Duke of *Candia* with Eſtates within the Realme of twelue thouſand duckets reuenue yearly, together with the firſt of the ſeuen principall offices that ſhould be void: That he ſhould entertaine him ſo long as the Pope liued in his pay with three hundred men at armes, with the which he ſhould be bound to ſerue the one and the other equally and indifferently: That he ſhould giue to *Dom Geffray* (who for the pawne of his fathers faith, was now to go to his father in law) the eſtate of *Pronotorie* and one of the ſeuen offices, ouer and beſides the promiſes of the firſt contract: That he ſhould beſtow the reuenue of benefices in the Realme vpon *Ceſar Borgia* the Popes ſonne, who a litle before was created Cardinall by his father; wherein to auoid impediments of being a baſtard (to whom it hath not bene accuſtomed to grant ſuch dignities) he made proofe by ſuborned teſtimonies, that he was the ſonne lawfull of another. Beſides all this, *Virginio Vrſin* (who by the Kings ſending for, came to this capitulation) promiſed that the King ſhould aid the Pope to recouer the rocke of *Oſtia*, if the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula* refuſed to come to *Rome*: which promiſe King *Alphonſo* affirmed to be made without his cõſent or priuitie, knowing that in ſo dangerous ſeaſons, it would bring no litle preiudice to him to be deprined of the Cardinal, whoſe authoritie was not ſmall in the towne of *Genes*, which he determined to ſurpriſe by the ſetting on of the Cardinall. And becauſe amidſt ſo great troubles and emotions, there might perhaps be treaties of Councels, or other matters preiudiciall to the ſea Apoſtolik, he did what he could to vnite him with the Pope, who not ſatisfied with any condition, if the Cardinall returned not to *Rome*; and the Cardinall being moſt obſtinate to hazard his life vnder the faith of thoſe *Catilines*, as he termed them, the diligence of *Alphonſo* was in vaine, and his deſire of no effect: for after the Cardinall with many diſſembled and flouriſhing ſhewes, had giuen almoſt aſſured hope to accept the conditions, he ſtole away by night from *Oſtia* in a brigantine well appointed, and at a time when was leaſt reaſon to doubt any ſuch euaſion, leauing

Confederation betweene the Pope and Alphonſo king of Naples.

uing the rocke armed with ſufficient garriſon; and repoſing certaine dayes at *Saone*, and ſpending ſome litle time at *Auignion*, (of which citie he was Legat) he went laſtly to *Lyons*, where King *Charles* was come a litle before, to prepare with better oportunitie and reputation the prouiſions of the warre which he publiſhed he would execute in perſon: he was receiued of the King with great ioy and honor, and immediatly ioyned himſelfe to thoſe that ſtudied to trouble *Italy*.

In this meane while *Alphonſo*, more by feare then proper inclination, forgot not to continue with *Lodowike Sforce* that which had bene begun by his father, offering him the ſame ſatisfactions. But *Lodowike*, to whom nothing was more familiar then to diſſemble, deuiſed to entertaine him with diuers hopes, but with demonſtrations that he was conſtrained to proceed in ſuch exact order and conſideration, leſt the warre determined againſt others, tooke not his beginning againſt him. He left not for all this to ſolicite and vrge the preparations in *France*; wherein to expreſſe the deuotion of his mind with better effect, and to reſolue all particularities occurrent in that expedition; and laſtly, leſt the execution of all things determined ſhould ſuffer ſuſpence or haue ſlow action, he ſent thither (colouring it with a brute of the Kings pleaſure) *Galeaz* of *S. Seuerin*, husband to one of his baſtard daughters, and in whom he repoſed great confidence and truſt. According to the counſels of *Lodowike*, King *Charles* ſends to the Pope foure Embaſſadors, with charge that in paſſing by *Florence*, they ſhould make inſtance for the declaration of that Commonweale. The Embaſſadors were *Eberar d'Aubignie* a Scottiſh Captaine of nation, the Generall of *France*, the Preſident of the Parliament of *Prouence*, and the ſame *Peron la Bache* that had bene with them the yeare before. They according to their inſtructions (ſet downe chiefly at *Millan*) recounted in both the one and other places, the rights which the *French* king (as ſucceſſor to the houſe of *Anion*, and for want of iſſue in *Charles* the firſt) pretended to the Realme of *Naples*, together with his royall determination to paſſe that yeare into *Italy* in perſon, not to intrude into any thing that belonged to another, but to reobtaine that which iuſtly was his owne: And to giue his voyage a more plauſible paſſage in the minds of men, they ſaid, his mind and meanings were not ſo much fixed vpon the conqueſt of *Naples*, as that afterwards he would turne his forces againſt the *Turks*, for the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, and glory of his name. They declared to the *Florentines*, how much their King aſſured himſelfe of that Citie, hauing bene reedified by *Charlemaine*, and fauoured alwaies of the Kings his predeceſſors, and lately of King *Lewis* his father, in the warres vniuſtly managed againſt them by Pope *Sixtus*, by *Ferdinand* laſt dead, and *Alphonſo* now raigning. They willed them to looke into the great profits coming to their nation by traffike and entercourſe in the realme of *France*, where they were fauoured with familiaritie and offices, as if they were naturall of the region it ſelfe. And with that example they might hope to haue in the kingdome of *Naples* (if he became Lord of it) the ſelfe ſame libertie of trade, ſuretie and benefit; where, of them of *Aragon* they neuer receiued other things, then damage, dangers and diſpleaſures. They recommended to their good counſels the conſiderations of theſe things, and to proteſt by ſome token, that they would ioyne with him in this enterpriſe. But if they were reſtrained by ſome iuſt impediment, reaſon or excuſe, at leaſt that they would grant libertie of paſſage to his army through their territories, and refreſhing, and victuals for his money. They debated theſe things with the Commonweale and generall State; but they recommended particularly to *Peter de Medicis* the reſpect of many good turnes and honours done by *Lewis* the xj. to his father and anceſtors; how he in very iealous and dangerous ſeaſons, had made many demonſtrations for the preſeruation of their greatneſſe, and in ſigne of amitie, had honored them with the Scutchions and Armes proper to the houſe of *France*: where, *Ferdinand* not ſatisfied to perſecute them with open and violent warres, did alſo with a mind ſworne to their ruine, take part with the ciuill conſpiracies, wherein *Iulian* his vnkle was killed, and *Laurence* his father ſore hurt. The Embaſſadors went out of *Florence* without reſolution, and being at *Rome*, they preferred to the Popes remembrance the ancient merits and perpetuall deuotion of the Crowne of *France* to the Sea Apoſtolike, whereof were authentike teſtimonies, all records both ancient and preſent; and of the contrary, they inſinuated the ordinary contumacie and diſobedience of them of *Aragon*, and referred the proofe to the view and conſtruction of their actions paſt. Then they demanded, that the Realme of *Naples* might be inueſted in the perſon of their King, as iuſtly appertaining to him. They allured him with many hopes, and made many offers, ſo that he would be fauourable to the enterpriſe which their King had taken vpon him, as much by his perſwaſions and authoritie,

The French king ſendeth Embaſſadors to the Pope, Florentines and Venites

as for other occaſions. To this demand, the Pope anſwered, that the inueſtiture of that Realme hauing bene granted by ſo many his predeceſſors to three Kings of the houſe of *Aragon* ſucceſſiuely, (for in the inueſtiture granted to *Ferdinand*, *Alphonſo* was comprehended by name) it was not conuenient to giue it to King *Charles*, afore it was declared by forme of iuſtice, that he had good right, whereunto the inueſtiture granted to *Alphonſo* was not preiudiciall, for that for ſuch conſideration it contained expreſſe mention, that it was meant without the preiudice of any perſon: he told them that the Realme of *Naples* did directly belong to the ſea Apoſtolike, whoſe authoritie he knew was farre from the Kings will to violate, and no leſſe contrary to the intentions of his anceſtors, who had bene alwayes the principall defenders of the ſame. But if he ſhould do any violent action vpon *Naples*, it could not be without manifeſt intruſion and tranſgreſſion of the holy Sea, and bring diſhonor to the reputation and merits of his elders: it would better become his dignitie and vertues to ſeeke to iuſtifie his pretence of right by courſe of iuſtice and moderate equitie, wherein as Lord, Patron, and onely Iudge of ſuch a cauſe, he offered himſelfe ready to adminiſter to him: And that a Chriſtian King ought not to demand more of a Pope, whoſe office was to reſtraine and forbid, and not to entertaine and nouriſh warres betweene Chriſtian Princes. And though he ſhould ſo farre incline to the Kings will, yet he ſhewed many difficulties and dangers, both by the neighbourhood of *Alphonſo* and the *Florentines*, whoſe vnitie all *Tuskane* followed; and alſo for the conſanguinitie and alliance of ſo many Barons holding of the King of *Naples*, whoſe Eſtates ſtretched euen to the gates of *Rome*. Notwithſtanding all this, he enforced himſelfe not to cut off their hope altogether, albeit he bare priuatly this ſetled reſolution, not to depart from the confederation made with *Alphonſo*. At *Florence* the inclination was great and generall to the houſe of *France*, for the liberall Mart and traffike which that State had with the *French*: for an old opinion (but vntrue) that *Charlemaine* was the reedifier of their citie deſtroyed by *Totila* King of the *Gothes*; for the ancient coniunction and amitie which their anceſtors the *Guelffes* haue had long time with *Charles*
1478. the firſt, king of *Naples*, and with many of his line, protectors of the faction of *Guelffes* in *Italy*: And laſtly, for the memory of the warres, which the old *Alphonſo*, and after him *Ferdinand* in the perſon of his ſonne, had raiſed againſt that Citie. By the reaſon, recordation and memory of theſe things, the commonaltie and multitude cried to conſent to free conduct and paſſage, deſiring no leſſe the beſt authorized and wiſe citizens in that Commonweale, to whom it ſeemed a great partialitie and ouerſight to pull vpon the countrey of *Florence* (for the controuerſies of another) ſo preſent and dangerous a warre: they held it no policie to oppoſe themſelues againſt ſo mightie an army, managed in the perſon of a king of *France*, deſcending into *Italy* with the fauour of the State of *Millan*, and no reſiſtance of the gouernment of *Venice*, though they publiſh no manifeſt conſent. This counſell they confirmed with the authoritie of *Coſmo de Medicis* (eſteemed in his time one of the wiſeſt in *Italy*) who in the warres betweene *Iohn* of *Anion* and *Ferdinand*, gaue alwaies this counſell, that the citie of *Florence* ſhould not obiect it ſelfe againſt *Iohn*, notwithſtanding the Pope and Duke of *Millan* were ioyned with *Ferdinand*. They remembred withall the example of *Laurence* father to *Peter*, who was of the ſame aduice vpon euery brute of the returne of them of *Anion*: yea ſo much was he amazed with the power of the *French*, ſince the ſame King obtained *Britaine*, that he would oftentimes ſay, that great troubles were prepared for all *Italians*, if the King of *France* knew his owne ſtrength. But *Peter de Medicis*, who meaſured things more by will then by wiſedome, abuſed himſelfe too much with his owne opinion, beleeuing that theſe emotions would rather reſolue into brutes, then into effects: wherein being gouerned by ſome his ſpeciall fauorites, corrupted perhaps with the preſents of *Alphonſo*, determined reſolutely to continue in amitie with the *Aragons*; whereunto in the end, all the reſidue of the Citizens muſt condeſcend, by reaſon of his greatneſſe. Ambition
" is an vnquiet humour in man. It may be that *Peter* not content with the authoritie which his father had got in the Commonweale (and yet ſuch, by his diſpoſing, that though Magiſtrates were created, yet they determined no matters of importance without his aduice) aſpired to a power more abſolute, euen to the title of Prince: he did not debate with diſcretion the conditions of that Citie, who at that time being populous in multitudes, and mightie in riches, and nouriſhed by many ages with an apparence of a Commonweale, the principall citizens being accuſtomed to participate in the gouernment, rather in forme of companions then ſubiects, would hardly endure ſo great and ſudden mutation: and therefore *Peter* knowing that to the

holding

holding vp of his ambition, muſt be ioyned foundations extraordinary: and the better to haue a mightie pillar to ſupport his new principalitie, he reſtrained himſelfe immoderatly to the *Aragons*, determining in their courſe to communicate with their fortunes. This perhaps was furthered by this accident; not many dayes before the Embaſſadors of the *French* arriued at *Florence*, there came to light certaine practiſes, which *Laurence* and *Iohn de Medicis*, yong men, rich, and neare in bloud to *Peter*, and lately become his enemies vpon certaine light occaſions of youth, conſpired with *Lodowike Sforce*, and by him with the *French* King, directly againſt the greatneſſe of *Peter*: but being arreſted by the Magiſtrates, they were with light puniſhment returned to their houſes in the countrey, for that the temperance of the Magiſtrates preuailing with *Peter* not without ſome difficulties, induced him not to ſuffer the lawes to execute any extreme action vpon his kindred and bloud: but receiuing warning by this accident, that *Lodowike Sforce* thirſted after his ruine, he eſteemed it ſo much the more needfull to remaine ſtill in his firſt purpoſe. At laſt the Embaſſadors were anſwered, but much to their diſcontentment, and more contrary to their deſire: in place of the concluſion they hoped for, they were told with words reuerent and reſpectiue, with what naturall deuotion the people of *Florence* honored the houſe of *France*, together with their common deſire to ſatisfie ſo great a King: on the other ſide, they made declaration of their impediments, as that there could be nothing more vnworthy of Princes and Commonweales, then not to keepe faith promiſed; which vnleſſe they ſhould apparently defile and breake, they could not now ſatisfie his demands, and content the time together: They ſaid, as yet was not ended the confederation which by the authoritie of King *Lewis* his father was made with *Ferdinand*, with couenant, that after his death it ſhould ſtretch to *Alphonſo*; wherein they were bound by ſpeciall condition, not onely to defend the Realme of *Naples*, but alſo to giue no paſſage through their countries to any that went about to inuade it: Laſtly, that it brought no ſmall griefe to them, that there was ſuch difference betweene their deſires and wils; and that they had no power to make other reſolutions, then ſuch as muſt either make the King diſpleaſed, or bring great preiudice to their whole Eſtate; onely they hoped that the King being wiſe and iuſt, would interprete them according to their good wils, and referre to thoſe reaſonable impediments that which they could not promiſe.

The Florentines anſwer the French Embaſſadors.

The King made angry with this anſwer, commanded immediatly the Embaſſadors of *Florence* to depart out of *France*; and following the counſell of *Lodowike Sforce*, he baniſhed out of *Lyons*, not the generall merchants, but onely the factors and bankers of *Peter de Medicis*, to the end that they might iudge at *Florence*, that he acknowledged this iniury particularly vpon *Peter*, and not vpon the body of the State.

The French king angrie with the Florentines anſwer.

The other Potentates of *Italy* being diuided amongſt themſelues, ſome bearing fauour to the *French*, and ſome fearing calamities and extreme fortunes, the *Venetians* onely determined to remaine newters, and with an idle eye to behold the iſſue of all things; perhaps they were not much troubled that *Italy* ſhould fall into garboile, hoping that the long warres of others would giue them oportunitie to enlarge their Eſtate; or perhaps the opinion of their greatneſſe would not ſuffer them to be doubtfull of perils: and therefore not fearing that the victors could haue any fortune ouer them, they iudged it a folly to make proper to them the warres of others, hauing no apparent neceſſitie. And yet *Ferdinand* ceaſſed not to ſolicite them continually; and the *French* king the yeare before, and euen then had ſent to them Embaſſadors, who forgat not to declare, that betweene the houſe of *France* and that Commonweale, was alwayes amitie and good will, and as occaſion offered, mutuall effects and offices expreſſed. The which diſpoſition, the King ſeeking to augment and ratifie, he deſired of that wiſe Senate counſell and fauour in this enterpriſe. Whereunto they anſwered with this moderation and breuitie; That the King for himſelfe was ſo wiſe and foreſeeing, and enuironed with a Councell ſo graue and ripe, that it could not be without too much preſuming to ioyne to him their opinions and counſels: They would be alwayes glad of his proſperities and good fortunes, for the obſeruances which they had alwayes borne to the Crowne of *France*: They were not a little grieued that they could not accompany the readineſſe of their minds with thoſe effects they deſired, for that by the ſuſpition wherein the *Turke* kept them continually, wanting neither deſire nor oportunitie to vexe them, neceſſitie compelled them to keepe alwayes with great charges many Iles and coaſt townes fronting vpon him; the ſame being the cauſe that they could not make themſelues parties to the warre of another. But the preparations which were made on all ſides, as well by land

The French king prayeth amitie of the Venetians.

The anſwer of the Venetians.

land as by ſea, were of farre greater importance, then either the orations of the Embaſſadors, or the anſwers made to them: for king *Charles* had ſent *Peter d'Vrſe*, his great Eſquire, to *Genes* (ouer which Citie the Duke of *Millan* commanded by the aide of the faction of *Adorne* and of *Iohn Lewis de fieſco*) to rig vp a mightie army of ſhips and gallies, cauſing alſo to be armed other veſſels in the ports of *Ville Franche* and *Marſelles*. This was the cauſe of the brute in his Court, that he determined to enter the kingdome of *Naples* by ſea, as had done afore time *Iohn* ſon of *Rene* againſt *Ferdinand*. In *France* albeit many beleeued, that what for the youth of the king, and the baſe condition and ſlender conduct of ſuch as ſtirred him to this expedition, together with the want and neceſſitie of money, theſe preparations in them would diſſolue and vaniſh into ſmoke: yet to ſatisfie the deſire of the King, who by the aduice of his fauourites had newly taken vpon him the title of King of *Ieruſalem* and both *Sicilies*, (then the title of the Kings of *Naples*) there was generall and diligent order giuen on all parts for the prouiſions of the warre; as making of muſters, gathering of money, remouing of men, with other induſtries due to ſuch expeditions: and no counſell had but with *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, who held incloſed in his mind all the ſecrets and purpoſes of *Lodowike Sforce*. On the other ſide, *Alphonſo*, in whom had wanted no policie or diligence to fortifie himſelfe by ſea and by land, (iudging now there was no more time to ſuffer himſelfe to be mocked with the hopes of *Lodowike Sforce*, and that it ſerued better for him to amaze and vexe him, then to trauell to aſſure or appeaſe him) commanded the Embaſſador of *Millan* to retire out of *Naples*, and reuoked his that was reſident at *Millan*: he ſequeſtred alſo, and tooke into his poſſeſſion the reuenues of the Duchie of *Barie*, which *Lodowike* had enioyed many yeares by the gift of *Ferdinand*. And not content with theſe things, which were rather demonſtrations of open hatred then of wrongs or offences, he diſpoſed al his wits to turne from the Duke of *Millan* the citie of *Genes*, a matter of right great importance for the preſent affaires, for that by the reuolt and change of that Citie, would happen many meanes to trouble *Lodowike* in his gouernment of *Millan*, and from the *French* King ſhould be taken away all oportunities to moleſt the realme of *Naples* by ſea. Therefore hauing made ſecret pact with Cardinall *Paul Fregoſe*, afore times Duke of *Genes*, and ſtill followed with many of the ſame family; and with *Obietto de Fieſco*, two principall men both for the towne and ſea, together with ſome particulars of the *Adorneys*, all baniſhed out of *Genes* for diuers occaſions: he determined to aſſay with a ſtrong armie at ſea, to ſet them all in the towne againe (following that he was wont to ſay, that warres are ouercome either in preuenting the enemie, or diuerting him:) he determined in like ſort to go himſelfe into *Romagnia* with a mightie army, and to make ſudden inuaſion vpon the lands of *Parma*; where publiſhing the name of *Iohn Galeas*, and diſplaying his banners, he hoped that the people of the Duchie of *Millan* would riſe againſt *Lodowike*. And be it that in this were found many difficulties, yet he iudged it profitable that the warre ſhould begin farre from his Realme: he eſteemed it alſo to be of great importance for the ſubſtance of the warre, that the *French* men ſhould be ſurpriſed with the Winter in *Lombardie*; wherein hauing great experience in the warres of *Italy*, (whoſe armies attending the riping of graſſe and forrage for the feeding of horſes, were not wont to take the field afore the end of Aprill:) he iudged that to eſchue the ſharpneſſe of Winter, they would be conſtrained to ſtay in a countrey of their friends till Spring time: in which intermiſſion and reſpite of time, he hoped that ſome occaſion for his benefite might happen. Beſides, he ſent Embaſſadours to *Conſtantinople*, to demand ſuccours, as in a common danger, of *Baiazet Ottoman* Prince of the *Turks*, for that it was reſolued in the *French* kings intention to paſſe into *Greece* after he had won *Naples*: which danger he knew well the *Turke* would not deſpiſe, for that by the memory of the warres made in times paſt againſt the Infidels in *Aſia* by the *French* Nation, the feare which the *Turks* had of their armes was not a litle.

Whileſt theſe things were thus ſolicited on all parts, the Pope ſent his men to *Oſtia*, vnder the gouernment of *Nicholas Vrſin* Count of *Petillane*, to whom *Alphonſo* ſent ſtrength and ſuccours both by ſea and land: he tooke the towne without difficultie, and then began to batter the Caſtle, (which by the meanes of *Fabrice Colonne*, and conſent of *Iohn de la Rouere* Prefect of *Rome*, and brother to Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula*) was eaſily rendered to him by the caſtle-keeper, with this condition, that the Pope neither with cenſures of the Church, nor temporall armes, ſhould purſue the Cardinall nor the Prefect, if they gaue him no new occaſions: and it was ſuffered to *Fabrice*, in whoſe hands the Cardinall had left *Grotta Ferrata*, to continue the

poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the ſame with the ſonde rights, paying to the Pope ten thouſand duckats. But *Lodowike Sforce* (to whom the Cardinall when he paſſed by *Sauona*, had made knowne that which *Alphonſo* by his meanes and counſels negociated ſecretly with the exiles of *Genes*) declared to King *Charles* what a great impediment that would giue to his enterpriſe, and therefore induced him to ſend to *Genes* two thouſand *Swiſſers*, and diſpatch into *Italy* with ſpeed three hundred lances, to be ready vnder the gouernment of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, (who returning from *Rome*, ſtayed by the Kings commandement at *Millan*) both to aſſure *Lombardie*, and to paſſe further according to occaſions and neceſſities. To theſe ſhould be ioyned fiue hundred men at armes, *Italians*, entertained at that time in the Kings pay vnder *John Francis de S. Severin* Count of *Caiazze*, *Galeot Pico* Count of *Myrandola*, and *Radolph* of *Gonſague*, together with fiue hundred which the Duke of *Millan* was bound to furniſh: who not leauing his old ſhifts and ſubtilties, continued to confirme in the Pope and *Peter de Medicis* his inclination to the peace and ſuretie of *Italy*, nouriſhing them with varietie of hopes, which were not without their apparent demonſtrations.

It cannot almoſt be, but that which men make great ſuretie of, ingendreth ſome doubt, euen in the minds of ſuch as haue determined to beleeue the contrary. For albeit there was no great faith giuen to the promiſes of *Lodowike*, yet it happened not for all that, that their determined enterpriſes ſuffered in any ſort ſlow ſucceſſe of proceedings; and the Pope and *Peter de Medicis* could haue bene well content that the enterpriſe had bene proued to ſurpriſe *Genes*. But becauſe in the action they ſhould directly offend the Eſtate of *Millan*, the Pope (*Alphonſo* requiring his gallies, and to ioyne his men with him in *Romagnia*) conſented to the ſeruice of his men for the common defence in *Romagnia*, but not to paſſe further. And touching the gallies, he made difficultie, ſaying, it was not yet time to put *Lodowike* ſo much in deſpaire. The *Florentines* being required to receiue *Alphonſoes* armie by ſea in the port of *Liuorne*, and to refreſh them, remained in ſuſpence vpon the matter; for that making excuſes to the demands of the *French* King, and being acquited vnder the pretence of the confederation paſſed with *Ferdinand*, they were very vnwillingly diſpoſed to do more without neceſſitie, then they were bound vnto by that confederation.

The king of Naples ſendeth out his forces.

But matters being now not able to ſuffer any longer delay, *Alphonſoes* army by ſea departed at laſt from *Naples* vnder the charge of the Admirall *Dom Federike*: and *Alphonſo* in perſon aſſembled his army in *Abruzze* to paſſe into *Romagnia*: but afore any further action was done, he thought it neceſſary to communicate with the Pope, who had the ſame deſire, the better to eſtabliſh all things that were to be done for their common ſafetie.

The Pope and *Alphonſo* met together the thirteenth of Iuly at *Vicouare*, a place appertaining to *Virginio Vrſin*; where after they had ſpent three dayes, they returned well agreed. In this meeting and conſultation, it was determined by the counſell of the Pope, that the perſon of the King of *Naples* ſhould paſſe no further. His army contained litle leſſe then a hundred ſquadrons of men at armes, accounting twentie men to a ſquadron; and very neare three thouſand croſſebow ſhot and light horſemen. Of this army it was agreed, that one part ſhould ſtay with him vpon the frontiers of *Abruzze*, for his ſafetie and ſuretie of the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike; and that *Virginio* ſhould remaine in the towne of *Rome*, to make head againſt the *Colonnoys*: for dread of whom alſo it was agreed, that two hundred of the men at armes of the Pope, and a part of the light horſemen of the King, ſhould not ſtirre out of *Rome*: That the expedition into *Romagnia*, ſhould be performed in the perſon of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, (that was the title of the eldeſt ſonne to the King of *Naples*) a yong Prince of great hope, leading with him lxx. ſquadrons with the reſidue of the light horſmen, and moſt part of the Popes companies, ſuch as he erected for defence. There were ioyned with him (as moderators of his youth) *John Iaques Triuulce* gouernour of the ſouldiers of the King of *Naples*, and the Count *Petillane*, who from the Popes pay was become mercenary to the King of *Naples*, both Captaines of great experience and reputation: and ſeeing they meant to leade an armie into *Lombardie*, it was thought good that it ſhould paſſe in the perſon of *Ferdinand*, for the ſocietie of bloud and double kindred which he had with *John Galeas* husband to *Iſabel* his ſiſter, and ſonne of *John Galeas* brother to *Hippolita*, who was mother to *Ferdinand*. But touching the actions of this parley betweene the Pope and *Alphonſo*, that of moſt importance was concerning the *Colonnois*; for that it was diſcerned by manifeſt ſignes that they aſpired to new intelligences, ſeeing that *Proſper* and *Fabri-*

cius hauing ſerued in the pay of the late king of *Naples*, and by him recompenced with eſtates and honorable places: *Proſper* (the King being dead) after many promiſes made to *Alphonſo* to reenter into his pay, was by the working of Cardinall *Aſcanius*, entred into the common pay of the *French* King and the Duke of *Millan*, refuſing afterwards to take the Popes pay, being much ſolicited: and *Fabricius* who had continued in the ſeruice of *Alphonſo*, hauing regard to the diſdaine of the Pope and the King of *Naples* againſt *Proſper*; made difficultie to go with the Duke of *Calabria* into *Romagnia*, if firſt by ſome conuenient meanes were not reeſtabliſhed and aſſured the affaires of *Proſper* and all the family of *Colonne*. This was the colour of their difficulties: but ſecretly they both were become mercenary to the *French* King, partly drawne by the great amitie they had with Cardinall *Aſcanius*, who forſaking *Rome* a few dayes after for ſuſpition of the Pope, was retired to their lands; and partly for hope of larger payes; but much more moued with diſpleaſure, that *Virginio Vrſin* chiefe of the contrary faction, bare greateſt rule with *Alphonſo*, and participated more then they in his proſperities. But to keepe this thing concealed vntill they might with ſuretie declare themſelues his ſouldiers, they treated continually with the Pope and *Alphonſo*, by whom was made great inſtance, that *Proſper* taking pay of them, would leaue the wages of the Duke of *Millan*, for that otherwiſe they could not be aſſured of him. The *Colonnois* made ſhew of deſire to accord with them, but to the end to determine nothing, they moued one time one difficultie, and ſometimes another, vpon the conditions that were offered.

In the Italian and French copies, it is read, of the Pope and the Duke of Millan.

In that practiſe there was diuerſitie of wils betweene *Alexander* and *Alphonſo*; for that *Alexander* deſiring to deſpoile them of the places they held about *Rome*, cheriſhed the occaſion to aſſaile them: and *Alphonſo* who had no other intention then to aſſure them, was not inclined to the warre but for a laſt remedy; but he durſt not oppoſe againſt the couetouſneſſe of the Pope. At laſt they determined to conſtraine them by armes, and appointed forces and orders how it ſhould be done, aſſaying notwithſtanding afore, if within few dayes their controuerſies might be accorded.

The beginning of the warre.

The king of Naples ſendeth out an army to take the citie of Genes.

Theſe things, with many others, were debated on all parts, mens wits wandring, and their mindes vnreſolute; their feares generall, but their hopes full of ſuſpitions and vncertainties; in their wils no conſent or vnitie, and all their coniectures and iudgements full of errour; no, none that could moderate their expectation, and much leſſe iudge what would be the end of thoſe tragicall preparations: but at the laſt the warre of *Italy* tooke beginning by the going of *Don Federike* to the enterpriſe of *Genes*, leading an army no doubt of greater proportion and better prouiſion then had beneſeene of a long time before to paſſe ouer the ſea of *Tyrrhennum*: for it contained fiue and thirtie light gallies, eighteene ſhips, with many other leſſer veſſels, a great quantity of artillery, and three thouſand footmen to put on land. By reaſon of which great preparation, and for that the exiles went with them, the army departed out of *Naples* with great hope of the victory: but their lingring and ſlow departing (cauſed by thoſe difficulties which commonly follow great enterpriſes, and partly abuſed by the cunning hopes which *Lodowike* gaue them, and partly for that they ſtayed in the ports of *Sienna* to leuie to the number of fiue thouſand footmen) made hard and dangerous that, which being aſſayed one moneth afore, would haue bene eaſie and without perill. For, the enemies (by their ſlow proceedings) had leiſure to dreſſe a ſtrong prouiſion, putting within *Genes* the Bailiffe of *Dion* with two thouſand *Swiſſers* leuied and paid by the *French*, and already ordered and rigged a great part of the ſhips and gallies which were armed in that port, and one part of the veſſels furniſhed at *Marſeilles*, being there arriued alſo. Beſides, *Lodowike* for his part ſpared for no expences, but diſpatched thither *Gaſper de S. Seuerin*, called *Fracaſſe*, and *Anthonie Maria* his brother, with many footmen: and (becauſe he would compound his ſtrength no leſſe vpon the good wils of them of *Genes* then of forraine forces) he confirmed with gifts, penſions, and promiſes of many recompences the courage and intention of *John Lewis de Fieſque* brother to *Obietto*, the *Adornes*, and many other gentlemen and populars, much importing to keepe that Citie in his deuotion: he had alſo called to *Millan* many factions of the baniſhed men, as well of the towne as riuers of *Genes*. To theſe prouiſions, mightie enough of themſelues, did giue great reputation and ſuretie the perſon and preſence of *Lewis* Duke of *Orleance*, who about the ſame time that the *Aragons* fleete was diſcouered in the ſea of *Genes*, entred that Citie by commiſſion of the *French* king, hauing firſt communicated in *Alexandria* vpon the common affaires with *Lodowike Sforce*, who (as the doings of mortall men are full of thicke darkneſſe) had receiued him with great

Lewis Duke of Orleans entreth Genes, and preſerues it.

gladneſſe

gladneſſe and honour, but as a companion, not knowing how ſoone his whole eſtate and life would fall into his power.

Theſe accidents were the cauſes why the *Aragons* (determined before to preſent their fleete afore the port of *Genes*, vnder hope that the parties and confederates with the exiles would draw into ſome inſurrection) changing now counſell with the occaſion, reſolued to aſſaile the riuer: and after ſome diuerſitie of opinions, whether in the riuer of *Leuant* or the Weſt were beſt to begin, the aduice of *Obietto* preuailed, who promiſing himſelfe much vpon them of the waters of *Leuant*, they addreſſed themſelues to the towne of *Portouenere*, to the which they gaue aſſault for many houres in vaine; for that it was refurniſhed from *Genes* with foure hundred footmen, and the courages of the inhabitans well reſolued and confirmed by *Iohn Lewis de Fieſque* lately come thither: ſo that being out of hope to carry the towne by aſſault, they retired to the port of *Liuorne*, to re-victuall their ſhips, and refurniſh their companies of footmen: for, when they vnderſtood that the townes and peeces vpon the riuer were in good condition of defence and prouiſion, they iudged that to that action was neceſſary a greater ſupply of force. At *Liuorne*, *Federike* (being aduertiſed that the *French* army inferiour to his in gallies, but mightier in ſhips, was in preparation to fall out of the port of *Genes*) ſent backe againe to *Naples* his ſhips, to be able with more readineſſe by the ſwiftneſſe of his gallies to keepe aloofe from the enemy, if with their ſhips and gallies together they ſhould ſet on him, hoping notwithſtanding to vanquiſh them if their gallies were ſeparated from their ſhips, either by aduenture, or by will.

The Duke of Calabria marcheth towards Romagnia.

At the ſame time the Duke of *Calabria* marched towards *Romagnia* with the armie by land, with intention to paſſe afterwards into *Lombardie*, according to the firſt reſolutions. But to haue his paſſage more free and eaſie, and to leaue no impediments or perils behind his back, it was needfull to ioyne to him the ſtate of *Bolognia*, and the cities of *Imola* and *Furly*: for *Ceſena* a citie immediatly ſubiect to the Pope, and the citie of *Faenſa*, belonging to *Aſtor de Manfreddi* a yong gentleman, penſionary and gouerned vnder the protection of the *Florentines*, were to giue willingly all commodities to the *Aragons* army. *Octauian* ſonne to *Ieronimo de Riare*, was Lord of *Furly* and *Imola*, with a title of Vicar of the Church, but in minoritie, and vnder gouernment of *Katherine Sforce* his mother, with whom many moneths before, the Pope and *Alphonſo* had practiſed to entertaine *Octauian* in their common pay, with condition to defend his Eſtates: but the matter remained vnperfect, partly by the difficulties ſhe alleaged, to the end to get better conditions; and partly for that the *Florentines* dwelling ſtill in their former purpoſe not to exceed the bonds they had with *Alphonſo* to the preiudice of the *French* King, could not be reſolued to be concurrent in this practiſe, to the which their conſent was neceſſary, becauſe the Pope and the King would not alone ſuſtaine the charge; but much more for that *Katherine* would not put in danger that Citie, vnleſſe with the others, the *Florentines* would be bound to the gard and defence of the Eſtates of her ſonne. Theſe difficulties were taken away by the meeting and ſpeaking together, which *Ferdinand* (drawing his army by the way of *Marrechia* into *Romagnia*) had with *Peter de Medicis* in the village of *S. Sepulcher*, where he offered him in the name of his father King *Alphonſo*, franke power to diſpoſe of him and his army in all the ſeruices which he had intentiõ to execute for the affaires of *Florence*, *Sienna* and *Faenſa*: theſe offers giuing a new life to the ancient courage of *Peter*, as ſoone as he was returned to *Florence*, he ordained (notwithſtanding the diſſwaſions of the wiſeſt Citizens) that the accord ſhould be ſubſigned, for that *Ferdinand* had inſtantly deſired him. This being diſpatched at the common charges of the Pope, *Alphonſo* and the *Florentines*, not many dayes after, they had the Citie of *Bolognia* at their deuotion, entertaining *Iohn Bentiuole* (vnder whoſe authoritie and direction the Citie was gouerned) in the ſame maner the Pope promiſed, hauing withall the faith of King *Alphonſo* and *Peter de Medicis*, to create Cardinall *Anthonie Galeas* his ſonne, then Pronotory Apoſtolike.

Theſe things gaue to the army of *Ferdinand* a great reputation, which yet had bene more great, if with thoſe ſucceſſes he had ſooner entred into *Romagnia*: but by his ſlow ſpeed to march out of the kingdome, and the diligent care and watching of *Lodowike Sforce*, *Ferdinand* was no ſooner arriued at *Ceſena*, then *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, and the Count *Caiazze*, gouernour ouer the companies of *Sforce*, together with a great part of the army appointed to make head againſt the *Aragons*, being paſſed without let by *Bolognia*, entred the conntrey of *Imola*; by

meanes whereof *Ferdinand* hauing loſt his firſt hopes to paſſe into *Lombardie*, was compelled to ſettle the warre in *Romagnia*, where (other Cities following the partie of the *Aragons*) *Rauenna* and *Cerua*, cities of the *Venetian* iuriſdiction, bare fauour to neither ſide. This litle countrey ſtretching along the riuer of *Paw*, and in the poſſeſſion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſpared no one commoditie to the companies of the *French* and *Sforce*. Touching *Peter de Medicis*, neither the difficulties hapning in the enterpriſe of *Genes*, nor the impediments occurring in *Romagnia*, could bridle his raſhneſſe: for, being bound by a ſecret agreement without the knowledge of the Commonweale, made with the Pope and *Alphonſo*, to oppoſe himſelfe openly againſt the *French* King; he had not onely conſented, that the *Neapolitan* anny at ſea ſhould be receiued and refreſhed in the hauen of *Liuorne*, with power to leuie footmen through the whole territory of *Florence*, but alſo reſtraining his raſhneſſe to no limite, he ſo wrought, that *Annibal Bentiuole*, ſonne of *John*, mercenary to the *Florentines*, went with his charge, and the companies of *Aſtor de Manfreddi*, and ioyned with the campe of *Ferdinand*, as ſoone as he entred into the countrey of *Furly*; and ſent beſides to the ſaid *Bentiuole* a thouſand footmen with artilleries. Such a like diſpoſition was alwayes diſcerned in the Pope, who, beſides the prouiſions of warre, not contented to haue exhorted King *Charles* by writing the yeare before, not to paſſe into *Italy*, but to proceed by way of iuſtice and not armes, reenioyned him eftſoones by another Briefe, the ſelfe ſame things, vpon paine of the Church-cenſure: and by the Biſhop of *Calagorre* his Nuncio at *Venice*, (whither for the ſame effect were gone the Embaſſadors of *Alphonſo*, and they of *Florence*, who notwithſtanding made not ſuch open demands) he perſwaded much that Senate, that for the common benefit of *Italy* they would proteſt publike reſiſtance againſt the *French* purpoſes, or at leaſt to giue *Lodowike* roundly to vnderſtand that he was much diſcontented with this innouation. But the Senate anſwered by the Duke, that it was farre from the office of a wiſe Prince, to pull the warre vpon his owne houſe, and take it from another, nor to conſent to do (either by demonſtration or effect) any thing that may diſpleaſe either of the parties: And becauſe the King of *Spaine* (ſolicited inſtantly by the Pope and *Alphonſo*) promiſed (for the ſuccours of *Naples*) to ſend into *Sicile* an army by ſea well furniſhed, and at laſt made excuſe, that it could not be ſo ſoone ready for want of money; the Pope gaue conſent (beſides a certaine portion which *Alphonſo* ſent him) and power, that he might conuert into that vſe, the moneys gathered in *Spaine* by the Apoſtolike authoritie, vnder colour of the *Croyſade*, which ought not to be employed againſt others then the enemies of the Chriſtian faith. *Alphonſo* alſo, beſides thoſe which he had already ſent to the great Turke, diſpatched of new *Camillo Pandon*, with whom was ſent ſecretly by the Pope *George Bucciardo* a *Genoway*, whoſe ſeruice Pope *Innocent* had vſed there afore; who being receiued with great honor of *Baiazet*, and diſpatched with no leſſe expedition, brought home large promiſes of ſuccours: which although confirmed a litle after by an Embaſſador ſent by the Turke to *Naples*, yet either for the diſtance of places, or for the diſtruſt he had of the Chriſtians, thoſe promiſes brought no effect. In this time, *Alphonſo* and *Peter de Medicis* ſeeing their armies ſucceeded not happily by land nor ſea, they laboured to beguile *Lodowike Sforce*, vſing his owne crafts and cunnings; but their induſtrie brought forth no better iſſue then their forces. It was the opinion of many, that *Lodowike*, for the conſideration of his proper danger, was not content that the *French* King ſhould conquer *Naples*; but his plot was, that as ſoone as he was made Duke of *Millan*, and that the *French* army had paſſed into *Tuſcan*, to worke ſome accord, by the which *Alphonſo* ſhould acknowledge himſelfe tributary to the Crowne of *France*, with aſſurance to the King of office and obſeruancie, and ſo the King (the places which the *Florentines* held in *Lunigiane*, reuerting perhaps out of their hands) to returne into *France*: ſo that the *Florentines* by this meanes ſhould remaine battered, the King of *Naples* diminiſhed of force and authoritie, and he, become Duke of *Millan*, ſhould haue got for his ſuretie ſo much as was ſufficient, without feare to fall into the dangers which might happen by the victory of the *French*: he had hope alſo that the Winter coming on, the King would ſuffer ſuch difficulties as would let the courſe of his victory. Laſtly he iudged, that weighing with the impatience of the *French*, the Kings ſlender prouiſion of money, and the wils of many of his people eſtranged from the enterpriſe, there would not want meanes to worke compoſition.

The Pope commandeth the French kyng not to paſſe into Italy.

The Venetians neuters.

Coniectures againſt the ſubtilties of Lodowike Sforce.

Vaine hopes of Lod. Sforce.

This was a groſſe error in his policie, to breed the ſtorme, and leaue the defence to poſſibilities doubtfull: it is too dangerous to broach a veſſell of poiſon, and haue the vertue of the antidote

tidote vncertaine: fire ſuffered to runne, burnes without limite, euen to the conſuming of ſuch as firſt kindled it. But whatſoeuer was his ſecret intention, it is certaine, that albeit at the beginning *Lodowike* ſtudied to ſeparate *Peter de Medicis* from the *Aragons*, yet after he perſwaded him ſecretly to perſeuere in his opinion, promiſing him ſo to worke, that the *French* king ſhould not march at all; or at leaſt if he did paſſe, he ſhould with the ſame ſpeed returne afore he did any action on that ſide the mounts. This he did often reiterate by his Embaſſador reſident at *Florence*, either for that ſuch was his iuſt intention, or elſe hauing determined to ruinate *Peter*, he deſired that he might bring him to do ſo much againſt the King, as there might be no meanes to reconcile them. But *Peter* determining, by the conſent of *Alphonſo*, to make theſe behauiours knowne to the *French* King, called one day into his houſe the Embaſſador of *Millan*, vnder colour of being ill diſpoſed of his perſon; afore he came, he cauſed to hide ſecretly the *French* Embaſſador reſident at *Florence*, in a place where he might eaſily heare their communication. There *Peter* repeated to the Embaſſador plainly, diſtinctly, & at large, the perſwaſions and promiſes of *Lodowike*, and that for his authoritie he was vnwilling to conſent to the demands of the *French* King; taking occaſion to complaine grieuouſly, for that with ſo diligent inſtance he ſolicited the King to paſſe: he concluded, that ſeeing the effects anſwered not his words, he was conſtrained to ioyne himſelfe to the enterpriſe, to auoid his proper and preſent perill. The Embaſſador of *Millan* anſwered, that he ought not to doubt of the faith of *Lodowike*, if for no other reaſon, at leaſt for this, that in compariſon and conſideration of things, it was no leſſe dangerous to *Lodowike* then to any other, that the *French* ſhould enioy *Naples*: and therefore with all the counſell, courage and reaſons that he could, he perſwaded him to perſeuere in his firſt opinion, leſt by ſuch hurtfull alteration of mind, he were not the cauſe to bring himſelfe and all *Italy* into perpetuall ſeruitude. This diſcourſe, with all his actions and circumſtances, the *French* Embaſſador with preſent ſpeed communicated with the King his maiſter, aſſuring him that he was betrayed by *Lodowike*, whoſe deuice tended all to his particular purpoſe and profit, and all his intentions were diſſembled and diſguiſed.

This policie and priuate maner of *Peter*, bred not the effect which *Peter* and *Alphonſo* hoped for; but on the contrary, the matter and maner being reuealed to *Lodowike*, euen by the *French* themſelues, the diſdaine and hate conceiued afore againſt *Peter*, redoubled and tooke a ſtronger qualitie; and *Lodowike* with a new diligence and quickneſſe, ſolicited the *French* King to conſume no more time vnprofitably.

Foreſhewes of the calamities of Italy.

But now, not onely the preparations that were made in ſo great plentie both by ſea and land, but alſo the conſent of the heauens and of men, pronounced to *Italy* their calamities to come: for that ſuch as made profeſſion to haue iudgement either by ſcience or diuine inſpiration in the things to come, aſſured with one voice that there were in preparing, both more great mutations, and more ſtrange and horrible accidents, then for many ages before had bene diſcerned in any part or circuit of the earth. There were ſeene in the night in *Pouille*, three Sunnes in the middeſt of the firmament, but many clouds about them, with right fearfull thunders and lightnings. In the territory of *Aretze* were viſibly ſeene paſſing in the aire infinite numbers of armed men vpon mightie horſes, with a terrible noiſe of drums and trumpets: The Images and figures of Saints did manifeſtly ſweate in many parts of *Italy*: In euery place were brought forth many monſters of men and other creatures, with many other things againſt the order of nature, concurring all at one time, but in diuers places; by meanes whereof the people were carried into incredible feares, being already amazed with the brute of the *French* powers and fury of that Nation, with the which according to the teſtimonie of hiſtories, they had aforetime run ouer all *Italy*, ſacked and made deſolate with fire and ſword the citie of *Rome*, and ſubdued in *Aſia* many Prouinces; and generally no part of the world which had not felt the vertue of their armes. But albeit theſe iudgements are oftentimes fallible, and rather coniectures vncertaine then effects hapning, yet the accidents that drew on, brought to them, in the ſpirits of fraile men, an abſolute faith, credite and religion: for King *Charles* holding his firſt purpoſe, was now come to *Vienna* in *Dauphine*, and would not ſuffer himſelfe to be ſtayed from his perſonall expedition into *Italy*, neither by the iuſt and generall petitions of his whole Realme, nor with the conſideration of his vniuerſall wants of money, which were ſuch, as he had no meanes to furniſh the neceſſities preſent, but by pawning for a great ſumme of money, certaine iewels lent him by the Duke of *Sauoy*, the Marqueſſe of *Montferrat*, and other great Lords of the Court: of the

ſummes he had gathered before of the reuenues of *France*, and ſuch as were lent to him by *Lodowike*, he had employed a great quantitie vpon the armies at ſea, wherein at the beginning was repoſed a great hope of the victory; and of the reſidue, he had made many indiſcreet liberalities to diuers perſons before he went from *Lyons*: And his Princes and Noblemen, hauing at that time not ſo ready wayes to exact money of their peoples, as ſince (without regard to God or men) auarice & immoderate couetouſnes haue taught them, it was not eaſie for him to leuie new tributes: ſo ſlender were the prouiſions and grounds of ſo great a warre, fury and raſhneſſe guiding the King more then wiſedome and counſell.

But as it often hapneth in the execution of things new, great and difficult; that (albeit all things are ordained and foreſeene) the reaſons that may be conſidered on the contrary, come then to appeare in the vnderſtanding of men, when the enterpriſe is toward his action and beginning: ſo the King being vpon the point to depart, yea his ſouldiers marching towards the mounts, there aroſe a great murmure throughout the Court; ſome brought into conſideration the difficulties ordinary in ſo great an enterpriſe, and ſome diſputed of the generall dangers and infidelitie of the *Italians*; but ſpecially there was an vniuerſall iealouſie of *Lodowike Sforce*, both for the aduertiſement lately come from *Florence*, and alſo certaine money expected from him, remained yet behind; ſo that not onely ſuch as had alwayes reproued this enterpriſe, roſe vp eftſoones to reſiſt it with more audacitie, (as hapneth in thoſe caſes when counſell is confirmed by the euent of things) but euen thoſe that had bene the principall workers, as chiefly the Biſhop of *S. Malo*, began ſo to ſhake, that the brute coming to the eares of the King, and the whole Court inclining to murmure and confuſion of opinions, cauſed ſuch an inclination in the King to paſſe no further, that ſuddenly commandement was giuen to make ſtay of all the bands and companies of ſouldiers; by meanes whereof many that were already on their way, returned with willing ſpeed to the Court; following a report publiſhed, that it was a reſolution ſet downe, that the campe ſhould not paſſe into *Italy*. It was then beleeued that all had turned into alteration and change, if the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula* (the fatall inſtrument, both at that time, before, and after, of all the miſeries of *Italy*) had not with his authoritie and vehemencie giuen a new life to the expedition, recomforted the hearts of the Noble men, and brought againe the ſpirit of the King to his firſt determination: he laid before him not onely the reaſons that had firſt ſtirred him vp to ſo glorious an enterpriſe, but alſo with a ſharpe and quicke eloquence willed him to looke into the infamy which might runne throughout all the world for ſo light a mutation of ſo noble a counſell: he asked his Maieſtie for what occaſion, in reſtoring the places in the Countie of *Artoys*, he had weakened on that ſide the frontiers of his Realme? Why had he with ſo great diſpleaſing of his Nobilitie and populars, made open to the King of *Spaine* one of the ports of *France*, in giuing him the Countie of *Ruſſillon*? Other Kings his predeceſſors had not wont to conſent to ſuch things, but either to be deliuered from great and imminent perils, or at leaſt, in counterchange of profits more importing: he made not thoſe reſtitutions by any neceſſitie; his perils were but reaſonable; and for fruite or recompence, there was no other expectation, then that with a great price he had bought a preſent loſſe, which would perpetually nouriſh griefe, diſhonour and infamy. What new accidents haue appeared (ſaith he) or what ſtrange dangers and difficulties are diſcloſed ſince the enterpriſe hath bene publiſhed throughout all the world? No, rather the hope of the victory is increaſed, the foundations being ſhaken whereupon the enemy hath built all the hopes of his defence; for that if both the army at ſea of the *Aragons* ſhamefully retired to the port of *Liuorne* after they had giuen a vaine aſſault to *Portouenere*, was able to attempt no further action againſt *Genes*, ſo well defended with ſouldiers and a nauie more mightie then theirs; and alſo in their army by land ſtayed in *Romagnia*, by the reſiſtance of ſmall numbers of the *French*, was left no courage to paſſe further: what would be their feares when they ſhould heare throughout all *Italy*, that the King was to paſſe the mounts with an army royall? Townes would fall into tumults, men would draw into mutinie, hauing their minds amazed: how could they be ſtayed or contained? The Pope would not be a litle amazed, when he ſhould ſee from his proper Pallace the armes of the *Collonoys* at the gates of *Rome*: no leſſe would be the aſtoniſhment of *Peter de Medicis*, who hauing for his enemies his owne bloud, knoweth what affection the towne of *Florence* beareth to the name of the *French*, and is not ignorant how deſirous it is to recouer the libertie which he holds oppreſt: That there was no impediment, no difficultie, no danger to ſtay the furious deſcending of the King vpon the

The French king doubtfull to go through with the enterpriſe of Naples.

Cardinal S. P. ad Vincula gines a new life to the expedition.

the confines of *Naples*, which he ſhould no ſooner approch, then he ſhould find all things diſpoſed to flight or rebellion. He told him, the feare was vaine to doubt want of money, for that his artillery ſhould be no ſooner heard thunder, then the *Italians* with a ſwift liberalitie would ſupply him from all parts: and if he ſhould find any reſiſtance or defence, the ſpoiles, the booties, the riches of the vanquiſhed would ſuffice to nouriſh his army; for that *Italy* for many yeares hauing bene more accuſtomed to apparences of warre, then trained in the true experience of warres, there was no ſtrength, foundation nor power to ſuſtaine the fury of the *French*. In a matter debated with ſo long counſell, and prepared ſo neare to his action; in an enterpriſe ſo poſſible, and bringing ſo many profits; in an expedition ſo haughtie and glorious, and giuen ouer, ſo vile and infamous, he aduiſed him to be firme and reſolute; and for feares, ſuſpitions and iealouſies, he willed him to thinke them as dreames riſing vpon ſome ſuperfluous humor, or as ſhadowes, to whom can be aſſigned no bodies: he told him, it became iuſtly his name and greatnes, to march on with the ſame magnanimitie and courage, wherewith not foure dayes ſince, he vaunted to be able to vanquiſh *Italy* being vnited all together. He ſaid, he had to conſider, that his counſels were now no more in his owne power; and that things had got to great forwardnes by reaſon of the alienation he had made of many lands and territories; for the Embaſſadors he had heard, ſent, and baniſhed; for the great charges he had ſuſtained for ſo many and mightie prouiſions; and laſtly, for the renowne that ranne through the world, and his perſon being brought almoſt to the top of the *Alpes*. And finally, ſaith he, albeit the enterpriſe were neuer ſo perillous, yet neceſſitie conſtrained him to follow it, ſeeing betweene glory and infamy, betweene diſhonor and triumph, betweene the opinion to be eſteemed a King, and a man vile, priuate and abiect, there remained no meane. Theſe ſpeeches in ſubſtance deliuered by the Cardinall, but according to his nature, in more graue and vehement geſture, kindled ſuch a new life and courage in the King, that without hearing any then ſuch as perſwaded him to the warre, he departed the ſame day from *Vienna*, accompanied with all the Barons and Captaines of the Realme, except the Duke of *Burbon*, to whom in his abſence he left the adminiſtration of the kingdome, and the Admirall, with certaine others appointed to the gouernment and guard of Prouinces moſt importing: himſelfe with the army paſſing into *Italy* by the mount *Geneura*, which yeelds a farre more eaſie paſſage then the mount *Cenis*, and by the which (but with incredible difficulties) *Hannibal* of *Carthage* made his way into *Italy*, entred into the towne of *Aſt* the ninth of September, a thouſand foure hundred ninetie and foure, leading with him into *Italy* the ſeeds of innumerable calamities and moſt horrible accidents, with a change almoſt and innouation of all things: for of his paſſage, did not only take beginning, muration of Eſtates, ſubuerſion of Realmes, deſolation of Countries, deſtruction of Cities, and moſt cruell murders; but alſo he brought with him new faſhions of habits, new cuſtomes, new and bloudy manners of making warres, and diſeaſes till thoſe times vnknowne; yea he did ſo diſorder the inſtruments of peace and concord in *Italy*, that being neuer able ſince to reorder and reduce them, other Nations ſtrange and barbarous, haue had good meanes to oppreſſe them miſerably. And for the increaſing of the infelicitie (becauſe their ſhame and diſhonor ſhould not be diminiſhed by the valour and vertues of the victor) he whoſe coming brought all thoſe calamities (albeit he lacked nothing of the liberalities and fauours of fortune) was void almoſt of all the gifts of nature and the mind: for it is moſt certaine, that King *Charles* from his infancie was of complexion very delicate, and of body vnſound and diſeaſed, of ſmall ſtature, and of face (if the aſpect and dignitie of his eyes had bene taken away) foule and deformed, his other members bearing ſuch equall proportion, that he ſeemed more a monſter then a man: he was not onely without all knowledge of good ſciences, but ſcarcely he knew the diſtinct characters of letters: his mind deſirous to command, but more proper to any other thing, for that being enuironed alwayes with his familiars and fauourites, he retained with them no maieſtie or authoritie: he reiected all affaires and buſineſſe; and yet if he did debate and conſider in any, he ſhewed a weake diſcretion and iudgement: And if he had any thing in him that carried apparence of merite or praiſe, yet being throughly weighed and ſounded, it was found further off from vertue then vice. He had an inclination to glory, but it was tempered more with raſhneſſe and fury, then with moderation and counſell: his liberalities were without diſcretion, meaſure or diſtinction: immoueable oftentimes in his purpoſes, but that was rather an ill grounded obſtinacie then conſtancie; and that which many call bountie, deſerued more reaſonably in him the name of

The French king in Aſt.

The French king deſcribed.

coldneſſe and ſlackneſſe of ſpirit.

The ſame day the King arriued in the towne of *Aſt*, the fauours of fortune began to appeare to him with a ioyfull token or prediction. For, there came from *Genes* glad newes, That *Dom Federicke* (who after his retire from *Portouenere* to the hauen of *Liuorne*, and that he had refreſhed his army by ſea, and leuied new companies of land-men, was eſtſoones returned into the ſame riuer) had put on land *Obietto de Fieſco* with three thouſand footmen, who without difficultie had made himſelfe Lord of the towne of *Rapalle*, which is twenty miles from *Genes*, and then ſent companies to eſpie and ſpoile the countrey there about: That ſuch a beginning being of no litle importance (for that touching the affaires of the towne of *Genes*, all emotions, how litle ſoeuer they were, would be dangerous, conſidering the contagiouſneſſe and multitude of parties and factions) thoſe within the towne eſteemed it not good that the enemies ſhould haue further aduantage: and therefore leauing part of their companies to the guard of *Genes*, the two brethren *S. Seuerins*, and *Iohn Adorne* brother to *Auguſtine* the Gouernour of the towne, with the *Italian* footmen, put themſelues on the way to go to *Rapalle*; and the Duke of *Orleance* with a thouſand *Swiſſers*, leading thither the army by ſea, which contained eighteene galleys, ſixe gallions, and nine great ſhips, and being all ioyned neare to *Rapalle*, they furiouſly aſſailed the enemies that made head at the bridge, which is betweene the ſuburbes of *Rapalle* and a litle ſtraite plaine that ſtretched to the ſea. That beſides the proper forces of the *Aragons*, the ſeate of the place fought with aduantage for them, by whoſe ſteepneſſe and ſharpneſſe, more then other munition, the places of that riuer are well fortified: and therefore the beginning of the skirmiſh ſeemed proſperous to the enemy, for that the *Swiſſers* being in a place very vnproper to beſtow their Ordenance, began almoſt to retire: but by the continuall flocking of peſants running after the faction of the *Adornes*, for their agilitie and experience in thoſe ſtony and mountenous places, men of ſpeciall merit in ſeruice, and the *Aragons* beaten in flanke with the artilleries of the gallies of *France*, which were brought as neare the bankes as could be, they began very hardly to ſuſtaine the charge: And that laſtly, as they were beaten from the bridge, *Obietto* was aduertiſed (in whoſe fauour his partakers did not yet ſtirre) that *Iohn Lewis de Fieſco* was at hand with a troupe of footmen; and therefore fearing to be charged on the backe, they fled to the mountaines, *Obietto* being the firſt, according to the cuſtome of rebels: That there was ſlaine of them in this encounter, partly by fighting, and partly by flying, more then a hundred bodies; a ſlaughter not litle, conſidering the maner of the warre in *Italy* in thoſe times. With theſe aduertiſements came accompanied the report of the priſoners taken, amongſt whom was *Iulius Vrſin*, who with fortie men at armes, and certaine croſſe-bow ſhot on horſebacke, had followed the ſea army of *Alphonſo*, in whoſe pay he was. *Fregoſin* ſon to the Cardinall *Fregoſe*, and *Orlandin* of the ſame family, remained alſo priſoners. This victory aſſured altogether the affaires of *Genes*, for that *Dom Federicke* (who as ſoone as he had put his footmen on land, ſpred himſelfe vpon the maine ſea, as not to be conſtrained to fight with the enemy in the gulfe of *Rapalle*) deſpairing to do any profitable ſeruice at that time, retired his army once againe to the port of *Liuorne*; where albeit he furniſhed his numbers with new ſouldiers, and had many plots to aſſaile the riuers in ſome other place, yet (by vnfortunate beginnings of enterpriſes oftentimes men loſe both courage and counſell) he attempted no other action of conſequence, leauing a iuſt occaſion to *Lodowike* to vaunt, that with his induſtry and his counſels he had giuen the bay to his aduerſaries; ſeeing there was no other thing that ſaued the State of *Genes*, but their too ſlow ſpeed to depart, whereof *Lodowike* was the cauſe, by his cunning and vaine hopes breeding their deceitfull ſecuritie.

Lod. Sforce goeth to viſit the French king in Aſt.

At this time went *Lodowike Sforce* to viſite the King at *Aſt*, whither he carried with him *Beatrix* his wife, followed with great pompe, and a traine of the moſt honorable and faireſt Ladies within all the Duchie of *Millan*: he was alſo accompanied with *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*. There they debated of their common affaires; and by generall counſell it was reſolued, that the army ſhould march with as much ſpeed as was poſſible; wherein for the more diligence and expedition of things, *Lodowike* who had not a litle feare, that the hard ſeaſon of the yeare happning, they would ſoiourne all the Winter in the territories of his Duchie, lent eſtſoones to the King a great quantitie of money, whereof he had not a litle neceſſitie and want: Notwithſtanding, the King falling into the diſeaſe which we call the ſmall pox, he remained about a moneth within the towne of *Aſt*, the army being diſperſed into quarters & places thereabouts. Touching the

the numbers of his army (as may be truly gathered out of ſo many diuerſities) it contained (beſides the two hundred gentlemen for his guard, and reckning the *Swiſſers* gone before to *Genes*, and the companies entertaining the warre in *Romagnia* vnder *Monſieur d'Aubignie*) ſixteene hundred men at armes, allowing to euery one of them according to the cuſtome of *France* two Archers; ſo that vnder euery Lance (for ſo they call their men at armes) are comprehended ſixe horſes: of the *Swiſſers* ſix thouſand footmen, and ſix thouſand of the realme of *France*; whereof the one halfe were *Gaſcoine* ſouldiers, for their furniture gallant and well appointed, and for their naturall aptneſſe to the warres, a people aboue all others ſooneſt trained to ſeruice. And to ioyne to this army, there was carried to *Genes* by ſea, a huge proportion of artilleries of ſundry natures, both for battery and ſeruice of the field, but of ſuch ſort as *Italy* neuer ſaw the like. *The number of the French kings army.*

This hell or torment of artillery being deuiſed many yeares ſince in *Germanie*, was brought firſt into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, hauing warre about the yeare 1380. with the *Genowayes*: wherein the *Venetians* vanquiſhed by ſea, and much afflicted by the loſſe of *Chioze*, were ready to receiue ſuch conditions as it pleaſed the victors, if in ſo good an occaſion there had not bene want of moderate counſell. The greateſt ſort was called Bombards, which, after the inuention was ſpred through *Italy*, were employed to the battering of townes; ſome of them were of iron, and ſome of braſſe, but containing ſuch groſſe and huge proportion, that for their weight, and ignorance of men, and inſtruments vnapt, they were carried ſlowly, and with great difficultie; and being with intollerable trauels planted afore townes, yet there was ſo much reſpite between one ſhot and another, that in compariſon of their vſe at this day, they gaue litle fruite or ſucceſſe to the ſeruice, but left to the defenders leiſure and oportunitie at will, to reenforce their rampiers and fortifications: and yet by the violence of the Salt-peter, with the which their powder had his mixture, the bullets flew into the aire with ſuch horrible noiſe and fury, that that inſtrument (yea afore he had his perfection) put to ſcorne and ſilence all thoſe engines and deuices wherewith the ancients were wont to pull downe townes, to the great fame of *Archimedes* and other notable enginiſts. But the *French* men forging peeces of farre greater facilitie, and of no worſe mettall then braſſe, which they called Cannons, vſing bullets of iron in place of thoſe of ſtone of the firſt inuention, vſed to draw them vpon wheeles, not with oxen (as was the cuſtome in *Italy*) but with horſes, and with ſuch agilitie of men and inſtruments appointed to that ſeruice, that they almoſt kept march with the army: and being brought afore townes or walls, they were braked and planted with an incredible diligence, and with a very ſmall intermiſſion between the ſhots: they battered with ſuch violent fury, that what before was wont to be done in *Italy* in many dayes, they diſpatched it in few houres. Theſe diuelliſh inſtruments they vſed alſo in the field, making ſometimes the Cannon ſeruiceable there, and ſometimes peeces of leſſer forge, haled according to their proportion, with the ſelfe ſame ſpeed and nimbleneſſe. Thoſe artilleries were the cauſe that all *Italy* ſtood in great feare of the Kings army, which was alſo holden more redoubted and dreadfull, not by the numbers, but for the valour of the ſouldiers: for the men at armes being almoſt all of the Kings ſubiects, gentlemen, and not of the popular ſort, were not ſimply vnder the direction and diſcipline of Captaines, nor payed by them, but by the Kings officers: by which meanes, companies and bands had not onely their complete numbers, but they were men of choiſe, and in good point for horſe and armor, being well able to make their owne furnitures, and contented in ſeruice, as well for the deſire of honour (which naturally is nouriſhed in the hearts of men of noble race) as alſo that by their actions in armes and fight, they might aſpire to recompence, as well out of warre as the warre during, and by degrees riſe worthily to the name and places of Captaines. The ſame reſpects puſhed forward the Captaines, Barons and great Lords, or at leaſt ſuch as did communicate in honorable deſcent and bloud, for the moſt part ſubiects of the Crowne of *France*, who hauing their numbers ſet and limited; for according to the warres of that Realme, there is in no company aboue a hundred Lances, and had no other intention then by ſeruice to merite well of their King: ſo that there was not amongſt them any humour of inconſtancie, either by ambition or couetouſneſſe to change their Lord, or for enuie to exceed other Captaines in numbers of men at armes: cuſtomes meere contrary to the ordering of the men at armes in *Italy*, where many of the men at armes are either peſants or populars, ſubiects of another Prince, and depending wholly of their Captaines, with whom they contract for their pay, and ſerue vnder their arbitration: they *How & when great ſhot came firſt into Italy.*

haue

haue neither by nature nor by accident, any extraordinary ſpurre or prouocation to ſerue well. The Captaines are very rarely vaſſals of him that entertaines them: they haue for the moſt part diuers intereſts, purpoſes and ends; full of enuie and hatreds: and being bound to no tearme fixed for their payes, and abſolute commanders ouer their companies, they oftentimes beguile the ſeruice with leſſe numbers then they are payed for: and ſometimes not contented with honeſt conditions, they put their patrons vpon euery occaſion to ranſome. At their pleaſures they will paſſe from the ſeruice of one, and enter into the pay of another; ambition, couetouſneſſe, or other particular intereſts, making them not onely inconſtant, but alſo vnfaithfull. There was alſo ſeene no leſſe difference betweene the footmen of *Italy*, and thoſe that ſerued vnder King *Charles*; for that the *Italians* fought not in ſquadrons ſet and ordered, but in troupes, and diſperſed in the field, and oftentimes retiring to the aduantages of hils and ditches: but the *Swiſſers* (a nation warlike, who by the long vſe of warre and many victories, had renewed their ancient glory and hardineſſe) vſed to fight with bands ordered, and diſtinct in numbers certaine: and neuer forſaking their ranks, they vſed to ſtand againſt their enemies as a wall, firme, and almoſt inuincible, ſo farre forth as they fought in a plaine or place large to ſtretch out their battell: euen with the ſame diſcipline and orders, but not with the like courage and vertue, did fight the footmen of the *French* and *Gaſcoines*.

Whileſt the King by reaſon of his ſickneſſe ſoiourned in the citie of *Aſt*, there hapned a new tumult about the borders of *Rome*: for the *Colonnoys* (notwithſtanding *Alphonſo* had accorded to all their moderate demands) as ſoone as *Monſieur d'Aubigny* was entred *Romagnia*, declared themſelues for the *French* King without more diſſembling, and tooke the rocke of *Oſtia* by intelligence they had with certaine Spaniſh footmen left there in garriſon. This raiſed the Pope into paſſion, and made him bitterly complaine to all Princes in Chriſtendome, of the iniuries done to him by the *French*: he addreſſed his complaints chiefly to the King of *Spaine*, and Senate of *Venice*, of whom (but in vaine) he prayed aide and ſuccors, according to the contract of confederation made betweene them the laſt yeare before: and turning altogether his wits, authoritie and courage, to the prouiſions of the warre, after he had cited *Proſper* and *Fabricius*, (whoſe houſes he cauſed to be razed in *Rome*) and aſſembled his companies with part of thoſe of *Alphonſo*, vnder *Virginio*, at the riuer of *Tyueron*, neare *Tiuoly*; he ſent them all vpon the lands of the *Colonnoys*, whoſe ſtrength was no greater then two hundred men at armes, and a thouſand footmen. But afterwards the Pope doubting leſt the *French* army at ſea, ſuppoſed to come from *Genes* to the ſuccours of *Oſtia*, ſhould be receiued into the port of *Neptune*, belonging to the *Colonnoys*: *Alphonſo* after he had gathered at *Terracina* all the companies that the Pope and he had in thoſe quarters, eſtabliſhed his campe there, hoping to haue it eaſily. Notwithſtanding the *Colonnoys* defending it with great frankneſſe of courage, and being alſo paſſed into their countries without impediments, with the companies of *Camille Vitelli* of the citie of *Caſtello*, and the bands of their brethren, which the *French* King had newly taken into his pay, the Pope reuoked to *Rome* part of his people which were in *Romagnia* with *Ferdinand*, whoſe affaires continued not with that felicitie and fortune which they ſeemed to ſhew in the beginning. For, as he was arriued at *Villefranche*, betweene *Furly* and *Faenza*, and from thence was entred into the high way of *Imola*, the army of the enemy encamped neare to *Villefranche*, ſeeing their forces inferior, retired betweene the forreſt of *Lugo* and *Columbare*, neare the foord of *Geniuola*, a place very ſtrong by nature, and appertaining to *Hercules d'Eſte*, out of whoſe countries they were victualled: ſo that *Ferdinand* ſeeing that by the ſtrength and ſituation of the place he could not charge them, but with manifeſt and generall perill, iſſued out of *Imola*, and went to encampe in *Toskanella*, neare the village of *S. Peter*, in the countreys of *Bolognia*: for, being deſirous to fight, by the ſhew he made to go towards *Bolognia*, he ſought to put the enemies (to whom he would not leaue libertie to paſſe further) in neceſſitie to encampe in places not ſo ſtrong: but they approching certaine dayes after neare *Imola*, pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Santerno*, betweene *Lugo* and *S. Agathe*, the place being well fortified, and had for their backe the riuer of *Paw*. The ſame day *Ferdinand* encamped ſixe miles from them vpon the ſame riuer, neare *Mordane* and *Bubane*, preſenting his army the day after in battell ranged within a mile of them, where after he had looked for them in vaine for certaine houres, the place miniſtring all commodities to fight, by reaſon of his ſcope, largeneſſe and plainneſſe; and ſeeing he could not ſet vpon them in their trenches without abſolute danger, went to encampe at *Balbiana*, not holding any

The Colonnoys for the French king.

any more the way of the mountaine, as he had done till then; but accoasting the enemy, he marched alwayes with this intention, to constraine them, if he could, to forsake their trenches, so full of aduantage and strength.

It hath seemed till now, that the affaires of the Duke of *Calabria*, carried good estate and fortune, and a gouernment with reputation, seeing the enemies had apparently refused to fight, defending themselues more with the strength and situation of their trenches, then with actions of armes; and in all encounters of the light horsemen, the *Aragons* carried away alwaies the best: but the campe of the *French* and *Sforce*, receiuing continuall strength by supplies of companies, which at the beginning remained behind, the estate of the warre began to change: for that the Duke, whose heate and forwardnesse was moderated by the counsell of the Captaines that followed him, to the end he would not commit all to fortune without aduantage, retired to *S. Agathe* a towne of the Duke of *Ferrara*, where finding diminution of his footmen, and of that part of the horsemen of the Church, which the Pope had called backe, and lastly in the middest of the countries of the Duke of *Ferrara*, began to looke to fortifie himselfe: but after he had remained there certaine dayes, he vnderstood by espiall, that there was expectation in the enemies campe, of two hundred Lances, and a thousand *Swisser* footmen, which the *French* King had caused to march as soone as he entred into *Ast*: and therefore he retired to the waste of *Faenza*, a place betweene the walls of the same towne, and a ditch which reculeth about a thousand paces from the towne, and enuironing it round about, makes that situation very strong. And by reason of his retreit, the enemy came to *S. Agathe*, which he had abandoned. Surely both these armies shewed great tokens of courage, when they saw their enemy inferiour: but when things were brought to an equalitie, the place apt, their forces indifferent, and all other oportunities consenting, each one eschued to assay the fortune of battell, and in them both was approued that which very rarely happeneth, that one counsell was pleasing to two armies, being enemies. For the *French* thought they should accomplish their intention, for the which they were come out of *Lombardie*, if they hindered the *Aragons* for passing further: and *Alphonso* iudged it greatly to his benefite, if he could amuze and hold backe the enemies vntill Winter; and therefore gaue expresse charge to his sonne, and *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, with the Count *de Petillane*, that without great occasion they should not put into the power of fortune the Realme of *Naples*; which was vtterly lost, if that army were defeated. But these remedies sufficed not for safetie, for that King *Charles*, whose forwardnesse could not be restrained, neither by the season of the time, nor any other difficulties, marched into the field with his army as soone as he had recouered his health: and because *Iohn Galeas* Duke of *Millan*, and his cousin germaine (for the King and he descended of two sisters, daughters to *Lewis* the second, Duke of *Sauoy*) lay sore sicke in the Castle of *Pauie*, he went with great humanitie to visit him, making his way by the towne, and lodging in the same Castle. The speeches he vsed to him were generall, for the presence of *Lodowike*, onely expressing how much grieued he was for his sickenesse, and perswaded him to take hope and courage to recouer his health: but touching the effect of the mind, the King with all those that were with him, had great compassion on him; euery one iudging for certaine, that the yong Gentleman, by the wickednesse of his Vnkle, had not long to liue. This compassion was much increased by the presence of *Isabel* his wife, who not onely full of many sorrowes for the infirmitie of her husband, and estate of her litle sonne borne by him, but also much afflicted for the perill of her father and her other kindred, she fell with great griefe, in the publike presence, at the feet of the King, recommending to him with pitifull teares, her father, and his house of *Aragon*: towards whom, albeit the King, for her age, her beautie, and her present fortune, expressed an apparent inclination to pitie; yet being not able to stay the course of so great a matter for so light an occasion, he answered her with signes of will to do that he could not, saying, The enterprise being so farre aduanced, he was constrained to prosecute and continue it.

The French king visites Iohn Galeas Duke of Millan.

From *Pauia* the King marched to *Plaisance*, and during the abode he made there, newes came of the death of *Iohn Galeas*; by which occasion, *Lodowike* that had followed him thither, returned in no small diligence to *Millan*, where by the principals of the councel, which the Duke had suborned, it was propounded, that in regard of the greatnesse of that Estate, and the dangerous times that prepared now for *Italy*, it would be a thing preiudiciall, that the sonne of *Iohn Galeas* (hauing not fiue yeares in age) should succeed his father: and therefore, as well to keepe the

The death of Iohn Galeas.

The manifest aspiring of Lodowike Sforce to the dukedom

the liberties of the State in protection, as to be able to meete with the inconueniences which the time threatned; they thought it iuſt and neceſſary (derogating ſomewhat, for the publike benefite, and for the neceſſitie preſent, frō the diſpoſition of the laws, as the laws themſelues dō ſuffer) to conſtraine *Lodowike*, for the better ſtay of the Commonweale, to ſuffer that vnto him might be tranſported the title and dignitie of Duke, a burden very weightie in ſo dangerous a ſeaſon: with the which colour, honeſtie giuing place to ambition, the morning following (making ſome ſhew of reſiſtance) he tooke vpon him the name and armes of the Duke of *Millan*; hauing ſecretly proteſted before, that he receiued them as appertaining to him by the inueſtiture of the King of *Romaines*. It was publiſhed, that the death of *Galeas* happened by immoderate cohabitation; but the vniuerſall iudgement of *Italy* was, that he died not of infirmities naturall, nor by incontinencie, but by poiſon and violent compulſion, whereof *Theodor de Pauia*, one of the Phyſitions aſſiſting when the King viſited him, aſſured the King to ſee moſt apparent and manifeſt ſignes: And if he were diſpatched by poiſon, there was none that doubted that his Vnkle was innocent either directly or indirectly, as he, who not content with an abſolute power to be gouernor of the State, but aſpiring according to the common deſires of great men, to make themſelues glorious with titles and honors; and ſpecially he iudged, that both for his proper ſuretie, and the ſucceſſion of his children, the death of the lawfull Prince was neceſſary, and therefore ſought to eſtabliſh in himſelfe the power and name of Duke; wherein ambition and couetouſneſſe preuailed aboue conſcience and law of nature, and the iealous deſire of dominion, enforced his diſpoſition (otherwiſe abhorring bloud) to that vile action. It was beleeued of many wiſe men, that ſuch had bene his intention euer ſince he began to ſolicite the *French* kings iourney into *Italy*, iudging the occaſion and the time would well concurre to aduance the effect; for that the *French* houering vpon the borders of that State with a maine armie, it would alter mens coniectures and humors, and carry their wits from remembrance of an act ſo wicked. But ſome hauing opinions more particular, ſuppoſed both for the ſuddenneſſe of his death, and diligent transferring of the impery to the other, that it happened by a new thought proceeding of feare, leſt the King (the counſels of the *French* are ſodaine) would turne himſelfe with a contrary courſe to deliuer his couſin *Galeas* from ſo great a ſubiection; being induced thereunto, either for reſpect of kindred and compaſſion of his age, or that he might thinke it was a thing more ſure for himſelfe, that the Duchie of *Millan* was in the power of his couſin, rather then commanded by *Lodowike*, whoſe fidelitie many of his great Lords laboured continually to make ſuſpected with him. But becauſe *Lodowike* had got the yeare before the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, and a litle before the death of his nephew, had diſpatched with diligence the Imperiall priuiledges, it makes a congruent conſtruction, that it was a deliberation voluntary and foredeuiſed, and not ſodaine, nor in reſpect of the preſent danger. The King ſtayed certaine dayes at *Plaiſance*, not without inclination to returne into *France*, for that as well the want of money, which being the more generall, was ſo much more intollerable, as not ſeeing any new thing in *Italy* diſcouer in his fauour, he had many doubts of his ſucceſſe, hauing withall no litle ſuſpition of the new Duke of *Millan*, who notwithſtanding when he parted, ſaid, he would returne; yet the iudgement was, that he would not come againe at all. It is alſo very likely, that though the wicked cuſtome to poiſon men, which is a practiſe very common in moſt parts of *Italy*, were vnknowne to the nations on the other ſide the mounts; yet that the King and all his Court, beſide the ſuſpition they had conceiued againſt the faith of *Lodowike*, had his name in horror; yea that the King eſteemed it a great iniury, that he had ſolicited his coming into *Italy*, to be the better able without danger to execute an act ſo abhominable: yet in the end, the reſolution was to march on, *Lodowike* continually labouring him thereunto, with promiſe to returne, and to viſite the King within few dayes; for that both the Kings abode in *Lombardie*, and his haſtie returne into *France*, were wholly contrary to his intentions.

Lod. Sforce Duke of Millan by vſurpation.

Laurence and Iohn de Medicis with the French king.

The ſame day that the King departed from *Plaiſance*, *Laurence* and *Iohn de Medicis* came to him; who being ſecretly ſlipt from their houſes in the countrey, made great inſtance that his Maieſtie would come neare *Florence*, aſſuring him much of the good will of the people towards the houſe of *France*, and no leſſe of their hate againſt *Peter de Medicis*, againſt whom the diſpleaſure of the King was aggrauated by new occaſions. For, the King hauing ſent from *Aſt* an Embaſſador to *Florence*, to propound many offers, if they would grant him paſſage, and abſtaine hereafter from aiding of *Alphonſo*; and on the other ſide, to pronounce threatnings to them,

them, if they perſeuered in their former counſell; with expreſſe charge to his Embaſſador (to the end to daunt them the more) to returne immediatly if they would not giue ſpeedy reſolution. He was anſwered with excuſes to deferre and expect, for that the chiefeſt Citizens of the gouernment being withdrawne to their houſes of ſolace in the countrey, according to the cuſtome of the *Florentines* in that ſeaſon, they could not with ſuch ſpeed giue him an anſwer certaine, but would with all diligence aduertiſe the King of their intention, by a particular Embaſſador. It is moſt certaine, that it was agreed in the Kings Councell without contradiction, that the army ſhould rather take the way that leades through *Tuskane*, and the territories of *Rome* directly to *Naples*, then that which lying along *Romagnia* and *la Marque*, paſſing the riuer of *Troute*, entred into *Abruzze*; not for that they did diſtruſt to giue the chaſe to the bands of the *Aragons*, which with difficultie reſiſted *Monſieur d'Aubigny*: but for that it ſeemed a thing vnworthy of the greatneſſe of ſuch a King, and no leſſe infamous to the glory of his armies, (the Pope and *Florentines* being declared againſt him) to giue occaſion to men to thinke that he eſchued the way for diſtruſt, that he was not able to force them; but much more becauſe they eſteemed it dangerous to make warre in the Realme of *Naples*, and leaue as enemies at their backes, the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike and *Tuskane*: and therefore the army turning to the way of *Tuskane*, it was determined to paſſe rather the *Appenin* by the mountaine of *Parma*, then to march the direct way to *Bolognia*. This was *Lodowikes* direction when he was at *Aſt*, for that he had a deſire to make himſelfe Lord of *Piſa*. So that the vant-guard, ouer whom was gouerner and leader *Gilbert de Montpenſier*, of the houſe of *Bourbon*, and Prince of the bloud, and the King following, with the reſidue of the army, paſſed to *Pontreme*, a towne of the Duchie of *Millan*, ſet at the foote of the *Appenin*, vpon the riuer of *Magre*, which deuides the countrey of *Genes* (anciently called *Liguria*) from *Tuskane*. From *Pontreme Monſieur Montpenſier* entred the countrey of *Lunigiana*, a part of which obeyed the *Florentines*, certaine Caſtles belonged to the *Genoways*, and the reſidue were ſubiect to the Marquis of *Maleſpina*, who maintained their ſmall Eſtates vnder the protection ſometimes of the Duke of *Millan*, ſometimes of the *Florentines*, and ſometimes of the *Genoways*. About thoſe quarters ioyned with *Monſieur Montpenſieur*, the *Swiſſers* which had bin at the defence of *Genoway*, together with the artillery which was come by ſea to *Spetia*; and being come neare the towne of *Fiuiſana*, belonging at that time to the *Florentines*, whither they were guided by *Gabriel Maleſpina* Marquis of *Podiſmone*, who was recommended to them, they tooke it by force, and ſackt it, making ſlaughter of all the ſouldiers ſtrangers that were within, and many of the inhabitants: a maner of making warre very new, and ſo much the more terrible to all *Italy*, accuſtomed ſot many yeares paſt to warres rather flouriſhing in pompes and fine furniture, like to warres ſhewed by maskers in ſtage playes, then to skirmiſhes bloudy and dangerous. The *Florentines* were determined to make their principall reſiſtance at *Serezana*, which they had greatly fortified, but not with ſtrength ſufficient and neceſſary to reſiſt ſo mightie an enemy, becauſe they had not furniſhed it with any Captaine of warre, that had authoritie to miniſter diſcipline, nor with ſouldiers either reſolute or ſeruiceable, other then ſuch as loſt heart at the firſt voice of the approch of the *French* army: yet they of *Florence* were of opinion that it could not be eaſily taken, ſpecially the Caſtle, and much leſſe the rocke of *Serezana*, both well furniſhed, and bearing his ſituation vpon the hill aboue the towne. Beſides, it was not poſſible that the army ſhould remaine long time in thoſe places; the countrey being barren and ſtrait, and being incloſed betweene the ſea and the mountaines, was not ſufficient to nouriſh ſo great a multitude, and their victuals coming farre off, could not obſerue ſuch iuſt time and oportunitie, as to ſerue their preſent neceſſities: by reaſon whereof, it ſeemed the Kings affaires began to fall into hard termes, and that his army ſtood poſſible to many dangers and diſtreſſes: for, albeit he could not with conuenient impediments be let from aſſailing *Piſa*, leauing behind him the towne and caſtle of *Serezana*, and the rock, nor kept by the country of *Lucques* (which City, by the working of the Duke of *Millan*, had ſecretly determined to receiue them) that he entred not another part of the territory of *Florence*; yet he could hardly be brought to that deliberation, and would not condeſcend to it, becauſe he had a perſwaſion in his ſecret fancie, that if he wonne not the firſt towne that reſiſted him, it would diminiſh much his reputation, and leaue a dangerous example to others to vſe inſolencie againſt him.

The way that the French armie tooke to Naples.

M. Montpenſier leader of the vant guard

But ſo it was ordained, that either by the grace and bleſſing of fortune, or by an ordinance

of more high power, (if at the leaſt the indiſcretions and faults of men deſerue ſuch excuſes) to ſuch an impediment hapned a ſudden remedy; ſeeing that neither the courage nor conſtancie of *Peter de Medicis* were greater in his aduerſities, then had bene his modeſtie and diſcretion in his proſperities. By this muſt be vnderſtood, that the diſpleaſures which the citie of *Florence* had receiued from the beginning, for the impediments which were giuen to the King, were continually multiplied, both for a new chace and baniſhment of their Merchants out of all parts of the Realme of *France*, and alſo for feare of the power of the *French*; which did ſo much the more grow riſing in the hearts of men, by how much they heard that the army had begun to paſſe the *Appenin* mounts: but ſpecially they fell all into dread and feare, by the crueltie ſhewed at the taking of *Fiuiſana*. For theſe cauſes euery one did publikly deteſt the raſhneſſe of *Peter de Medicis*, who, without neceſſitie, truſting more in his owne weening, and the counſels of certaine raſh miniſters, men arrogant in times of peace, and vnprofitable, and cowards in times of warre; then following the directions of thoſe citizens that were friends to his father, and had alwayes inſtructed him with no leſſe graue counſels; had ſo indiſcretly prouoked the armes of ſo mightie a King, aſſiſted with the Duke of *Millan*: ſeeing withall, he was ignorant in the affaires of warre, leauing the Citie, and other places of their obedience not fortified, but ill furniſhed with ſouldiers and munitions neceſſary to make defence againſt ſo great a force: beſides that there had as yet appeared none of thoſe *Aragons*, for whom they had expoſed themſelues to ſo great danger: ſo that their countrey abandoned of euery one, remained in the deepe hatred of ſo mightie a King, and was ready to fall as a manifeſt prey to him, who with ſo great inſtance had ſought not to fall into occaſion and neceſſitie to hurt it.

This diſpoſition which was almoſt in all thoſe of the towne, was further kindled by many noble Citizens, much diſpleaſed with the preſent gouernment, and that one onely family had riſen ſo much in preſuming, as to appropriate to it ſelfe the rule of the whole Commonweale: inſomuch as one increaſing the feares of another, and all labouring in one common dread, and miniſtring ſtomacke and courage to ſuch as deſired new things, they had ſo ſtirred the braines and ſpirits of the people, that there was generall feare of ſome tumult in the towne; whereunto the multitude was the rather prouoked by the pride and immoderate behauiours of *Peter*, who in many things forſaking the ciuill cuſtomes and modeſtie of his anceſtors, had bene followed from his infancie with a perpetuall hatred and ill will, by the generalitie of the Citizens: ſo that his father ſeeming to haue a great ſpeculation in his vices and vile conditions, would often ſay to his ſecret friends, That the indiſcretion and arrogancie of his ſonne, would one day be the cauſe of the ruine of his houſe. It is a good propertie of wiſedome in fathers to find out the diſpoſitions of their children; but it is a principall effect of their iudgements, to cut off with diſcipline all courſe of humors that feed and miniſter to their naturall corruptions: which is an office no leſſe iuſt in parents, then it belongeth to the art of the Phyſition, firſt to ſeeke out the humor that offends, and then to apply the remedie proper to cure, and not to leaue the bodie to a ſetled infection.

Peter being now amazed with the perill, which with raſhneſſe he contemned afore, and ſeeing he failed of the ſuccors and aides which were promiſed by the Pope and *Alphonſo*, who as well for the loſſe of *Oſtia* and ſiege of the port *Neptune*, as for feare of the *French* army by ſea, had euen their hands and heads full; determined with a counſell ſudden and particular, to go ſearch of the enemy that ſafetie, which he hoped no more to find in his friends; following therein the example of his father, who, in the yeare 1479 being brought to deſperate termes of danger, by a warre which Pope *Sixtus* and *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* managed againſt the *Florentines*, went to ſeeke *Ferdinand* in the towne of *Naples*, from whom he brought to *Florence* publike peace and priuate ſuretie. But it is a thing very dangerous for men to gouerne themſelues by examples, if there be not a concurrence of the ſame reaſons, not onely in generall, but euen in all particularities; and if things be not ruled with the ſame wiſedome: and if laſtly, ouer and beſides all other foundations, the ſelfe ſame fortune haue not her part. Being parted from *Florence* in this deliberation, and not farre on his way, he had aduertiſement that the horſemen of *Paul Vrſin*, and three hundred footmen ſent by the *Florentines* to enter *Serezana*, were broken by certaine companies of the *French*, which were come ſcouring euen on this ſide the riuer of *Magre*, the moſt of them either ſlaine or made priſoners. This made him tarry for the Kings ſafe conduct at *Pietraſanta*, whither went for his conduct and ſuretie the Biſhop of *S. Malo*, with

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certaine Lords of the Court, in whoſe companie he atriued at the campe the ſame day that the King (with the reſidue of his ſtrength) ioyned himſelfe to the vaunt-guard, which incamping before *Serezanella*, battered that rocke, but not with ſuch ſucceſſe as there was hope to carry it. After he was preſented to the King, who entertained him with good countenance, but more in apparence then in affection; he appeaſed immediatly all his diſpleaſures, in conſenting to his whole demaunds, which were great and immoderate; namely, that the fortreſſes and Caſtles of *Pietraſanta*, *Serezana* and *Serezanella*, which were (as it were) the keyes of the dominions of *Florence* on that ſide, and the fortreſſes of *Piſa*, and the port of *Liuorne* (members principall of their Eſtate) ſhould be all put into the hands of the King, who (for his part) ſhould bind himſelfe by promiſe and by his proper ſigniture, to redeliuer them as ſoone as he had conquered the kingdome of *Naples*: That *Peter* ſhould do ſo much, that the *Florentines* ſhould lend to the King two hundred thouſand duckats, and that then he would receiue them into his alliance and protection. Touching the ratification of which promiſes, made with ſimple words, it was ſaid, there ſhould be leters diſpatched to *Florence*, by the which the King meant to paſſe: but the conſignation of the caſtles and fortreſſes was not deferred: for, *Peter* ioyning meaning to his words, cauſed to be deliuered (without tarrying) to the King thoſe peeces, *Serezana*, *Pietraſanta*, and *Serezanella*; and not many dayes after, according to the agreement, the like was done of the peeces of *Piſa*, and port of *Liuorne*.

Peter de Medicis cometh to the French king.

Peter de Medicis accords with the French king.

The *French* men wondred, that *Peter* with ſo great facilitie accorded to things of ſo great importance; for that there was no doubt but the King would haue bene contented with farre meaner conditions. I will not let paſſe in this place without report, that which was ſubtilly anſwered to *Peter de Medicis*, by *Lodowike Sforce*, arriuing the day following at the campe. As *Peter* in going to meet him to do him honour, excuſed himſelfe that he had miſcaried, for that *Lodowike* was ſomewhat gone out of the way: he anſwered very properly: That the one of them two went out of the way, but perhaps (ſaith he) it lights vpon your ſelfe; as reproching vnto him that he was fallen into ſo great difficulties and dangers, for not giuing faith to his counſels. But the euents of things falling out afterwards, did well declare, that they had both gone out of the right way; but it was with a greater infamie and calamitie to him, who raiſed into greater degree, made profeſſion with his wiſedome, to be the guide of all others.

This reſolution and accord of *Peter de Medicis*, did not onely aſſure the King of the things of *Tuskane*, but it tooke out of his way all blocks and obſtacles in *Romagnia*, where the *Aragons* began now much to decline: for, as it is a thing very hard to him that ſcarcely defends himſelfe from dangers imminent, to prouide in one ſeaſon for the perils of another; ſo, whileſt *Ferdinand* remained in ſuretie within the ſtrong fort of *Faenza*, the enemy returned to the countrey of *Imola*, where, after they had with a part of the army aſſailed the burrough of *Bubane*, but in vaine, becauſe by his litle circuite, ſmall ſtrength ſufficed to defend it, and for his baſe ſituation, the countrey ranne ouer with waters: they tooke by force the towne of *Mordane*, notwithſtanding it was very ſtrong, and plentifully furniſhed with ſouldiers to defend it: but ſuch was the fury of the artillery, and ſuch the deſperate hardineſſe of the *French* in the aſſault, (many being drowned as they paſſed ouer the watery ditches) that there was no abilitie of reſiſtance by thoſe that were within, againſt whom the victors accompanied their fortune with ſuch bloudy crueltie, without regard to age or ſexe, that they filled all *Romagnia* with generall feares and aſtoniſhments. By reaſon of this accident, *Katherine Sforce* deſpairing of ſuccours, accorded with the *French* men, to auoid the perill preſent, and promiſed to their army all commodities of the Eſtates ſubiect to her ſonne: the ſame being the cauſe that *Ferdinand* (now doubting of the wils of them of *Faenza*, yea and held it ſo much the more dangerous to remaine in the midſt of *Imola* and *Furly*, by how much he was well aduertiſed of the going of *Peter de Medicis* to *Serezana*) retired neare to the walls of *Ceſena*, ſhewing ſo great a feare, that becauſe he would not paſſe neare to *Furly*, he led his army by the hils (a way more long and cumberſome) neare to *Caſtrocare*, a burrough of the *Florentines*. And within few dayes after, hearing of the agreement which *Peter* had made with the *French*, for which cauſe the bands of the *Florentines* forſooke him, he tooke the way to *Rome*: Like as alſo *Dom Federike* being parted from the port of *Liuorne*, retired with his army towards the kingdome of *Naples*, where begun to be neceſſary for *Alphonſo*, thoſe armies which he had ſent abroad with ſo great hopes to inuade the Eſtates of others: for, his affaires were full of many aduerſities on his ſide, ſeeing that the ſiege of the port

of *Neptune* not ſucceeding, he had led backe his army to *Terracina*: and the army by ſea for the *French*, whereof were leaders the Prince of *Salerne*, and *Monſ. de Serenon*, was diſcouered aboue *Oſtia*; but yet giuing it out that they would not offend the States of the Church, they put no men on land, nor ſhewed any token of diſpleaſure to the Pope, notwithſtanding their King many dayes before had refuſed to heare *Francis Piccolhomini* Cardinall of *Sienna*, Legat, ſent by the Pope to his Maieſtie.

The Florentines diſcontented with Peter de Medicis.

But to returne to *Peter de Medicis*; after the *Florentines* were aduertiſed of the agreements he had made, ſo greatly to the diminution of their territories, and with ſo ſlanderous and dangerous a wound and gall to the Commonweale, there was no litle diſpleaſure and diſcontentment throughout all the Citie: beſides their great loſſes, their hearts were moued againſt him, for that with a new forme and order of dealing, and contrary to the examples of his predeceſſors, he had alienated, without the counſell of his Citie, and ſolemne decree of the Magiſtrates, ſo great a part of the State of *Florence*; inſomuch, that to the bitter complaints made againſt him, were ioyned the murmures and ſecret grudgings of the people, incenſing one another to riſe and recouer their libertie, without that any of thoſe that in their hearts bare fauour to the doings of *Peter*, durſt either with force or perſwaſion, ſet themſelues againſt ſo great an inclination. But though the *Florentines* hauing no ſtrength to defend *Piſa* and *Liuorne*, had no hope to turne the Kings will from hauing them; yet becauſe they would ſeparate the counſels of the Commonweale from the counſels of *Peter*, or at the leaſt that that ſhould not be attributed to one in particular, which appertained to them all in publike, they addreſſed to him many Embaſſadors of thoſe families, which were ill contented with the *Medices*. But *Peter* knowing that that was a beginning of a mutation of Eſtate, to the end to prouide for his affaires afore greater diſorders hapned, applied his deliberations to the time, and tooke leaue of the King, vnder colour to giue perfection to that he had promiſed. At this time alſo the King parted from *Serezana*, to go to *Piſa*, and *Lodowike Sforce* returned to *Millan*, hauing obtained for money that the inueſtiture of *Genes*, granted by the King a few yeares before to *John Galeas* for him and his iſſue, ſhould be transferred to him and his poſteritie: he went away very much diſcontented, for that the King wold not leaue in his keeping (as he ſaid he had promiſt) *Pietraſanta* & *Serezana*, which places ſeruing him as a ladder to raiſe him to the Citie of *Piſa*, he demanded, as vniuſtly taken from the *Genoways* a few yeares before by the *Florentines*. But when *Peter* was returned to *Florence*, he found the Citie eſtranged from him, and the minds of his chiefe friends in ſuſpence, for that againſt their counſell, and againſt the oportunitie of the time, he had vndiſcreetly gouerned all things. The Commonaltie alſo was drawne into ſuch an vprore and mutinie, that as the next day after his returne, he would haue entred into the Pallace, wherein reſted the authoritie and great magiſtracie of the Commonweale, it was forbidden him by certaine Magiſtrates which kept the gate armed, of whom the chiefeſt was *Iaques de Nerly* a yong man of equall nobilitie and riches. This being ſpread abroad through the Citie, the people ranne with ſwift tumult to armes, being the more moued to this vprore, for that *Paul Vrſin*, whom *Peter* had ſent for, was at hand with his band of armed men. The aſpect and conſideration of theſe dangers, cauſed *Peter* (eſtſoones returned to his houſe, and hauing loſt both courage & counſel, and whileſt the State declared him rebell) to flee in great haſte out of *Florence*, following him *Iohn* Cardinall of the Church of *Rome* and *Iulian* his brethren, vpon whom in like ſort were impoſed the paines ordained againſt rebels: he went directly to *Bologna*, where *Iohn Bentiuole* deſiring in an other that conſtancie and reſolution of courage which he could not ſhew ſince in his owne aduerſities, reproued him bitterly at the beginning, for that not onely to his owne preiudice, but alſo to the ill example of all that oppreſſed the libertie of their countreys, he had ſo cowardly, without the death of one man, abandoned ſuch a greatneſſe. In this ſort, by the raſhneſſe of one yong man, did at that time fall the houſe of *Medicis* from that rule and power, which (vnder the name and apparence almoſt of a ciuill adminiſtration) it had obtained in *Florence* threeſcore yeares: it began in *Coſmo* his great grandfather, a Citizen of ſingular wiſedome and infinite wealth, and for thoſe regards very notable through all the parts of *Europe*; but much more was he recommended, for that with a wonderfull magnificence and heart truly royall, regarding more the eternitie of his name then the profit of his poſteritie, he employed more then foure hundred thouſand duckets in building of Churches, erecting of Monaſteries, with other buildings of ſumptuous coſts, not onely in his owne countrey, but alſo in many places of the world: and

A tumult in Florence.

Peter de Medicis flieth out of Florence.

and his ſonnes ſonne *Laurence*, a man for vnderſtanding and iudgement excellent, in counſell graue and ſingular, in liberalitie equall with his grandfather, and for greatneſſe of heart nothing inferiour, for miniſtration in the Commonweale, of authoritie more abſolute, but for wealth of leſſe abilitie, and of life farre more ſhort; got a generall reputation throughout *Italy*, and with many ſtrange Princes, which after his death, was turned into a cleare monument and memory, for that it ſeemed that the concord and felicitie of *Italy* ended with his life.

But the ſame day that the State of *Florence* fell into change, the *French* king being in the citie of *Piſa*, it hapned that the townesmen in popular troupes with cries ran to him, and demanded libertie, complaining grieuouſly of the oppreſſions and wrongs which they ſaid they had receiued vnder the gouernment of the *Florentines*: certaine of the Kings Councell aſſiſting, aſſured him that their demand was iuſt, for that the *Florentines* held them in too hard ſeruitude. The King not ſeeing into the importance of their requeſt, nor how farre it was contrary to the contract of *Serezana*, told them, they ſhould haue libertie. With the which anſwer, the *Piſans* ran to armes, and throwing downe to the earth all the enſignes and armories of the *Florentines*, they put themſelues into an abſolute libertie, ſo long deſired. Notwithſtanding, the King, contrary to himſelfe, and no leſſe ignorant in the things he had accorded, would that the *Florentine* officers ſhould ſtill adminiſter their accuſtomed iuriſdictions; and on the other part, left the old citadell in the hands of the *Piſans*, and kept to himſelfe the new, of farre more importance. In theſe accidents of *Piſa* and *Florence*, may be well diſcerned a true experience of the old ſaying, or common prouerbe, as we call it: That men when their aduerſities approach, loſe chiefly that » wiſedome, with the which they might haue hindred or auoided the ils that happen: and this is » common to men and kingdomes that draw towards their deſtinies, that when their ill fortune » comes, it blindes their eyes that they cannot diſcerne it, and bindes their hands that they cannot helpe it, making them inſtruments againſt themſelues in the execution of their miſhaps. For » both the *Florentines*, who in all times had held the fidelitie of the *Piſans* ſuſpected, ſeeing ſo dangerous a warre at their gates, forgat to reuoke to *Florence* the principall citizens of *Piſa*, as for their better ſuretie they had wont to call home a great number of them, vpon neuer ſo light occaſion or litle accidents: and *Peter de Medicis*, ſeeing a concurrence of ſo many great difficulties together, was too much ouerſeene, that he did not arme the place and publike Pallace with ſuch ſtrength of ſtrangers, as he had oftentimes done before in farre leſſer ſuſpition: foreſight hauing kept him ſtill in his Eſtate and rule, and ſuch prouiſions much hindred thoſe great mutations. But touching the affaires of *Piſa*, it is manifeſt, that that which gaue them greateſt encouragement to make this commotion (naturally hating the name of the *Florentines*) was the authoritie of *Lodowike Sforce*, who to that end had entertained certaine intelligences and practiſes with ſome Citizens of the place, baniſhed for priuate offences: and the day preſent of the reuolt, *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, whom he had left to be alwayes about the King, incenſed the people to the tumult; by which meanes *Lodowike* perſwaded himſelfe, that the dominion of *Piſa* would fall ſpeedily into his hands, not knowing that ſhortly after ſuch a matter would be the cauſe of all his miſeries. It is alſo manifeſt, that certaine of the *Piſans* communicating the night before with the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula*, what they had deſire and reſolution to do: the Cardinall, who perhaps till that day had neuer bene author of peaceable counſels, admoniſhed them with words graue and well inſtructing, that they ſhould not conſider onely the ſuperficies and beginning of things, but looke more deeply vnto that which in time may happen. He told them, libertie was a thing precious, and of very vehement deſire, well meriting that men ſhould oppoſe themſelues to all dangers, hauing a true and ſenſible hope to be able to defend » it on all ſides: but as touching their Citie, naked of peoples, and drained of wealth and » ſubſtance, he ſaw very weake poſſibilities to maintain it againſt the power of the *Florentines*; and » to promiſe to themſelues that the authoritie of the *French* King ſhould be turned to their pro- » tection, were hopes deceitfull, and an expectation too full of vncertainties and doubts; for that » albeit the moneys and treaſures of *Florence* ſhould do litle with him, (as it is like they may pre- » uaile a great deale, ſpecially looking into the contract of *Serezana*) yet his armies would not be » alwayes in *Italy*, according to the experience and iudgement of examples paſt. Beſides, it were » too great an indiſcretion to bind themſelues to a perpetuall perill, vpon foundations fraile and » not perpetuall; and for moſt vncertaine hopes, to leuie againſt enemies farre more mightie then » they, a warre certaine and abſolute, wherein they could promiſe themſelues no ſuccours, ſee- »

The Piſans offer to reuolt.

Cardinall S. Peter ad Vincula perſwades the Piſans not to reuolt.

« ing they depended vpon the will of another, and that which more is, of very diuers accidents:
« yea, be it they ſhould obtaine ſuccors, much leſſe were that to auoide or ſhake off, but rather to
« redouble and make greater the calamities of the warre, being vexed at one time by the inuaſi-
« ons of ſouldiers of the enemy, and tormented with the oppreſſions and inſolencies of the men
« of warre that come to their ſuccors: Which miſeries (he ſaid) would be ſo much the more grie-
« uous to beare, by how much in the end they would come to ſee and know, that it was not for
« their proper libertie they tooke armes, but for the impery of a ſtranger, changing one ſeruitude
« for another: for that this is proper to all Princes, not to enter into the trauels and expences of
« a warre, but to reigne ouer thoſe for whom they fight: And yet your warre (ſaith he) ſeeing
« the great wealth and neighbourhood of the *Florentines*, (by whom you ſhall find many and
« perpetuall vexations) you cannot be able to ſuſtaine, but with very great difficulties.

The French king drawes toward Florence.

In this generall confuſion of things, the King departeth from *Piſa* towards *Florence*, and is not reſolued what forme he would giue to the affaires of the *Piſans*; he ſtayed in a place called *Signa*, ſeuen miles from *Florence*, to be aduertiſed afore he entred the Citie, whether the tumult of the people were in any ſort appeaſed, who had not diſcontinued their vprores ſince the day that *Peter de Medicis* was chaſed out of the Citie: he had withall this intention, to giue time to *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, whom he had ſent for (to the end his entry might ſo much the more aſtoniſh the *Florentines*) with direction to leaue the artillery at *Caſtrocare*, and giue leaue to the fiue hundred men at armes *Italians*, which were with him in *Romagnia*, together with the men at armes of the Duke of *Millan*, except the Count *Caiazze*, which followed *Monſieur d'Aubigny* with three hundred light horſemen. It was ſuppoſed by many tokens and coniectures, that the intention of the King was to draw the *Florentines* by feare of his power, to yeeld vnto him the dominion abſolute of the Citie: a thing which himſelfe could not diſſemble with their Embaſſadors, hauing often recourſe to *Signa*, to make perfect the accord that was contracted. It was without doubt, that the King bare a mind inflamed againſt them, and nouriſhed many ill diſpoſed meanings againſt their Citie, for that they ſought to hinder him in his enterpriſe. And albeit it was manifeſt, that that reſiſtance proceeded not of the will of the Commonweale, which in reaſonable ſort had iuſtified themſelues; yet he could not eaſily forget and diſſolue the impreſſion of the offence, being (as it was ſuppoſed) much induced to their diſfauours, by many of his Councell and Lords; who iudging it not meete to let paſſe the oportunitie to make himſelfe Lord ouer the Citie, or perhaps puſhed forward with their proper ambition and couetouſneſſe, were loth to loſe the occaſion to ſacke a Citie, abounding in ſuch treaſures and wealth: in ſo much as there ranne a brute through the campe, that the Citie had deſerued to be puniſhed, to ſerue as an example to others, being the towne in *Italy* that had preſumed to oppoſe againſt the power and army of *France*. There were alſo of the chiefeſt of his Councell, that ſolicited him to reſtore *Peter de Medicis* to his former degree: for whom, with a peculiar diligence aboue the reſidue, did labour *Philip* Lord of *Breſſe*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, being induced to that office by the priuate friendſhips and promiſes that had paſſed betweene them: in ſo much, that either by the perſwaſions of them that could do moſt, (notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *S. Malo* counſelled the contrary) or by a hope to make the *Florentines* more inclined to his wil by this feare; or laſtly to haue occaſion to take vpon the ſodaine what part or way he would. The King wrote to *Peter*, cauſing alſo the Lord *Philip* to do the like, and aduiſed him to come neare to *Florence*, for that for the ancient friendſhip that had bene betweene their houſes, and for his owne particular readineſſe and good will ſhewed in the conſignation of the fortreſſes, he was determined to redreſſe him and reſtore him to his firſt authoritie. But theſe letters found him not at *Bologna*, according to the Kings weening; for that what by the rough words of *John Bentiuole*, and doubt he ſhould be purſued by the Duke of *Millan*, and haply alſo by the *French* king, he was for his misfortunes retired to *Veniee*, whither they were ſent to him by his brother the Cardinall remaining then at *Bologna*. At *Florence* they doubted much of the Kings will; and yet, not ſeeing with what force or with what hopes they might reſiſt him, they agreed (as a counſell leaſt dangerous) to receiue him into their Citie, hoping there would ſome meanes ariſe to appeaſe him. And yet making the beſt of their perils, and becauſe they would be prouided for all fortunes, they ordained that the houſes of moſt of the Citizens ſhould be ſecretly repleniſhed with men naturall of the dominion of *Florence*; and that the Captaines which were in the pay of the Commonweale (diſſembling notwithſtanding the occaſion) ſhould enter the

Citie

Citie with many of their bands and ſouldiers; and that euery one within the towne and places about it, ſhould ſtand vpon ready guard to take armes at the alarme of the great bell of the publike pallace. After this the King marched to *Florence* with his army, wherein was expreſſed no litle pompe; as well by the glory and magnificence of thoſe of his Court, as by them of the towne: he entred in ſigne of victory, armed himſelfe and his horſe, with his Lance vpon his thigh, and immediatly began to ſpeake of compoſition, but that was not without many difficulties: for, beſides the immoderate fauours which ſome of the *French* Court bare to *Peter de Medicis*, and the demands of money intollerable made by the King, he demanded openly the impery of *Florence*, alleaging that according to the orders of warre in the Realme of *France*, he had lawfully wonne it, ſeeing his entry was armed according to the cuſtomes of conquerours. From which demand albeit he went in the end, yet ſought hetto leaue at *Florence* certaine men of the long coate (ſo are called in *France* Lawyers, Doctors, and men of Iuſtice) as his Embaſſadors, with ſuch authoritie, that according to the inſtitutions of *France*, he might pretend to be giuen to him for euer no litle iuriſdiction. But on the contrary, the *Florentines* were obſtinate to preſerue their full libertie, hapning what perils ſoeuer; inſomuch that communicating together with ſuch a contrarietie of wils, albeit the minds of both parts were continually kept in hot and angry moods, yet neither faction ſhewed readineſſe to determine the difference by armes: for, the people of *Florence* giuen of long to the following of merchandize, and not to the exerciſe of warre, ſuffered no ſmall feares, hauing within their owne walls one ſo mightie a King with his army full of nations vnknowne and furious. And to the *French* men was no litle amaze the conſideration of the great multitude of peoples, who, ſince the dayes that the gouernment changed, had gathered boldneſſe and audacitie aboue expectation: They were aſtoniſhed beſides at the common brute, that at the alarme of the great bell, there would flocke infinite troupes of people from all parts confining. In which common feare on both ſides, at the noiſe of euery falſe alarme that was heard, either part for his proper ſuretie tooke armes, but not one did aſſaile or prouoke another. The foundation which the King ſought to worke by *Peter de Medicis*, was ſupplanted; for that *Peter* wauering between the hope that was promiſed him, and the feare that he ſhould be giuen vp as a prey to his aduerſaries, asked counſell of the Senate of *Venice* touching the Kings letters. Truly there is nothing more neceſſary in great deliberations, and on the other ſide nothing more dangerous then to demand counſell: And albeit counſell is leſſe neceſſary to men diſcreet, then to ſuch as are not tempered, yet no doubt the profits are not few which wiſe men reape by counſels, ſeeing no man hath that perfect wiſedome to conſider alwayes, and know all things of himſelfe; and in reaſons contrary or different, is able alwayes to diſcerne the better part. But what aſſurance hath he that asketh counſell, to receiue counſell, according to the faith he repoſeth? ſeeing if there be no equall fidelitie nor affection, but regard to particular intereſts, as profit, reuenge, or ſome other motion; he that giueth the counſell, dreſſeth it to that end which beſt anſwereth his purpoſe: ſo that thoſe ends being for the moſt part vnknowne to him that comes to askes counſell, he perceiueth not (if he be not wiſe) the treaſon and infidelitie of the counſell. The experience was ſeene in the condition of *Peter de Medicis*: for, the *Venetians* iudging, that if he returned into his countrey, it would be a cauſe to giue the King a greater facilitie to his demands and deſires of the *Florentines*, (a thing preiudiciall to them, and contrary to the courſe of their affaires) perſwaded him by many liuely reaſons (counſelling rather for themſelues then for him) that he ſhould not put himſelfe in the power of a King of *France*, holding himſelfe iniured by him: Wherein the better to encourage him to the following of their counſell, they offered him to embrace his affaires, and as time and neceſſitie required, to miniſter to him all meanes and fauours conuenient for his reſtitution; wherefore the better to be aſſured that he ſhould not then depart *Venice*, they ſet vpon him (if the common brute be true) very ſecret eſpiall and guard. But now for *Florence*, in this meane while mens hearts were inflamed on all parts, and almoſt carried into manifeſt contention: the King would nothing abate of his later demands, nor the *Florentines* be bound to ſummes of money ſo intollerable, and much leſſe conſent to any iuriſdiction or preheminence in their Eſtate. All which difficulties not being able almoſt to be diſſolued without armes, were euen preſently decided by the vertue of *Peter Capponi*, one of the foure deputed to treate with the King: this *Capponi* was a man of ſpirit and great courage, and ſpeciall reputation in *Florence*, as well for his parts and qualities, as for that he was of an honorable family, and deſcended of perſonages who

The French king entreth Florence.

« ing they depended vpon the will of another, and that which more is, of very diuers accidents:
« yea, be it they ſhould obtaine ſuccors, much leſſe were that to auoide or ſhake off, but rather to
« redouble and make greater the calamities of the warre, being vexed at one time by the inuaſi-
« ons of ſouldiers of the enemy, and tormented with the oppreſſions and inſolencies of the men
« of warre that come to their ſuccors: Which miſeries (he ſaid) would be ſo much the more grie-
« uous to beare, by how much in the end they would come to ſee and know, that it was not for
« their proper libertie they tooke armes, but for the impery of a ſtranger, changing one ſeruitude
« for another: for that this is proper to all Princes, not to enter into the trauels and expences of
« a warre, but to reigne ouer thoſe for whom they fight: And yet your warre (ſaith he) ſeeing
« the great wealth and neighbourhood of the *Florentines*, (by whom you ſhall find many and
« perpetuall vexations) you cannot be able to ſuſtaine, but with very great difficulties.

The French king drawes toward Florence.

In this generall confuſion of things, the King departeth from *Piſa* towards *Florence*, and is not reſolued what forme he would giue to the affaires of the *Piſans*; he ſtayed in a place called *Signa*, ſeuen miles from *Florence*, to be aduertiſed afore he entred the Citie, whether the tumult of the people were in any ſort appeaſed, who had not diſcontinued their vprores ſince the day that *Peter de Medicis* was chaſed out of the Citie: he had withall this intention, to giue time to *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, whom he had ſent for (to the end his entry might ſo much the more aſtoniſh the *Florentines*) with direction to leaue the artillery at *Caſtrocare*, and giue leaue to the fiue hundred men at armes *Italians*, which were with him in *Romagnia*, together with the men at armes of the Duke of *Millan*, except the Count *Caiazze*, which followed *Monſieur d'Aubigny* with three hundred light horſemen. It was ſuppoſed by many tokens and coniectures, that the intention of the King was to draw the *Florentines* by feare of his power, to yeeld vnto him the dominion abſolute of the Citie: a thing which himſelfe could not diſſemble with their Embaſſadors, hauing often recourſe to *Signa*, to make perfect the accord that was contracted. It was without doubt, that the King bare a mind inflamed againſt them, and nouriſhed many ill diſpoſed meanings againſt their Citie, for that they ſought to hinder him in his enterpriſe. And albeit it was manifeſt, that that reſiſtance proceeded not of the will of the Commonweale, which in reaſonable ſort had iuſtified themſelues; yet he could not eaſily forget and diſſolue the impreſſion of the offence, being (as it was ſuppoſed) much induced to their diſfauours, by many of his Councell and Lords; who iudging it not meete to let paſſe the oportunitie to make himſelfe Lord ouer the Citie, or perhaps puſhed forward with their proper ambition and couetouſneſſe, were loth to loſe the occaſion to ſacke a Citie, abounding in ſuch treaſures and wealth: in ſo much as there ranne a brute through the campe, that the Citie had deſerued to be puniſhed, to ſerue as an example to others, being the towne in *Italy* that had preſumed to oppoſe againſt the power and army of *France*. There were alſo of the chiefeſt of his Councell, that ſolicited him to reſtore *Peter de Medicis* to his former degree: for whom, with a peculiar diligence aboue the reſidue, did labour *Philip* Lord of *Breſſe*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, being induced to that office by the priuate friendſhips and promiſes that had paſſed betweene them: in ſo much, that either by the perſwaſions of them that could do moſt, (notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *S. Malo* counſelled the contrary) or by a hope to make the *Florentines* more inclined to his wil by this feare; or laſtly to haue occaſion to take vpon the ſodaine what part or way he would. The King wrote to *Peter*, cauſing alſo the Lord *Philip* to do the like, and aduiſed him to come neare to *Florence*, for that for the ancient friendſhip that had bene betweene their houſes, and for his owne particular readineſſe and good will ſhewed in the conſignation of the fortreſſes, he was determined to redreſſe him and reſtore him to his firſt authoritie. But theſe letters found him not at *Bolognia*, according to the Kings weening; for that what by the rough words of *John Bentiuole*, and doubt he ſhould be purſued by the Duke of *Millan*, and haply alſo by the *French* king, he was for his misfortunes retired to *Venice*, whither they were ſent to him by his brother the Cardinall remaining then at *Bolognia*. At *Florence* they doubted much of the Kings will; and yet, not ſeeing with what force or with what hopes they might reſiſt him, they agreed (as a counſell leaſt dangerous) to receiue him into their Citie, hoping there would ſome meanes ariſe to appeaſe him. And yet making the beſt of their perils, and becauſe they would be prouided for all fortunes, they ordained that the houſes of moſt of the Citizens ſhould be ſecretly repleniſhed with men naturall of the dominion of *Florence*; and that the Captaines which were in the pay of the Commonweale (diſſembling notwithſtanding the occaſion) ſhould enter the

Citie

Citie with many of their bands and ſouldiers; and that euery one within the towne and places about it, ſhould ſtand vpon ready guard to take armes at the alarme of the great bell of the publike pallace. After this the King marched to *Florence* with his army, wherein was expreſſed no litle pompe; as well by the glory and magnificence of thoſe of his Court, as by them of the towne: he entred in ſigne of victory, armed himſelfe and his horſe, with his Lance vpon his thigh, and immediatly began to ſpeake of compoſition, but that was not without many difficulties: for, beſides the immoderate fauours which ſome of the *French* Court bare to *Peter de Medicis*, and the demands of money intollerable made by the King, he demanded openly the impery of *Florence*, alleaging that according to the orders of warre in the Realme of *France*, he had lawfully wonne it, ſeeing his entry was armed according to the cuſtomes of conquerours. From which demand albeit he went in the end, yet ſought he to leaue at *Florence* certaine men of the long coate (ſo are called in *France* Lawyers, Doctors, and men of Iuſtice) as his Embaſſadors, with ſuch authoritie, that according to the inſtitutions of *France*, he might pretend to be giuen to him for euer no litle iuriſdiction. But on the contrary, the *Florentines* were obſtinate to preſerue their full libertie, hapning what perils ſoeuer; inſomuch that communicating together with ſuch a contrarietie of wils, albeit the minds of both parts were continually kept in hot and angry moods, yet neither faction ſhewed readineſſe to determine the difference by armes: for, the people of *Florence* giuen of long to the following of merchandize, and not to the exerciſe of warre, ſuffered no ſmall feares, hauing within their owne walls one ſo mightie a King with his army full of nations vnknowne and furious. And to the *French* men was no litle amaze the conſideration of the great multitude of peoples, who, ſince the dayes that the gouernment changed, had gathered boldneſſe and audacitie aboue expectation: They were aſtoniſhed beſides at the common brute, that at the alarme of the great bell, there would flocke infinite troupes of people from all parts confining. In which common feare on both ſides, at the noiſe of euery falſe alarme that was heard, either part for his proper ſiuretie tooke armes, but not one did aſſaile or prouoke another. The foundation which the King ſought to worke by *Peter de Medicis*, was ſupplanted; for that *Peter* wauering between the hope that was promiſed him, and the feare that he ſhould be giuen vp as a prey to his aduerſaries, asked counſell of the Senate of *Venice* touching the Kings letters. Truly there is nothing more neceſſary in great deliberations, and on the other ſide nothing more dangerous then to demand counſell: And albeit counſell is leſſe neceſſary to men diſcreet, then to ſuch as are not tempered, yet no doubt the profits are not few which wiſe men reape by counſels, ſeeing no man hath that perfect wiſedome to conſider alwayes, and know all things of himſelfe; and in reaſons contrary or different, is able alwayes to diſcerne the better part. But what aſſurance hath he that asketh counſell, to receiue counſell, according to the faith he repoſeth? ſeeing if there be no equall fidelitie nor affection, but regard to particular intereſts, as profit, reuenge, or ſome other motion; he that giueth the counſell, dreſſeth it to that end which beſt anſwereth his purpoſe: ſo that thoſe ends being for the moſt part vnknowne to him that comes to askes counſell, he perceiueth not (if he be not wiſe) the treaſon and infidelitie of the counſell. The experience was ſeene in the condition of *Peter de Mediciſ*: for, the *Venetians* iudging, that if he returned into his countrey, it would be a cauſe to giue the King a greater facilitie to his demands and deſires of the *Florentines*, (a thing preiudiciall to them, and contrary to the courſe of their affaires) perſwaded him by many liuely reaſons (counſelling rather for themſelues then for him) that he ſhould not put himſelfe in the power of a King of *France*, holding himſelfe iniured by him: Wherein the better to encourage him to the following of their counſell, they offered him to embrace his affaires, and as time and neceſſitie required, to miniſter to him all meanes and fauours conuenient for his reſtitution; wherefore the better to be aſſured that he ſhould not then depart *Venice*, they ſet vpon him (if the common brute be true) very ſecret eſpiall and guard. But now for *Florence*, in this meane while mens hearts were inflamed on all parts, and almoſt carried into manifeſt contention: the King would nothing abate of his later demands, nor the *Florentines* be bound to ſummes of money ſo intollerable, and much leſſe conſent to any iuriſdiction or preheminence in their Eſtate. All which difficulties not being able almoſt to be diſſolued without armes, were euen preſently decided by the vertue of *Peter Capponi*, one of the foure deputed to treate with the King: this *Capponi* was a man of ſpirit and great courage, and ſpeciall reputation in *Florence*, as well for his parts and qualities, as for that he was of an honorable family, and deſcended of perſonages who

The French king entreth Florence.

had borne great rule in the Commonweale. As he and his companions were one day in the preſence and audience of the King, and that one of the Kings Secretaries read the vnreaſonable capitulations offered by the King, at the laſt he in a great fury ſnatched the articles out of the Secretaries hands, and tare them before the eyes of the King, ſaying with a heart reſolute, and loud voice: Seeing you demand of vs things ſo diſhoneſt, ſound you vp your trumpets, and we will ring our bells, let all things be ruled by the ſentence of the ſword; and in the ſame heate flings with great ſuddenneſſe out of the chamber, being followed of his companions. The words of this Citizen, whom the King and his Court had already knowne, for that a few moneths before he had bene in *France* in legation for them of *Florence*, aſtoniſhed them all in ſuch ſort (ſpecially for that they could not beleeue that ſuch a boldneſſe was without occaſion) that they called him backe againe, and without ſpeaking more of demands, whereunto the *Florentines* had no will to condeſcend, the King and the Citie fell to compoſition in this ſort: That all quarrels and iniuries forgotten and cancelled, the Citie of *Florence* ſhould be friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the Crowne of *France*: That for the ſiuretie of the King, the citie of *Piſa* and towne of *Liuorne*, with all their caſtles, ſhould remaine in his hands: And that he ſhould be bound to reſtore them to the *Florentines*, without any expences or charges, as ſoone as he had brought to end his enterpriſe of the kingdome of *Naples*; the which ſhould be conſtrued to be at an end whenſoeuer he ſhould haue conquered the citie of *Naples*, or accorded the warre by meanes of peace or truce for leſſe then two yeares, or that for any other occaſion his perſon ſhould be gone out of *Italy*: That thoſe that at that time had the keeping of the ſaid Caſtles, ſhould be ſworne to render them in the caſes aforeſaid: That in the meane while the impery, the iuriſdiction, the gouernment, and the reuenue of the townes ſhould be in the adminiſtration of the *Florentines*, as they were accuſtomed: That the like ſhould be of *Pietraſanta*, *Serezana* and *Serezanella*; but (for that the *Genoways* pretended right to them) the King ſhould procure either by compoſition or iuſtice, ſome reaſonable end between them; and if within the time aforeſaid he could not determine the titles, that then he ſhould reſtore them to the *Florentines*: That the King might leaue at *Florence* two Embaſſadors; and that during his expedition for *Naples*, there ſhould be nothing debated concerning that action, without their priuitie and calling them to it; and that during the ſaid time, they ſhould not chuſe a Captaine generall ouer their companies, without communicating with the ſaid Embaſſadors: That all the other peeces taken away or reuolted from the *Florentines*, ſhould be immediatly rendred, and that they might be ſuffered to recouer them by armes, where deniall was made: That, to aide the King in his enterpriſe, they ſhould giue him fiftie thouſand duckets within fifteene dayes, fortie thouſand in the moneth of March, and thirtie thouſand in Iune next comming: That the *Florentines* ſhould pardon the *Piſans* their rebellions, and other faults committed during their reuolt: That they ſhould deliuer *Peter de Medicis* and his brethren from condemnation and confiſcation, with this condition notwithſtanding, that *Peter* ſhould not come by a hundred miles neare the confines of the dominion of *Florence*, (that was becauſe he ſhould not remaine at *Rome*) nor his brethren nearer then a hundred miles of the citie of *Florence*. Theſe were the articles of moſt importance in the capitulation made betweene the King and the *Florentines*; which after they were lawfully paſſed and contracted, were in great ceremonie publiſhed in the great Church at diuine Seruice, where the King in perſon (at whoſe requeſt this was done) and the Magiſtrates of the Citie, promiſed by ſolemne oath vpon the high altar, in the preſence of the Court and the whole face of *Florence*, to obſerue the contents of the ſame. Within two dayes after the King left *Florence*, and went to *Sienna*, which Citie being confederate with the King of *Naples*, and with the *Florentines*, had followed their authoritie, vntill the going of *Peter de Medicis* to *Serezana* warned them to looke to their proper ſafetie.

A reſolute part of a Counſeller

Capitulations betweene the French king and the Florentines.

The French king at Sienna

Sienna a Citie well peopled, and planted in a region very fertill, and which (of antiquitie) had beene the moſt renowmed and mightie towne of *Tuſcane* next to *Florence*, was gouerned by a peculiar policie proper and particular to it ſelfe, but ſo, as it knew rather the name of libertie then the effects: for that being diuided into many factions or members of Citizens, which they call orders, it obeyed that part which according to the accidents of times and fauours of forrein Potentates, was more ſtrong then the others; at that time held moſt rule and authoritie the order of *Monte-Noue*. After the King had taried a very few dayes at *Sienna*, he planted a garriſon there, (for that hauing bene alwayes at the deuotion of the Empire, he held it ſuſpected) and

tooke

tooke his way to *Rome*, rising euery day more insolent then other, for his succesſe and fortunes, which were alwayes greater then euer were his hopes: And being also fauoured with the aire and weather, more then the naturall temperature of that season had wont to shew, he determined to put diligence to his fortune, and vse those prosperities not onely as terrible to his enemies manifest and professed, but euen to those that were conioyned with him, or at least had not prouoked him in any thing. Therfore the Senate of *Venice* and the Duke of *Millan*, no lesse astonished with these successes, then doubtfull that the Kings thoghts wold not be at rest by the conquest of *Naples*, (specially seeing him possest of the fortresses of the *Florentines*, and to leaue a garrison at *Sienna*) began for a remedy of their common danger, to make a new confederatiõ; whereunto they had with more speed and ease giuen perfection, if there had bene made that resistance to the King at *Rome* that was hoped for; the intention of the Duke of *Calabria* (with whom were ioyned in one strength the bands of the Pope, and *Virginio Vrsin*, with the residue of the *Aragons* army) being to incampe at *Viterba*, to giue impediment to the King for passing further. To this he was drawne, besides many occasions, by the oportunitie of the place, enuironed with townes of the Church, and neare the States of the *Vrsins*: but all the circumference and countreys about *Rome*, drawing into tumult by the incursions which the *Colonnoys* made beyond the riuer of *Tiber*, and for the impediments of victuals (by meanes of *Ostia*) which should come to *Rome* by sea, he durst not abide there: he doubted withall the intention of the Pope, for that since he vnderstood that *Peter de Medicis* was turned, he had begun to open his eares to the demands of the *French*, for the which, and the reasons of them, Cardinall *Ascanius* went to him, after the Cardinall of *Valence* (in pledge of his suretie) was come to *Marina*, a towne of the *Colonnoys*. And albeit *Ascanius* was gone without resolution certaine, for that *Alexander* distrusted much the intention of the King, and on the other side was in great feare of his forces, which bred no small torment and conflict in his heart; yet after the King was parted from *Florence*, they returned eftsoones to commune of the accord: wherein for the better accomplishment of things, the Pope dispatched to the King the Bishops of *Concorde*, and *Ternie*, and Maister *Gratian* his Confessour, with commission that they should compound as well for the affaires of *Alphonso*, as for his owne. But the King was of a contrary meaning, hauing setled his resolution to accord onely and particularly with the Pope: and for that cause he sent to him *Monsieur Trimouille*, and the President of *Ganuay* being there also for the same occasion: the Cardinall *Ascanius* and *Prosper Colonne*, who were no sooner come to *Rome*, then the Pope (for what cause I know not) changing aduice, bestowed the Duke of *Calabria* within *Rome*, with all his army, and caused to be arrested *Ascanius* and *Prosper*, hauing restrained them within the tower of *Adrian*, of old called the castle of *Crescence*, and now named the castle of *S. Ange*, and demanded of them restitution of *Ostia*. In this tumult also the *French* Embassadors were made prisoners by the *Aragons*: but the Pope caused them with speed to be deliuered, and within a few dayes after restored to libertie *Ascanius* and *Prosper*, constraining them notwithstanding to depart suddenly out of *Rome*. After this, he sent to the *French* king lying then at *Nepi*, Cardinall *Federike* of *S. Seuerin*, beginning to treate onely of his proper affaires, and yet in great doubt and declining of mind, for that sometimes he determined to stand to the defence of *Rome*, and therefore gaue sufferance to *Ferdinand* and the Captaines to looke to fortifie it in the parts most weake; and earst againe, he iudged it a matter very difficult to defend it, for the impediments of victuals restrained by those of *Ostia*: in which respects, weighing also with the infinite numbers of strangers, being of minds and wils different, the diuersitie of factions euen amongst the *Romaines*, he began to thinke to go from *Rome*, requiring in the Colledge that euery Cardinall would promise by a writing subsigned, to follow him: and euen standing amazed with the dangers and difficulties imminent, vpon euery one of his deliberations he turned his mind to accord. But whilest his mind wauered in these ambiguities, the *French* men forbore not to ouerrunne the whole country on this side *Tiber*, making themselues Lords of one towne after another, no place offering resistance to their incursions; no, not one peece or fort which gaue not place to their importunate fury, according to the example of the others; no, not such as had good occasion to oppose themselues against them, as *Virginio Vrsin*, drawne by so many bonds of faith, office, and honor to the house of *Aragon*, Captaine generall of the army of *Alphonso*, grand Constable of the realme of *Naples*, and very neare of kindred to *Alphonso*, for that *John Iordan* his sonne had maried a bastard daughter of the late king *Ferdinand*.

The Pope is iealous of his owne safetie.

But

had borne great rule in the Commonweale. As he and his companions were one day in the presence and audience of the King, and that one of the Kings Secretaries read the vnreasonable capitulations offered by the King, at the last he in a great fury snatched the articles out of the Secretaries hands, and tare them before the eyes of the King, saying with a heart resolute, and loud voice: Seeing you demand of vs things so dishonest, sound you vp your trumpets, and we will ring our bells, let all things be ruled by the sentence of the sword; and in the same heate flings with great suddennesse out of the chamber, being followed of his companions. The words of this Citizen, whom the King and his Court had already knowne, for that a few moneths before he had bene in *France* in legation for them of *Florence*, astonished them all in such sort (specially for that they could not beleeue that such a boldnesse was without occasion) that they called him backe againe, and without speaking more of demands, whereunto the *Florentines* had no will to condescend, the King and the Citie fell to composition in this sort: That all quarrels and iniuries forgotten and cancelled, the Citie of *Florence* should be friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the Crowne of *France*: That for the suretie of the King, the citie of *Pisa* and towne of *Liuorne*, with all their castles, should remaine in his hands: And that he should be bound to restore them to the *Florentines*, without any expences or charges, as soone as he had brought to end his enterprise of the kingdome of *Naples*; the which should be construed to be at an end whensoeuer he should haue conquered the citie of *Naples*, or accorded the warre by meanes of peace or truce for lesse then two yeares, or that for any other occasion his person should be gone out of *Italy*: That those that at that time had the keeping of the said Castles, should be sworne to render them in the cases aforesaid: That in the meane while the impery, the iurisdiction, the gouernment, and the reuenue of the townes should be in the administration of the *Florentines*, as they were accustomed: That the like should be of *Pietrasanta*, *Serezana* and *Serezanella*; but (for that the *Genoways* pretended right to them) the King should procure either by composition or iustice, some reasonable end between them; and if within the time aforesaid he could not determine the titles, that then he should restore them to the *Florentines*: That the King might leaue at *Florence* two Embassadors; and that during his expedition for *Naples*, there should be nothing debated concerning that action, without their priuitie and calling them to it; and that during the said time, they should not chuse a Captaine generall ouer their companies, without communicating with the said Embassadors: That all the other peeces taken away or reuolted from the *Florentines*, should be immediatly rendred, and that they might be suffered to recouer them by armes, where deniall was made: That, to aide the King in his enterprise, they should giue him fiftie thousand duckets within fifteene dayes, fortie thousand in the moneth of March, and thirtie thousand in Iune next comming: That the *Florentines* should pardon the *Pisans* their rebellions, and other faults committed during their reuolt: That they should deliuer *Peter de Medicis* and his brethren from condemnation and confiscation, with this condition notwithstanding, that *Peter* should not come by a hundred miles neare the confines of the dominion of *Florence*, (that was becaus he should not remaine at *Rome*) nor his brethren nearer then a hundred miles of the citie of *Florence*. These were the articles of most importance in the capitulation made betweene the King and the *Florentines*; which after they were lawfully passed and contracted, were in great ceremonie published in the great Church at diuine Seruice, where the King in person (at whose request this was done) and the Magistrates of the Citie, promised by solemne oath vpon the high altar, in the presence of the Court and the whole face of *Florence*, to obserue the contents of the same. Within two dayes after the King left *Florence*, and went to *Sienna*, which Citie being confederate with the King of *Naples*, and with the *Florentines*, had followed their authoritie, vntill the going of *Peter de Medicis* to *Serezana* warned them to looke to their proper safetie.

A resolute part of a Counseller

Capitulations betweene the French king and the Florentines.

The French king at Sienna

Sienna a Citie well peopled, and planted in a region very fertill, and which (of antiquitie) had bene the most renowmed and mightie towne of *Tuskane* next to *Florence*, was gouerned by a peculiar policie proper and particular to it selfe, but so, as it knew rather the name of libertie then the effects: for that being diuided into many factions or members of Citizens, which they call orders, it obeyed that part which according to the accidents of times and fauours of forrein Potentates, was more strong then the others; at that time held most rule and authoritie the order of *Monte-Noue*. After the King had taried a very few dayes at *Sienna*, he planted a garrison there, (for that hauing bene alwayes at the deuotion of the Empire, he held it suspected) and

tooke

tooke his way to *Rome*, rising euery day more insolent then other, for his succesſe and fortunes, which were alwayes greater then euer were his hopes: And being also fauoured with the aire and weather, more then the naturall temperature of that season had wont to shew, he determined to put diligence to his fortune, and vse those prosperities not onely as terrible to his enemies manifest and professed, but euen to those that were conioyned with him, or at least had not prouoked him in any thing. Therfore the Senate of *Venice* and the Duke of *Millan*, no lesse astonished with these successes, then doubtfull that the Kings thoghts wold not be at rest by the conquest of *Naples*, (specially seeing him possest of the fortresses of the *Florentines*, and to leaue a garrison at *Sienna*) began for a remedy of their common danger, to make a new confederatiõ; whereunto they had with more speed and ease giuen perfection, if there had bene made that resistance to the King at *Rome* that was hoped for; the intention of the Duke of *Calabria* (with whom were ioyned in one strength the bands of the Pope, and *Virginio Vrsin*, with the residue of the *Aragons* army) being to incampe at *Vicerba*, to giue impediment to the King for passing further. To this he was drawne, besides many occasions, by the oportunitie of the place, enuironed with townes of the Church, and neare the States of the *Vrsins*: but all the circumference and countreys about *Rome*, drawing into tumult by the incursions which the *Colonnoys* made beyond the riuer of *Tiber*, and for the impediments of victuals (by meanes of *Ostia*) which should come to *Rome* by sea, he durst not abide there: he doubted withall the intention of the Pope, for that since he vnderstood that *Peter de Medicis* was turned, he had begun to open his eares to the demands of the *French*, for the which, and the reasons of them, Cardinall *Ascanius* went to him, after the Cardinall of *Valence* (in pledge of his suretie) was come to *Marina*, a towne of the *Colonnoys*. And albeit *Ascanius* was gone without resolution certaine, for that *Alexander* distrusted much the intention of the King, and on the other side was in great feare of his forces, which bred no small torment and conflict in his heart; yet after the King was parted from *Florence*, they returned eftsoones to commune of the accord: wherein for the better accomplishment of things, the Pope dispatched to the King the Bishops of *Concorde*, and *Ternie*, and Maister *Gratian* his Confessour, with commission that they should compound as well for the affaires of *Alphonso*, as for his owne. But the King was of a contrary meaning, hauing setled his resolution to accord onely and particularly with the Pope: and for that cause he sent to him *Monsieur Trimouille*, and the President of *Ganuay* being there also for the same occasion: the Cardinall *Ascanius* and *Prosper Colonne*, who were no sooner come to *Rome*, then the Pope (for what cause I know not) changing aduice, bestowed the Duke of *Calabria* within *Rome*, with all his army, and caused to be arrested *Ascanius* and *Prosper*, hauing restrained them within the tower of *Adrian*, of old called the castle of *Crescence*, and now named the castle of *S. Ange*, and demanded of them restitution of *Ostia*. In this tumult also the *French* Embassadors were made prisoners by the *Aragons*: but the Pope caused them with speed to be deliuered, and within a few dayes after restored to libertie *Ascanius* and *Prosper*, constraining them notwithstanding to depart suddenly out of *Rome*. After this, he sent to the *French* king lying then at *Nepi*, Cardinall *Federike* of *S. Seuerin*, beginning to treate onely of his proper affaires, and yet in great doubt and declining of mind, for that sometimes he determined to stand to the defence of *Rome*, and therefore gaue sufferance to *Ferdinand* and the Captaines to looke to fortifie it in the parts most weake; and earst againe, he iudged it a matter very difficult to defend it, for the impediments of victuals restrained by those of *Ostia*: in which respects, weighing also with the infinite numbers of strangers, being of minds and wils different, the diuersitie of factions euen amongst the *Romaines*, he began to thinke to go from *Rome*, requiring in the Colledge that euery Cardinall would promise by a writing subsigned, to follow him: and euen standing amazed with the dangers and difficulties imminent, vpon euery one of his deliberations he turned his mind to accord. But whilest his mind wauered in these ambiguities, the *French* men forbore not to ouerrunne the whole country on this side *Tiber*, making themselues Lords of one towne after another, no place offering resistance to their incursions; no, not one peece or fort which gaue not place to their importunate fury, according to the example of the others; no, not such as had good occasion to oppose themselues against them, as *Virginio Vrsin*, drawne by so many bonds of faith, office, and honor to the house of *Aragon*, Captaine generall of the army of *Alphonso*, grand Constable of the realme of *Naples*, and very neare of kindred to *Alphonso*, for that *Iohn Iordan* his sonne had maried a bastard daughter of the late king *Ferdinand*.

The Pope is iealous of his owne safetie.

But

But he turning all things into forgetfulneſſe, and as vnthankfull for the ſtates and fauours he had receiued in the kingdome of *Naples*, as vnmindfull that the calamities of the *Aragons* were firſt kindled for his occaſions, and nouriſhed chiefly in his particular intereſts; conſented that (his perſon continuing ſtill in the pay of the king of *Naples*) his children ſhould compound with the *French*, and be bound to giue them paſſage and libertie of victuals and other friendſhips, through all the Eſtates which he held of the dominions of the Church, leauing the *French* men not a litle amazed with his example and forme of dealing, being not acquainted with theſe ſubtill and vnaccuſtomed diſtinctions of the ſouldiers of *Italy*: he ſuffered withall that *Campagnane* and certaine other places were put in deputation into the hands of the Cardinall of *Gurcie*, who promiſed to reſtore them ſo ſoone as the army was out of the territories of *Rome*. This forme of agreement was vſed alſo by the Count *de Petillane*, with all the reſidue of the family of the *Vrſins*. Immediatly vpon theſe accords, King *Charles* went from *Nepi* to *Bracciane* a chiefe towne of *Virginio*, and ſent to *Oſtia Lewis* the Lord of *Ligny*, and *Tues* Lord of *Alegre*, with fiue hundred Lances, and two thouſand *Swiſſers*, to the end that paſſing *Tyber*, and ioyning with the *Colonnoys*, they might make a ſtrength to enter *Rome*, and that ſo much the better, by how much the *Colonnoys* (by the meanes of their factions and partakers within *Rome*) had a reſolute hope to make their entry in what ſort ſoeuer it were, notwithſtanding by the ſeaſon of the time being rough and ſtormy, the difficulties were much increaſed. By this time *Ciuitauecche*, *Cornette*, & in the end almoſt all the territories of *Rome*, were brought to the deuotion of the *French*, when a man might haue ſeene all the Court amazed, all the Cardinals doubtfull, and all the communaltie of the Citie full of feares and emotion, demanding vehemently peace: inſomuch that the Pope driuen to dangerous termes, ſeeing the foundations which he had laid for his defence, ſhaken on all ſides, was not ſuſtained with any other thing then with the remembrance that he was one of the firſt that ſtirred the *French* King to the enterpriſe of *Naples*; and had ſince (without occaſion giuen) obſtinately reſiſted him with authoritie, with counſels, and with force: the ſame making him iuſtly doubt, that the faith which he ſhould receiue of the King, ſhould be like that the King had receiued of him. To theſe feares he felt another torment nothing inferior, vnderſtanding the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula* was very gracious in the Kings ſight, with many other Cardinals his enemies, bearing no litle authoritie and rule in the Kings doings; by the perſwaſions of whom, and for the regard of the title of Right Chriſtian, which the Kings of *France* beare, and for the ancient name which that nation hath to be very religious; and laſtly for that in ill men the conſcience guiltie and infected ſuſpecteth not onely the worſt, but alſo their minds carried in ſhadowes, they expect and dread great things of thoſe that are knowne to them by name onely; he feared leſt the King would turne his wits (according to a vaine brute) to reforme the gouernment of the Church: the ſame being a right trembling thought and coniecture to him, when he remembred with what infamy he was come to the Popedome, performing his miniſtration with manners of life and meanes not differing from ſo foule and vile a beginning. But he was cleared immediatly of theſe ſuſpitions by the diligence and promiſes of the King, full of efficacie and deſire to aduance aboue all things his going to the Realme of *Naples*: and for that cauſe letting nothing paſſe that might take out of the way the blockes and impediments of the Pope, ſent to him eftſoones as Embaſſadours, the Seneſhall of *Beucaire*, the Marſhall of *Giè*, and the ſaid Preſident of *Gannay*. They laboured to perſwade the Pope that the Kings intention was not to meddle with any thing that appertained to the authoritie of Popes; and that his demands ſtretched not but to things reaſonable and neceſſary for the ſuretie of his paſſage. They required him inſtantly to agree with good will to the Kings entry into *Rome*, aſſuring him that it was a holy and peculiar deſire in his Maieſtie (not that it was not in his power to make his entry by armes, but becauſe he would not be conſtrained to forbeare) to vſe thoſe actions of reuerence, which had bene alwayes done by his elders to the Popes of *Rome*: They aſſured him that as ſoone as his Maieſties perſon were poſſeſſed of the preſence of the Pope within *Rome*, all thoſe quarrels that had bene raiſed betweene them, would be conuerted into reconcilement, vnitie and coniunction. It ſeemed to the Pope a hard compulſion, to deſpoile himſelfe afore all things of the aide of his friends, and committing his eſtate and life into the power of an enemie, to receiue him within the wals of *Rome* afore he had compounded or aſſured his affaires: notwithſtanding, making election of the danger that was of leaſt qualitie, he conſented to all their demands, and cauſed to depart out of *Rome* the Duke of *Calabria*, for whom albeit

albeit he obtained of the *French* King a safe conduct for his safe passage through all the dominions of the Church, yet the Duke accounting it a diminution of his reputation and courage, refused it, and issued out of *Rome* by the gate *S. Sebastian*, the last day of the yeare 1494. at the same houre that at the gate *de S. Maria de Popolo* entred with the army of *France* the *French* king armed, with his Lance vpon his thigh, as he entred *Florence*. At the same time the Pope full of incredible feares and perplexities, was withdrawne to the castle *S. Ange*, not accompanied with other Cardinals then *Baptista Vrsin*, and *Oliuer Caraffe a Neapolitan*. But now began the Cardinals, *ad Vincula*, *Ascanius*, *Colonne* and *Sauelle*, with many others, to solicite the King with vehement instance, that taking from the Sea a Pope full of vices, and abhominable to all the world, he would create and set vp another: they told him, it would be no lesse vertuous in him to deliuer the Church of God from the tyrannie of a wicked Pope, then it was great glory to *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* his predecessors, to take the Popes of holy life out of the persecutions of those that did vniustly oppresse them: That the action was no lesse necessary for his securitie, then greatly concurring for his glory: for, there was no expectation of faith or trust in the promises of the Pope, being a man naturally full of fraud, insatiable in ambition, shameless in all his doings, and according to the testimonie of experience, extremely hating the *French*, with whom the reconciliation that now he made, was more by necessitie and feare, then of inclination or good will. Partly by these perswasions, and partly for that the Pope in the conditions that were debated, refused to let the King haue the castle of *S. Ange*, for the suretie of those things he promised him; the artillery was drawn twice from the Pallace of *S. Mark* where the King was lodged, to be planted before the castle. But the King bearing no inclination to offend the Pope, the presents and promises of *Alexander* working much with those that gouerned most the kings counsels, they fell to accord in this sort: That there should be betweene the Pope and the King a perpetuall amitie and confederation for their common defence: That the Pope should giue to the King, to hold for his suretie till he had conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, the Citadels of *Ciuitauecchia*, *Terracine*, and *Spolete*, and yet this last was not put into his hands: That the Pope should keepe no remembrance of any offence or iniury of the Cardinals or any Barons subiects to the Church, that had followed the Kings partie: That the Pope should inuest him in the kingdome of *Naples*: That he should giue to the King *Gemin Ottoman*, brother to *Baiazet*, who after the death of their father, had bene persecuted by the said *Baiazet*, according to the barbarous customes of the *Ottomans*, seeking to establish their succession in the Empire, with the bloud of their brethren, their neareſt kinne and competitors; in which perill for safetie of his life he was fled to *Rhodes*, from whence he was brought into *France*, and lastly past ouer into the power and custodie of Pope *Innocent*: by which occasion *Baiazet* (seruing his turne of the couetousnesse of the Vicars of Christ, as instruments to hold in peace the Empire enemy to the Christian faith) payed euery yeare (vnder the name of allowance toward his maintenance and keeping) fortie thousand duckets to the Popes, to the end they should be lesse ready to deliuer him into the hands of other Princes to serue their turnes against him. The King was so much the more desirous to haue him, by how much he supposed to turne him to many vses and oportunities for the aduancing of his pretended enterprise against the *Turkes*, (being greatly carried into glory by the vaine flatteries of many of his fauourites) which he meant to begin as soone as he had accomplished the conquest of the *Aragons*: and because the last fortie thousand duckats sent by the *Turke*, were taken at *Sinigalle* by the Prefect *Rome*, he required that the Pope would remit both the punishment and restitution. To these capitulations were added, that the Cardinall of *Valence* should follow the King three moneths as Legate Apostolike, but in meaning, it was to stand as hostage for the promises of his father. The accord thus made and past, the Pope returned to the *Vatican*, where is his Pallace Pontificall: and after, with pompes and ceremonies accustomed at the receiuing of great Kings, he receiued the King in the Church of *S. Peter*, and there (according to the maner) hauing kissed his feete kneeling, was afterward receiued to kisse his cheek. Another day he assisted in presence the Popes Masse, where he had his place the first after the first Bishop Cardinal, and according to the ancient custome, gaue water to the Pope celebrating Masse: which offices, humilities and ceremonies, the Pope (to continue the memory to all posterities) caused to be curiously drawne in a table pourtrayed, and hung vp in a gallerie of the Castle *S. Ange*. In this action, the Pope to gratifie the King, created and published Cardinals the Bishop of *S. Malo*, and the Bishop of *Mans*, of the house of *Luxemburg*,

The French king entreth Rome. 1494.

Perswasions of some Cardinals to the French king to depose the Pope.

Capitulations betweene the Pope and the French king.

Cardinall Valence the Popes sonne.

The French king kisseth the Popes feet.

burg; forgetting nothing that might expresse how sincerely and vnfainedly he was reconciled.

The King parteth frō Rome and draweth towards Naples.

The King remaining in *Rome* about a moneth, forgat not to send bands and troupes of souldiers euen vpon the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*: where was already such generall commotion, that *Aquila* and almost all *Abruzza* displayed ensignes afore he parted from *Rome*, as also *Fabricius Colonne* occupied the quarters of *Albe* and *Taille Cosse*. The residue of the whole kingdome was almost in no more peaceable estate, for that as soone as *Ferdinand* was parted from *Rome*, the fruites of the hatreds which the people had long borne to *Alphonso*, began to appeare, helping much the remembrance of many rigors which his father *Ferdinand* had vsed against them. Vpon these they raised ready occasions to complaine vehemently of the iniquities of the gouernments passed, together with the cruelties and pride of *Alphonso*, expressing in these humors apparent desire that the *French* might come. And that in such sort, as the contemplation of the ancient relikes and monuments of such as held with the house of *Anjow*, albeit they were ioyned to the memory of so many Barons as had bene chased and imprisoned at sundry times by *Ferdinand*, (things of themselues of great consideration, and of no litle power to worke a change) did litle in this time, in regard of the other occasions: so vehemently were the hearts of all the kingdome inflamed against *Alphonso*; who for his part, as soone as he vnderstood that his sonne was gone out of *Rome*, entred into such present feares and astonishments, that turning all memory or regard to the great renowne and glorie which with so long experience he had got in many warres in *Italy*, into a present despaire, not to be able to resist this fatall storme, he determined to abandon the kingdome, and leaue to *Ferdinand* the name and authoritie royall. In this deuice perhaps he had hope, that taking away with himselfe the generall hatred, and leauing to the people for their King a yong Prince of great expectation, not yet hauing offended any of them, but gracious and plausible to the vniuersall multitude, he should make lesse in his subiects their desire to haue the *French*. Which counsell, if it had bene sooner taken, would haply haue wrought to better purpose; but being deferred till things were not onely in motion and shaking, but euen beginning to fall, it was not able to stay so great a ruine. It was said also (if it be lawfull not to despise such things altogether) that the spirit of *Ferdinand* appeared three times in sundry nights to *Iames* chiefe Surgeon of the Court, charging him first with soft and milde words, and after with many threatnings, to warne *Alphonso* from him, not to hope to be able to resist the *French* king, because it was a resolution in destinie, that his race trauelled with infinite aduentures and fortunes, and depriued at last of so large a kingdome, should now end and determine. He said, their enormities began now to appeare in iustice, and the many tyrannies by them committed were the causes, but aboue all others that which by his perswasion he had done in the Church of *S. Leonard* in *Chiaia* neare *Naples*, comming from *Pozzolo*; and for that he expressed them not particularly, men supposed that *Alphonso* had in that place perswaded *Ferdinand* to put to death secretly many Barons, whom he held prisoners long time before. But of what nature soeuer the occasion was, it is most certaine that *Alphonso* vexed with his owne conscience, liued day and night in a discontented spirit, for that in his sleepes the shadowes and ghosts of those dead Lords were liuely afore him, and on the dayes he beheld the people prepared greatly to insurrections, for reuenge of his rigorous dealings. In which perplexitie of mind applying his counsels to his fortunes, he communicated onely his intention with the Queene his mother in law, keeping it from his brother or his son; and departed from *Naples* accompanied with foure light gallies loaden with implements rich and precious: he was so afflicted with dread and confusion, that at the earnest instance of his mother, he would not stay two or three dayes (to end the whole yeare of his reigne,) and at his departure expressing some timorous disposition of mind, as if he had bene enuironed with the *French* men: he sailed to a towne in *Sicile* called *Mazare*, which *Ferdinand* the king of *Spaine* had giuen him the yeare before: but his feares left not to follow him no more then his fortunes, shewing at euery brute or small noise, no lesse perplexitie and terror, then if the heauens and elements had conspired against him.

The kingdome of Naples beginneth to conspire.

As the *French* King departed out of *Rome*, he receiued aduertisement of the flying of *Alphonso*; and as soone as he was arriued at *Vellitre*, the Cardinall of *Valence* fled secretly from him: with the which albeit the Pope shewed himselfe much discontented, offering to giue the King such assurance as it pleased him; yet wise men beleeued that it was not without his practise and commandement, as one that sought to haue in his power to obserue or not obserue the agree-

ments

ments he had made with his Maieſtie: an action agreeing with his ambition, which moſt gouerned him, but far from the office of his profeſſion, which he leaſt eſteemed, making nothing vnlawful, for that he challenged to himſelf to haue power to diſpenſe with all things. From *Veltra* the vantguard marched to *Montfortin*, a towne of the Church ſeated in the plaine countrey, ſubiect to *Iaques* a *Romaine* gentleman, who had at firſt followed the pay of the *French* King, but ſince (the hate he bare to the *Colonneys* prouailing more with him then his proper honour) he became mercenary to *Alphonſo*: and after the place was well ſhaken with the artillery, it was taken (notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſituation) within few houres by the *French*, who put to the ſword all that were found within it, except his three ſonnes, and certaine others, who being retired into the Caſtle, yeelded themſelues priſoners as ſoone as they ſaw the artillery planted. From thence the army marched to *Mount S. Iohn*, a towne of the Marqueſſe de *Peſcaire*, ſeated in the ſame plaine, vpon the confines of the kingdome: which beſides that it was ſtrong by nature and induſtry of men, was alſo well furniſhed with ſouldiers to defend it; hauing in it three hundred footmen ſtrangers, and fiue hundred of the inhabitants well appointed for all dangers: ſo that it was not thought pregnable, but by a hard and long ſiege. But after the *Frenchmen* had ſomewhat battered the walls with their Cannons, they gaue in the preſence of the King (then come from *Veruli*) ſo hot and violent an aſſault, that vanquiſhing all difficulties, they tooke it by force the ſame day. And following their naturall fury, as alſo to warne others by this example, not to be ſo obſtinate as to reſiſt, hauing made lamentable ſlaughters, without ſparing any ſort of barbarous crueltie, they ſet the houſes on fire: which maner of making warre, not vſed in *Italy* in many ages before, filled the whole Realme with great feares and terrors. For in *Italy* in all victories obtained in what ſort ſoeuer, the moſt extreme and laſt action wherein the Victor would ſtretch out his crueltie, was to diſarme the ſouldiers, and ſo let them go vanquiſhed: and for townes taken by force, to put them to ſacke and pillage, and the inhabitants to ranſome, pardoning alwayes the life of men not ſlaine in the heate and fury of the fight.

This was all the reſiſtance and paines which the *French* King had to conquer ſo noble and populous a kingdome: for the defence whereof, there was not ſhewed in any ſort any vertue, any counſell, any faith, nor any deſire of honor. For, after that the Duke of *Calabria* (who after his going out of *Rome*, was retired to the borders of the kingdome) being called to *Naples* by the flying of his father, had taken vpon him the authoritie and title of King, with the ſolemnities accuſtomed, (but without any pomp) and that he had aſſembled his army containing fiftie ſquadrons of horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen of choiſe, led by the beſt reputed Captaines in *Italy*; he encamped himſelfe at *S. Germain*, to ſtop the enemy for paſſing further, being drawne thither by the oportunitie of the place, enuironed on the one ſide with high and rough mountaines, and on the other with a countrey full of mariſhes and waters, and had in the front the riuer of *Garillan*, which the Ancients called *Liri*, albeit it was not ſo deepe in that place, but at ſome times it was paſſable at a foord; by reaſon whereof, and that the paſſage is very narrow and ſtraight, they ſay (with good reaſon) that *S. Germain* is one of the keys of the kingdome of *Naples*. He ſent alſo bands and troupes to the next mountaines, to keepe the way of *Cancella*. But his army being already terrified with the onely name of the *French*, ſhewed no more tokens of courage; and the Captaines partly tendring the ſafetie of themſelues and their owne eſtates, diſtruſting already of the defence of the kingdome, and partly deſiring innouations, began to wauer no leſſe in faith then in courage: and laſtly, all the kingdome being in inſurrection, it was not without feare that at their backes ſhould happen ſome perillous diſorder. Therefore counſell giuing place to cowardize, vnderſtanding after the taking of *Mount S. Iohn*, that the Marſhall *de Gie* was at hand with three hundred lances and two thouſand footmen, they diſcamped with ſhame from *S. Germain*, and retired to *Capua* with ſuch confuſion and feare, that they left by the way eight great peeces of artillery without guard, giuing the enemy a meanes to helpe forward their deſtruction with their owne weapons. This Citie, the new King (repoſing much in the amitie of the Towne towards the houſe of *Aragon*, and in the ſtrong ſeate of the place) hoped to defend, and to keepe alſo *Naples* and *Caietta*, not making diſtribution of his forces to other places. The *French* men went after; but diſperſed and out of order, marching more after the maner of trauellers then like men of warre, and without all regard either to keepe vnder their enſignes, or to be ruled by the direction of their Captaines, they tooke libertie to go where ſoeuer they thought to find pillage; and one part of them moſt often lodged in the

nights in places where the *Aragons* were dislodged in the mornings. Neither in *Capua* was any greater demonstration of vertue or fortune, for that after *Ferdinand* had there bestowed his army, much diminished in numbers since the retrait from *S. Germain*, he was sent for by letters from the Queene, expressing that since the losse of *S. Germain*, there were such murmures and mutinies within *Naples*, as without his presence, there was manifest danger of a generall tumult: for which cause he went thither with a small companie, by his presence to giue impediment to the perill present, promising to returne eftsoones to *Capua* the day following. But *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, to whom he had left the guard of the Citie, had secretly sent to the *French* King for a Herald, to come vnder suretie to speake with him; which being granted, *Triuulce* with certaine gentlemen of *Capua*, went to *Calui*, where the same day the King was entred. This did *Triuulce*, notwithstanding that many others of the Citie well disposed to keepe their faith to *Ferdinand*, did speake against it with many braue and haughtie words: but being presented to the King all armed as he came in, he told him in the name of the *Capuans* and souldiers; That they seeing their forces to defend, to faile in *Ferdinand*, whom they had faithfully serued whilest there remained any apparence of hope, were now come to make offer of their seruices to him, bringing minds to follow his fortunes wheresoeuer he will employ them, vnder honest conditions; adding withall, that he doubted not to bring him *Ferdinand* himselfe, so that he would entertaine and acknowledge him as appertained. The King made him this gracious answer, That he accepted the offers of the *Capuans* and souldiers; as also the coming of *Ferdinand* should be no lesse welcome: onely that he should retaine no portion of the kingdome of *Naples* how litle soeuer it were, but that he should endue him with estates and honors in the Realme of *France*.

Iohn Iaques Triuulce goeth to the French king.

It may be doubted what moued *Triuulce*, being a valiant Captaine, and one that made profession of honor, to reuolt, and leaue his King. Touching himselfe, he affirmed that he went by the direction of *Ferdinand* to solicite some composition with the *French*; and being out of all hope to preuaile, and seeing that the kingdome of *Naples* could be no longer defended by armes, he thought it not onely lawfull, but also allowable to prouide at one time for the safetie of the *Capuans*, and securitie of the souldiers. But the common opinion of men was otherwise: for they referre his reuolt to a desire he had that the *French* King might be Victor; for that he hoped when he had made a conquest of *Naples*, he would looke into the meanes by the which he might in like sort make himselfe maister of *Millan*: in which Citie, he being borne of a most noble family, and because for the priuie fauours which the house of *S. Seuerin* had with *Lodowike Sforce*, and with other occasions, he had not place according to his vertues and merites; he was wholly estranged from *Lodowike*. For those occasions many wise men iudged that he had counselled *Ferdinand* to proceed in the actions and seruice of *Romagnia*, more temperately then perhaps the occasions required. But in *Capua*, afore the returne of *Triuulce*, the souldiers had sacked the Pallace, armories, and stables of *Ferdinand*, the men at armes made diuisions of them selues, and were bestowed in sundry quarters; and *Virginio* and the Count *Petillane* were retired with their companies to the Citie of *Nola*, belonging to the said Count by the donation of the *Aragons*, sending first to the *French* King to demand safe conduct for them and their people. *Ferdinand* returned according to his promise, hauing somewhat appeased (according to the time) the humors of the *Neapolitans*, by giuing them hope of the defence of *Capua*; and he was come within two miles of the Citie, all ignorant of the change that happened since his departure: but the Towne hearing of his returne, the people wholly exclamed against his re-entry, drew into armes, and by a common voice and counsell sent forth to meete him certaine of the Nobilitie, to aduertise him to passe no further; for that the Citie, seeing he had left it abandoned, that *Triuulce* gouernour of the men of warre was gone to the *French*, his owne souldiers had made a spoile of his pallace, and *Virginio* and the Count *Petillane* had left them to their fortunes, and that almost all his army was broken; they were constrained for their owne safetie to giue place to the Conqueror. With these newes, no lesse heauie then troublesome, *Ferdinand* (after he had made vaine instance euen with teares to be receiued) returnes to *Naples*, being wel assured that the example of *Capua* would draw the residue of the kingdome to reuolt; whereby the Citie of *Auerse*, seated betweene *Capua* and *Naples*, was moued to dispatch present Embassadors to offer themselues to the *French* King: and the *Neapolitans* consulting also manifestly to do the like, the infortunate King determined not to resist so sodaine a violence of fortune; and therefore assembling vpon the place of the new Castle, being the Kings seate, many of the

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Nobilitie and people, he deliuered to them this laſt and lamentable ſpeech:

I may call God to witnes, and the conſciences of all thoſe men that heretofore haue had any information of my thoughts & conceits, that no deſire made me more to aſpire to the Crown, then to expreſſe to the world with what griefe I miſliked the rigorous gouernments of my father and grandfather, and to reclaime by moderation and benefites thoſe hearts and affections which they had loſt by their hard dealing and crueltie: but the infelicitie of our houſe would neuer ſuffer that I ſhould receiue this fruit, which I eſteem more excellent and honorable then the kingdome it ſelfe: ſeeing that to be a King, is a thing that oftentimes depends vpon fortune; but to be ſuch a King as to turne all his thoughts to the welfare and felicitie of his people, that depends onely of himſelfe and his proper vertue. Now I ſee our affaires ſuffer hard fortunes, and the extremity wherein they are fallen, is of that nature, that we may complaine more to haue loſt the kingdome by the infidelitie and feares of our armies and Captaines, then our enemies can vaunt to haue wonne it by their proper vertue: and yet our fortune leaueth vs not altogether without hope, if we ſuſtain yet a litle time, for that both by the King of *Spaine* and all the Princes of *Italy*, is preparing a mightie ſuccor, their eyes being now opened that afore could not conſider, that the fire which burnes our Realme, muſt in like ſort (without prouidence) caſt his flames into their ſeuerall Eſtates. And for me, at the leaſt, courage ſhould not want to determine together the kingdome and my life, both with that glory which becomes a yong King deſcended by ſo long ſucceſſion of ſo many Kings, and alſo anſwering the expectation which hitherunto you haue had of my merits and vertues. But becauſe things cannot be put to triall, without committing the cõmon patrimony to deſperate perill, I am determined rather to giue place to fortune, and keepe hid my vertue, then in ſtriuing not to loſe the kingdom, to be the cauſer of effects contrary to thoſe ends for the which I haue deſired to be king. Therefore with teares I giue you this counſell, that ſtanding no more againſt the fury of the time, you ſend with ſpeed to make your accord with the *French* king. And to the end you may be in better power, to do it without ſtaine to your honors, I abſolue you willingly of the homage and oath which you made to me a few daies paſt: wherein I exhort you according to the neceſſitie of your fortune, not to deferre your obedience, humilitie and readineſſe to receiue him, as by that meanes to ſtay the courſe of your owne aduerſities, and helpe to moderate the naturall pride of that nation. If at any time their barbarous cuſtomes and manners cauſe you to hate their rule and impery, and deſire my return, I will remaine in place apt to miniſter aid to your will, and be ready to offer vp my life for the redreſſe of your oppreſſions and harmes. But if their gouernment content you, this Realme ſhall neuer receiue vexation or trauell by me, your well doing & benefit ſeruing as a perpetuall conſolation to my miſeries; and that ſo much the rather, if I may know that there remaine in you any memory, that neither in the perſon of an eldeſt ſon to a King, nor in the power of a King, I haue done no wrong to any creature. My thoughts were neuer ſubiect to motions of ambition, my mind neuer defiled with inclination to crueltie, mine owne ſins bring me not this affliction, but by a diuine iuſtice I ſuffer for the wickednes of my parents. I am determined not to be the cauſe, that either to preſerue the Realme, or to recouer it, any ſubiect of the ſame be oppreſſed: No, it is more ſorow to me to loſe the meanes to make amends for the tranſgreſſions of my parents, then to forgo the royall dignitie and kingdome it ſelfe: for, albeit I ſhall be eſtranged from you, and baniſhed from my patrimony, yet I wil not hold my ſelfe altogether wretched, if to the memory of theſe things, you ioyne a ſtedfaſt beliefe, that I wold haue bin King rather like to old *Alphonſo* my great grandfather, then to *Ferdinand*, or the laſt *Alphonſo*. It cannot be that theſe words were deliuered without great compaſſion: but albeit they wrought many ſorowfull impreſſions in the hearts of the hearers, yet it did nothing to the ſtay of the tumult, ſo hateſull was the name of the two laſt Kings to the people, and ſo ſweet the deſire of the *French* gouernment to the Nobilitie. He was no ſooner retired into the Caſtle, then the multitude began to ſacke his pauilions and tents then pitched in the place: which being an indignitie far vnworthy his merits, and more then he could endure, he returned with great courage to the place to driue them from the ſpoile, the maieſtie and preſence of a King being yet of ſuch authoritie in a citie rebelled, that the ſouldiers reſtraining their fury, euery one abſtained from pillage: but as ſoone as he was returned to the Caſtle, and had ſet on fire and ſunk moſt of the ſhips in the hauen, (hauing no other way to depriue the enemy of them) he began by tokens certain to doubt that the Lance-knights, which were the guard of the caſtle, containing in number fiue hundred, conſpired to take him priſoner;

The yong king Ferdinand ſpeaks in great ſorow to the multitude.

and therefore the danger being preſent, he vſed this ſodain counſel, to giue them his wardrobes, goods and furnitures that were within the Caſtle; and whileſt they were buſie to diuide and ſhare them, he ſlipt out of the caſtle by the gate of ſuccors, deliuering firſt out of priſon all thoſe Barons that had bin reſtrained by the crueltie of his father: he mounted vpon the light gallies that attended him in the hauen, accompanied with *Dom Federike*, and the old Queene wife to his grandfather, who carried with her *Iane* her daughter; and being followed with very few of his people, he ſailed into the Ile of *Yſchia*, called by the ancients *Enaria*, diſtant thirtie miles from *Naples*. On his way, ſo long as his eyes were fed with the proſpect and ſight of the kingdome, he made many repetitions with a pitifull voice, of this verſe of the Pſalme, *That they watch in vaine which keepe the citie, if it be not kept by the Lord.* But finding now no more comfort of fortune, then when he was amidſt the dangers of *Naples*, it fell to him to make triall of his vertue in *Yſchia*, together with an experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of ſuch as riſe vp againſt thoſe wretched perſons that are perſecuted by fortune: for the caſtle-keeper of the place refuſing to receiue him but with one man onely, when he was within, he fell vpon him with ſuch fury, that what by his agilitie and valour, and the impreſſion of a King and maieſty royall, he brought immediatly vnder his power both the caſtle and the keeper. After *Ferdinand* was gone out of *Naples*, euery one gaue way (as to a violent land-floud) to the onely name and renowne of the victors, and that with ſuch cowardize, that two hundred horſemen of *Monſieur de Lignies* went to *Nola*, whither *Virginio* and the Count *Petillane* were retired with foure hundred men at armes, and tooke them priſoners without reſiſtance: either they had confidence in the ſafe conduct that was granted them, or elſe their feares were no leſſe then the others, ſeeing without triall or ſhew of valour, they ſuffered themſelues to be led captiues to the rocke of *Mondragon*, and all their companies to be ſtripped. In this meane while, the Embaſſadors whom the *Neapolitans* had ſent to preſent to the *French* king the keyes of the Citie, found him at *Auerſe*, from whence after he had accorded to them with great liberalities, many priuiledges and exemptions, he went to *Naples*, and made his entry the xxj. of February: he was receiued with generall reioycing of all ſorts, no perſon of any ſexe, age, condition, qualitie, nor faction, ſparing to runne to behold him, as if he had bene their patron and firſt founder of the Citie: yea, there was a plentifull and willing preſence of thoſe, who either in themſelues, or in their anceſtors, had bin raiſed to honors and eſtates by the houſe of *Aragon*. With this affluence and concourſe of people, after he had viſited the great Church, he was led (becauſe the new caſtle was yet kept by the enemies) to be lodged in the caſtle of *Capua*, the ancient habitation and reſidence of the Kings of *France*; hauing with a wonderfull courſe of felicitie, farre aboue the example of *Iulius Cæſar*, rather vanquiſhed then ſeene his enemy, and that with ſo ready fortune and facilitie, that during the whole expedition, he neuer had need to diſplay one pauilion or tent, and much leſſe to breake a lance: and touching his prouiſions, he had ſo great plentie and ſuperfluitie, that his army at ſea prepared with ſo great expences, being caried by violence of weather into the Ile of *Corſica*, was ſo long in approching the ſhores of the kingdome, that the King had accompliſhed his conqueſt afore their arriuall.

The French king entereth Naples.

Thus by ciuill diſcords which ſo long had blinded the notable wiſedome of the Princes of *Italy*, to the great diſhonor and ſcorne of the men of warre of that nation, and common danger and ignominy of euery region of the ſame, was transferred one of the moſt goodly and mighty parts of *Italy*, from the Empery of *Italy* to the Empery and gouernment of a nation beyond the mounts: for, albeit old *Ferdinand* was borne in *Spaine*, yet, for that from his youth he had his training in *Italy*, either King, or the ſonne of a King, and holding no other principalitie elſewhere, whete together that his ſonnes and ſonnes ſonnes were bred vp in *Naples*, they were by good right reputed *Italians*.

The end of the firſt booke.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THE Piſans continue their rebellion againſt the Florentines: The French King takes the caſtles of Naples: The Pope, the Venetians and other Princes, make league againſt the King, who returning into France, is fought withall neare the riuer Taro. Ferdinand winnes againe Naples. Nouaro is beſieged by the Confederates. The King makes peace with the Duke of Millan, and returnes into France.

WHileſt things went in this courſe at *Rome* and the kingdome of *Naples*, there kindled in another part of *Italy* ſparks of a litle fire, wherein was nouriſhed a ſmothering heate, ordained to burſt out to a great burning, to the hurt of many, but ſpecially to the ruine of him, who, by too great a deſire of dominion and rule, firſt kindled it and ſet it on flame. For, albeit the King was bound by the contract of *Florence*, that *Piſa* remaining in his hands till he had conquered the Realme of *Naples*, the iuriſdiction and reuenues ſhould be adminiſtred by the *Florentines*; yet, at his departure, he had ſet no order for the execution of his word and promiſe: inſomuch that the *Piſans* (preſuming much of the Captaines and ſouldiers left by the King for the guard of the Citie) determined no more to returne to the obedience of *Florence*, but expulſed their officers and others that ſolicited there for the Citie, and made the reſidue priſoners, with confiſcation of all their goods; and fully confirmed their rebellion, both by demonſtrations and actions. In this reuolt, to be the better able to continue it, they not onely diſpatched Embaſſadors to the King, to pray him of defence and protection to their doings, but alſo (for their ſtay and ſtrength more aſſured) they recommended their cauſe to the cities of *Sienna* and *Lucques*, who being ancient enemies to the name of *Florence*, could heare of nothing more to their liking then the reuolt of the *Piſans*; and therefore they ſent them forthwith in a cõmon proportion of mony, and *Sienna* apart furniſhed them with an aid of horſemen. In like ſort the *Piſans* ſent Embaſſadors to *Venice*, to ſound the will of that Senate; of whom albeit they were graciouſly receiued, yet they brought away nothing but hopes doubtfull and vncertaine. But they repoſed their chiefeſt confidence in the Duke of *Millan*, for that as he was the firſt breeder of their rebellion, ſo they hoped he would not faile to ſupport them. The Duke, albeit he made other ſhewes and demonſtrations to the *Florentines*, yet he tooke care ſecretly for the confirmation of this reuolt, breathing courage into them with many offers and perſwaſions, and dealt vnderhand with the *Genoways*, to furniſh the *Piſans* with armor and munitions, and to ſend to them a commiſſioner, with three hundred footmen. There hath bin ancient quarell betweene the *Florentines* and *Genoways*, riſing at firſt by the conqueſt of *Piſa*, and continued by many degrees of diſpleaſures, both for buying the port of *Liuorne* of their Duke *Thomaſin Fregoſa*, which they poſſeſſed, and alſo the taking away of *Pietraſanta* and *Serezana*. The memory of theſe, ioyned to the occaſion offered, was ſufficient to arme them with a wonderfull readineſſe to do all things that might annoy the *Florentines*; occupying euen already many of their places in the countrey of *Lunigiana*, and were become Lords of the borders of *Pietraſanta*, vnder colour of a letter obtained from the *French* King for the reſtitution of certaine goods confiſked. The *Florentines* complaining of theſe actions at *Millan*, were anſwered by the Duke, that according to the capitulations which he had with them of *Genes*, he could not well do any thing to reſtraine them; and labouring to content them with words and diuerſitie

Beginning of the warres of Piſa.

Two particular cauſes of quarrell betweene Florence and the Genoways.

ſitie of hopes, he forbare not to practiſe the quite contrary, as one that nouriſhed an ambitious expectation to draw *Piſa* to his obedience, if the *Florentines* did not eſtſoones recouer it; a thing much deſired by him, no leſſe for the qualitie of the Citie, then oportunitie of the ſituation. Neither was this deſire new, but had bene nouriſhed in him euer ſince he was expulſed *Millan*, a litle after the death of *Galeas* his brother, for a iealouſie which the Lady *Bonne* (mother and tutor to the litle Duke) had of him; and confined for many moneths vnto the citie of *Piſa*. He was further ſtirred vp by the memory, that *Piſa* (afore it came into the iuriſdiction of the *Florentines*) had bene poſſeſſed by *John Galeas Viſcount*, firſt Duke of *Millan*: by reaſon whereof, he thought it would be an increaſe of his glory, to recouer that which had bene poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and iudged that he might pretend a colour of right, in not making it lawfull for *John Galeas* to leaue by teſtament (to the preiudice of the Dukes of *Millan* his ſucceſſors) to *Gabriel Maria* his baſtard ſonne, the State of *Piſa*, which he had gotten, albeit with the treaſures and forces of the Duchie of *Millan*. And the *Piſans*, not content to haue drawne their Citie from the obedience of the *Florentines*, ſought to obtrude vpon all the places and peeces of the generall demaine; all which for the moſt part (as the manner of the countrey is) followed the authoritie of the Citie, and receiued their commiſſioners, euen in the firſt daies of the rebellion; the *Florentines* making no reſiſtance in the beginning, for that they were otherwiſe buſied in affaires of greater importance, not hauing as yet compoſed with the *French* King, and did perhaps expect that he would apply remedy to thoſe harmes, according to his bond, proteſted by publike and ſolemne oath. But perceiuing that he deferred to giue order, they ſent their bands and companies, who eſtſoones recouered partly by force, and partly by compoſition; all that was occupied, except *Caſine*, *Buti* and *Vicopiſan*, into which places the *Piſans* (being not ſtrong enough to make reſiſtance on all ſides) had withdrawne their forces.

The pretended title of the Duke of Millan to Piſa.

Touching the King, the doings of the *Piſans* did nothing diſpleaſe him, their cauſe being apparently fauoured by many of his Court, ſome of them being induced by a compaſſion, that they had bene ſtraightly gouerned by the *Florentines*; others to the end to oppoſe themſelues againſt the Cardinall of *S. Malo*, being wholly for the *Florentines*: of theſe was principall the Seneſhall of *Beaucaire*, with whom the money of the *Piſans* had much preuailed, but much more the diſcontentment he had for the greatneſſe of the Cardinall, from whom (according to the variations of Court) he began to be eſtranged and ſeparate, being moued with the ſelfe ſame ambition to embaſe him, with the which he had raiſed him in the beginning. Theſe men not hauing reſpect to that which concerned the honor & promiſed faith of ſo great a King, perſwaded that it agreed beſt with the profit and eſtate of his other enterpriſes, to keepe the *Florentines* in this neceſſitie, and not to moderate the doings of the *Piſans*, at the leaſt till he had conquered the Realme of *Naples*. The King carried with theſe perſwaſions, framed himſelfe to entertaine both the one and the other partie with ſeuerall hopes; and therefore whileſt he remained at *Rome*, he called for the Embaſſadors of *Florence* to heare in his preſence the complaints made to him by the *Piſans*, for whom ſpake *Burgundio Loli* Citizen of *Piſa*, and aduocate of the Conſiſtory in the Court of *Rome*: He complained bitterly, that the *Piſans* had bene holden foure ſcore yeares in ſuch an vniuſt and cruell ſeruitude, that that Citie, which with many honorable victories heretofore had ſtretched out her iuriſdiction euen to the parts of *Leuant*, and had bin alwayes one of the moſt mightie and glorious members of all *Italy*, was now by the ſeueritie and couetouſneſſe of the *Florentins*, come to her laſt deſolation: That the towne of *Piſa* was almoſt made naked of inhabitants, for that the moſt part of the naturall and free borne Citizens, not able to beare ſo heauie a yoke, had willingly abandoned it, whoſe counſell hath bene proued wiſe by the miſeries of others, whom the loue of their countrey hath retained; who by reaſon of the great exactions of the Magiſtrates, and inſolent robberies of priuate perſons of *Florence*, were diſpoyled almoſt of all their ſubſtance, hauing no meanes left to maintaine themſelues, for that with a tyrannie and iniuſtice ſtrange and barbarous, they were forbidden to manage trades of merchandize, or to excerciſe any art except of the hand; and were not admitted into any office of qualitie, nor in the adminiſtration of the gouernment of *Florence*, no not in things which were transferred to ſtrangers: That the *Florentines* exerciſed all ſorts of cruelrie againſt their health and their liues; and to haue a more ready way to their generall deſtruction, they haue of late yeares ſhaked off an ancient and neceſſary care to preſerue the banks and cauſſeys of the country of *Piſa*, maintained alwayes from age to age by the Lords of that country

The complaints of the Piſans afore the French king.

country with no ſmall ſtudy, for that otherwiſe it was impoſſible (ſeeing the ſhallowneſſe of the country, ſubiect to inundations and water-flouds) that they ſhould not be euery yeare ſtricken with diuerſitie of diſeaſes: that by this decay, were made ruinate euen flat with the earth, Churches, Pallaces, with many honorable buildings both publike and priuate, erected by their predeceſſors, with no litle expence and charge: That it was no ſhame to famous Cities or townes, if, after the courſe of many ages they fell into ſeruitude, for that all mortall things by deſtiny are ſubiect to corruption: but that the memory of their nobilitie and greatnes, ought to breed in the ſpirits of conquerors more compaſſion then rigor; chiefly euery one hauing to conſider, that it is not onely in the power of time, but alſo incident to the iuſt courſe and deſtiny of earthly things, to bring vpon them the ſelfeſame end which is ordained to happen to all other cities and Empires: That in the *Piſans* there reſted no more, wherein the inhumanitie and inſatiable couetouſneſſe of the *Florentines* could be exerciſed with further ſcope; and therefore the yoke of thoſe burdens bearing a weight aboue their ſtrength, and the varietie of their miſeries ſo infinite and intollerable, they had with one mind determined, rather to abandon their country, and to giue vp their liues, then to returne eftſoones vnder ſo vniuſt and ſo tyrannous a gouernment: Beſeeching laſtly the King with teares (which he beſought him to imagine to be the plentifull teares of the whole people of *Piſa* miſerably proſtrate at his feet) to remember, that with the ſame pietie and with the ſame iuſtice, he had reſtored them to that libertie, of the which they had bin ſo vniuſtly diſpoiled; he would eſtſoones as a Prince reſolute and conſtant, defend and keepe them in the ſame benefite, chuſing rather to beare the name of the father and defender of this Citie ſo ancient and innocent, then in redeliuering it vp into a ſeruitude ſo wretched, to become the infamous miniſter of the robberies, oppreſſions and tyrannies of the *Florentines*. To theſe accuſations anſwered, with no leſſe vehemency, *Francis Soderin* Biſhop of *Volterre*, afterwards made Cardinall, and at that time one of the Embaſſadors for *Florence*; He ſhewed, that the title of his Commonweale was iuſt, for that they had bought it *Piſa* in the yeare 1404. of *Gabriel Maria Viſcount* the lawfull Lord, by whom they were no ſooner put in poſſeſſion of their purchaſe, then the *Piſans* redeliuered themſelues by force: by which occaſion they were driuen to ſeeke to conquer it by a long warre, whoſe end was no leſſe proſperous then the occaſion was iuſt, and no leſſe praiſe-worthy the humanitie of the *Florentines*, then the victory glorious; for that hauing in their diſcretions to let periſh the people of *Piſa*, (languiſhing already with hunger) when they entred with their army into the Citie, they brought with them a greater quantitie of victuals then of weapons; and ſo in place to take away their liues by iuſt law of conqueſt and victory, they breathed new liues with their refreſhing and victuals, into bodies miſerable and not worthy of life: That the Citie of *Piſa* at no time had obtained any greatnes in the firme land, and much leſſe had bin able in power to win forrain & ſtrange peeces, ſeeing they could neuer make themſelues Lords ouer *Lucques*, a Citie communicating with them in neare neighborhood and borders: but they ſtood alwayes reſtrained and incloſed in a ſtraight territory, not ſeeking to make their fortune greater then was their vertue. And for their power at ſea, neither hath it bin ſo mightie as there is left any monument of it, nor of ſuch continuance as it hath any preſcription of time: for that, by the iuſt iudgement of God, whom they had prouoked by many acts of prophane impietie, and for a ſcourge of the long ciuill diſcords amongſt themſelues, it was long time before the purchaſe of the *Florentines*, fallen from all eſtate and greatneſſe, drained of all wealth and inhabitants, and at laſt reduced to ſuch a naked weakneſſe, that one *Iaques d'Appian* a ſimple notary of the country, was of power to make himſelfe Lord ouer them, leauing the Citie and territory as a ſucceſſion to his children: That the land & country of *Piſa* was of litle importance to the *Florentines*, except for the opportunitie of the ſituation, and conueniency of the ſea; ſeeing the reuenues that were drawne from thence were of litle conſideration, the exactions being ſo eaſie and light, that they exceed very litle the neceſſary expences, and yet the moſt part were leuied vpon merchant-ſtrangers, and by the meanes of the port of *Liuorne*. That touching the trade of merchandize, arts and offices, the *Piſans* were not bound with other lawes then did regulate all other cities ſubiect to the *Florentines*, who acknowledging to liue vnder a moderate and eaſie policie, had no deſire to change Lords, not hauing indeed that obſtinacie and pride of mind which is naturall in the *Piſans*, nor yet infected with a diſloyaltie ſo notorious, as it is made generall and famous by the ancient prouerbe of all *Tuſcane*. And albeit, ſince the *Florentines* had gouernment in *Piſa*, ſundry of the

The Embaſſador of Florence confuteth thoſe complaints.

« Citizens tooke a willing baniſhment; yet it concludes nothing againſt the *Florentines*, but de-
« tects iuſtly their owne proud ſtomacke and impatiencie, bearing no minds to accommodate
« themſelues to their owne forces nor fortune. And much leſſe that vnder the gouernment of the
« *Florentines*, *Piſa* is diminiſhed either in treaſure or inhabitants, ſeeing on the contrary they
« haue at a great charge recouered the hauen of *Liuorne*, without the which their Citie would be
« no leſſe vnprofitable then inconuenient. They haue alſo introduced the publike ſtudy of all ſci-
« ences, together with many other benefites; and laſtly, diligently continued the reparations of
« the banks, the better to repleniſh them with inhabitants. The truth of which things were ſo ma-
« niſeſt, that the clouds of falſe complaints were not able to ouerſhadow and darken it: He ſaid,
« it was ſuffered to euery one to deſire to aſpire to a better fortune; but withall it was an office
« iuſt in all inferiour degrees, to beare without grudging the ordinance and ſentence of their lot;
« otherwiſe there would be confuſion of all Empires and gouernments, if it were ſuffered to eue-
« ry one that is ſubiect, to aſpire to libertie. Laſtly he told the King, that to the *Florentines* it was
« neither neceſſary nor any way appertaining to their office, to perſwade *Charles* a Chriſtian King
« of *France* what he had to do; for that being a Prince wiſe and iuſt, they were perſwaded that he
« would not ſuffer himſelfe to be carried by ſo vaine complaints and ſlanders: That of himſelfe
« he would remember himſelfe of his promiſe made afore his army was receiued into *Piſa*, toge-
« ther with his word and oath of a King publiſhed ſolemnly at *Florence*; for that by how much a
« King is mightie and great, by ſo much is it more glorious to him to vſe his power for the pre-
« ſeruation of his faith and iuſtice. The King hearing the differences thus diſcloſed by both the
Embaſſadors, bare an inclination partiall to the *Piſans*, and wiſhed that during the warre of *Na-
ples*, there might be a ſurceaſſing of armes betweene the two parties, or at leaſt that the *Floren-
tines* would conſent that he might hold the whole country, aſſuring them that as ſoone as the
conqueſt of *Naples* was accompliſhed, he would make perfect all his promiſes giuen at *Florence*.
This the *Florentines* refuſed, holding euen now for ſuſpected all the Kings words, and yet they
forbare not with great conſtancie to preſſe him to keepe his promiſe: wherein, to make ſhew
that he would ſatisfie them, (his intention indeed being to haue of them before the time the
lxx. thouſand duckets which they had promiſed him) he diſpatched at the ſame inſtant he de-
parted from *Rome*, the Cardinall of *S. Malo* as Embaſſador to *Florence*, making as though he
ſent him thither to ſatisfie their demands; but in ſecret he charged him, that nouriſhing them
with hopes till they had made paiment of the money, he ſhould leaue things in the ſame eſtate:
of which deceit, albeit the *Florentines* made ſufficient doubt, yet they aduanced forty thouſand
duckets afore the tearme; which as ſoone as the Cardinall had receiued, he went to *Piſa*, pro-
miſing to recontinue the poſſeſſion of the Eſtate to the *Florentines*: but he made a ſpeedy re-
turne, without any effect of his promiſe, and leſſe anſwering the expectation of them of *Flo-
rence*, afore whom he excuſed himſelfe by the obſtinacie of the *Piſans*, and that being not able
of himſelfe to diſpoſe them, his authoritie was leſſe ſufficient to conſtraine them, hauing no ex-
preſſe commiſſion from the King. Laſtly it was not conuenient for him, being of holy profeſſi-
on, to take or follow any counſell whereof might riſe effuſion of Chriſtian bloud: yet he be-
ſtowed a new garriſon within the new Citadell, and had done the like in the old Caſtle if he
could haue got the conſent of the *Piſans*, who grew dayly more and more in courage and for-
ces by the ſecret helping of the Duke of *Millan*; who iudging it neceſſary that there ſhould be
within *Piſa* a greater ſtrength, and a Leader of experience and valour, had ſent to them (coue-
ring himſelfe notwithſtanding, as he was wont, with the name of the *Genoways*) *Luke Malvezze*
with new bands and companies: and letting paſſe no occaſion that might keepe the *Florentines*
in buſineſſe, the better to hold them from offending the *Piſans*, he entertained into pay in
common with the *Sienneys*, *Iaques d'Appian* Lord of *Plombin*, and *John Sauelle*, the rather to en-
courage the ſaid people of *Sienna* to defend *Montpulcian*, a place newly reuolted from the *Flo-
rentines*, and accepted by them of *Sienna*, without hauing regard to the confederation which
they had together. At the ſame time alſo the *Florentines* were in no leſſe care and trauell for ſo-
daine buſineſſe newly happened within the Citie: for immediatly after the King was departed
from *Florence*, the better to reeſtabliſh their gouernment, they had in their Parliament (which
in their cuſtome is a congregation aſſembled of all the Citizens in the place before the towne-
houſe, who deliberate with free voice vpon matters propounded by the great Magiſtrate) inſti-
tuted a kind of policie, which vnder the name of a gouernment popular tended in many things

more

more to the power of a few then of euery one in generall. The which being grieuous to many, who fashioned in their minds a greater libertie, and hauing the priuate ambition of some one of the principall Citizens concurring, there was necessitie to dispute vpon a new forme of gouernment, wherein as it was communed vpon one day amongst the principall Magistrates and persons of greatest reputation, *Paul Anthony Soderin*, a Citizen wise and much respected, deliuered his opinion in this sort:

P. Anth Soderin reasoneth touching a forme of gouernment for Florence. Causes of popular gouerment.

» Albeit those that haue written of ciuill matters, do lesse esteeme of the popular State, then of
» that wherein things are referred to one alone, or gouerned by the directions of graue men; yet,
» for that the desire of libertie is a desire ancient and almost naturall in this Citie, and the con-
» ditions and estate of our Citizens are equally proportioned, which is a necessary ground of po-
» pular gouernments: I might maintaine by easie and reasonable discourse, that it ought to be
» preferred before all other, were it not that the disputation would be superfluous, seeing in all
» our assemblies since the Parliament, it hath bin alwayes determined by a consent vniuersall, that
» the Citie should be gouerned in the name and with the authoritie of the people. But the diuer-
» sitie of opinions is risen vpon this, that certaine particulars, in things ordained in the Parlia-
» ment, seeke to come neare and resemble that forme of Commonweale, vnder the which the Ci-
» tie was gouerned before our libertie was oppressed by the family of the *Medices* and others,
» (of which number I confesse I am) supposing that the gouerment so established, bare in many
» things rather the name then the effects of a policie popular; and fearing the accidents which
» often happen by like gouernments, desire a forme more perfect, and more regarding the preser-
» uation and protection of the concord and suretie of the Citizens: a thing which neither by rea-
» son, nor experience of times passed, can be hoped for in this Citie, but vnder a gouernment de-
» pending altogether vpon the power of the people, so that it be well and duly ordained and re-
» gulated, which thing consists principally in two foundations: The first is, that all ministrations
» and offices, as well in the Citie as through the whole demeane, be giuen (for a certaine time)
» by a Councell vniuersall, which according to our lawes may participate in the gouernment;
» without the approbation of which Councell, new lawes cannot be established: by this meane,
» not being in the power of priuate Citizens, nor of any particular faction or intelligence, to di-
» stribute dignities and authorities, no man shall be excluded by passion or partialitie of others,
» but offices shall be bestowed according to the vertues and merits of men: and vertue bearing
» this propertie to transferre dignities to those persons to whom her selfe is conioyned, it will be a
» meane and encouragement to euery one to striue by his vertues and good parts, with the aide
» publike and priuate, to open his way to honors and reputation; it shall be necessary that euery
» one abstaine from vices, and forbeare to hurt one another, and finally eschue both the study
» and action of all hatefull things in a Citie well instituted. And it cannot be in the power of one
» or a few, to introduce with new lawes, or with authoritie of a Magistrate, another gouernment,
» this being not to be changed, but by the will and priuitie of the Councell vniuersall. The second
» ground is, that the deliberations and counsels of importance, such as appertaine to peace and
» warre, to the construing and examination of new lawes, and generally to all things necessary
» for the administration of such a Citie or Empire, be managed by Magistrates particularly ap-
» pointed to that charge, and by a Councell more priuate, compounded of wise and experienced
» Citizens, to be deputed and ordained by the Councell popular: for that the knowledge and
» iudgement of such affaires, falling not familiarly into the vnderstanding of euery one, it is neces-
» sary they be gouerned by such as are capable of them, and requiring oftentimes diligence and
» secrecie, they are not to be consulted or communicated with the multitude, as not being ne-
» cessary for the preseruation of the publike libertie, that such things be handled in too great au-
» dience and company, seeing the libertie is assured as often as the distribution of magistracies,
» and deliberation of new lawes, depend on the vniuersall consent. These two foundations thus
» laid, you haue a true popular gouernment ordained, the libertie of the Citie grounded, and a
» perpetuall and commendable forme of Commonweale confirmed. There be many other things
» which tend to make this gouernment more perfect, but they are referred more conueniently to
» another time, to the end not to confound in this beginning the minds of men, which both suspi-
» cious by the memory of tyrannies past, and not accustomed to manage gouernments free, can
» not wholly know all things necessary to be ordained for preseruation of the libertie: and there
» be things, which for their litle importance and consideration, may without danger be deferred

vn-

" vntill a time more apt, and better occaſion. No doubt, the citizens will embrace more and more
" this forme of Commonweale; and being by experience made dayly more capable of the truth,
" they cannot but deſire that their gouernment be poliſhed and brought to his full perfection:
" Neither can it but be ſuſtained and holden vp by theſe two foundations, which, how eaſie it is
" to lay and eſtabliſh, and what fruite they bring, is not to be proued onely by many reaſons, but
" alſo appeares plainly by examples. For, albeit the gouernment of the *Venetians* ſtands properly
" vpon gentlemen, yet thoſe gentlemen are no other then Citizens priuate, and ſo many in num-
" ber, and of ſo diuers conditions and qualities, as it cannot be denied, but that it doth much par-
" ticipate with a gouernment popular, and that in many things it cannot be imitated of vs: and
" yet it is principally founded vpon theſe two pillars and baſes, by the which hauing bin conti-
" nued by many ages, together with a libertie, vnitie, and concord ciuill, it is riſen to the glory and
" greatneſſe which the world ſeeth. The vnitie and ſtrength of the *Venetians* hath not growne, as
" many ſuppoſe, by their ſituation, for that in the ſame may be and haue bin many diſcords and
" ſeditions: but it hath proceeded for that they had a forme of policy ſo well ſorted and propor-
" tioned to it ſelfe, that neceſſarily it brought forth precious and wonderfull effects. Our owne ex-
" amples ought to moue vs no leſſe then ſtrangers, if we conſider on the contrary, that becauſe
" our Citie neuer had a forme of gouernment like vnto this, it was the cauſe that our eſtate and
" affaires haue bin ſo ſubiect to ordinary mutations, ſometimes troden vnder feet by the violence
" of tyrants; and ſometimes rent and diſmembred by the ambitious and couetous diſcords of cer-
" taine particulars; and ſometimes confounded by the vnbridled libertie of the communalty. And
" whereas cities were built for the reſt and happie life of the inhabitants, our felicities and our
" ioyes haue bin the confiſcation of our goods, the baniſhment, and execution of our miſerable
" Citizens. The gouernment brought into the Parlament, differeth not from the policies here-
" tofore ordained in this Citie, which being all infected with diſcords and calamities, after infinite
" trauels, both publike and priuate, they finally ingendred tyrannies: for which cauſe, and for no
" other, did the Duke of *Athens* oppreſſe the libertie in the times of our anceſtors; and in the
" times ſucceeding, *Coſmo de Medicis* followed his example; whereof it is not to be maruelled: for,
" when the diſtribution of Magiſtracies, and deliberation of the lawes, haue not communitie with
" the common conſent, but depend vpon the arbitration of the leſſer number: then the Citizens
" not carefull of the publike benefite, but ſeeking their profites and ends priuate, riſe into ſects
" and conſpiracies particular, whereunto are ioyned the diuiſions of the whole Citie; a plague
" moſt certaine to all Commonweales and Empires: ſo that it cannot but be a better diſcretion
" to eſchue thoſe formes of gouernment, which by reaſons and examples in our ſelues we find to
" be hurtfull, and draw neare to thoſe policies which with the reaſons and examples of others, we
" diſcerne to be wholſome and happie. And thus much I take boldneſſe to auouch (the truth of
" the matter enforcing me) that the policie of our Citie running alwayes in that order, that a few
" Citizens ſhall haue an vnmeaſured authoritie, will proue to be a gouernment of a few tyrants,
" who will be ſo much more dangerous then one tyrant alone, by how much the ill is great, and
" hurts more, when it is much multiplied. And though there ſhould be none other miſchiefe at all,
" yet at leaſt wiſe; what for the diuerſitie of opinions, and for the ambition and different cou-
" touſneſſe of men, there could be no expectation of long concord: And diſcord, as it is hurtfull
" in all ſeaſons, ſo would it be moſt dangerous at this time, wherein you haue ſent into exile ſo
" mightie a Citizen, by whom you ſtand depriued of one of the principalleſt parts of your Eſtate,
" and when *Italy* hauing euen in her bowels forraine armies, ſtands on all ſides enuironed with
" manifeſt perill. Very ſeldome, or poſſible neuer, it hath bin abſolutely in the power of all the Ci-
" tie to put order to it ſelfe according to our owne liking; the which power ſeeing God of his
" goodneſſe hath giuen you, loſe not the occaſion (to your owne detriment, and to the perpe-
" tuall blemiſh of the name of the *Florentine* wiſedome) to inſtitute a free gouernment, and ſo
" well digeſted, as that during your owne liues it may not onely procure you happineſſe, but alſo
" promiſe the ſame to your poſteritie, and ſo leaue as an inheritance to your children, ſuch a trea-
" ſure and felicitie, as your anceſtors neuer had nor knew.

Againſt this opinion reaſoneth Guid. Anth. Veſpucci.

To the contrary of this, did reaſon *Guid Anthony Veſpucci*, a lawyer notable for his iudge-
" ment, and no leſſe ſingular for his facilitie and ſharpneſſe of wit: If the gouerment (ſaith he) in-
" ſtituted in the forme of *Paul Anthony Soderin*, would as eaſily bring forth the fruits that are deſi-
" red, as he hath liberally recounted them: ſure we ſhould ſhew great corruption in iudgement,

if

if we would wish in our country any other sort of policie; and should seeme most dangerous Citizens, if we would not embrace a forme of Commonweale, wherein the vertues, merites, and valours of men, should be aboue all other things honored and recompenced. But I cannot see how it may be hoped, that a gouernment put wholly in the power of the people, can bring forth so many benefits: seeing no man doubts but it is a lesson in reason, a triall in experience, and an authoritie confirmed by great men, that in so great a multitude cannot be found that discretion, that experience, nor that order, which may promise that they will preferre the wise afore the ignorant, the good afore the ill, and the experienced afore such as neuer knew what it was to manage affaires. For, like as of a Iudge incapable and ignorant, can be no expectation of iust iudgement: so, in a people full of confusion and vanitie, is no hope (but at aduenture) of election or deliberation wise or reasonable: and that which in publike gouernments, wise men and such as follow the study of no other affaires, can hardly discerne, let vs neuer beleeue that a multitude vnexperienced, ignorant, compounded of so great diuersitie of spirits, conditions and customes, and wholly giuen to things that concerne them particularly, can distinguish and know. Besides, the immoderate perswasion that euery one will haue of himselfe, will kindle in euery one a couetousnesse of honors, not sufficing to men in popular gouernment to enioy the honest fruits of libertie, but they will aspire all to the degrees principall, and seeke to haue place in the counsels of things of most importance and hardnesse, for that lesse in vs then in any other Citie, reigneth the modestie to giue place to such as know most, and deserue best. And so nourishing our selues with perswasion, that of right we ought to be all equall in all things, (the power resting in the multitude) places of vertue, valour, and merite will be confounded; and this couetousnesse stretched out into the greatest part, will bring to passe, that such may do most as know least and merite lesse; for that being most in number, they will haue most power, opinions being rather counted then considered. These things well weighed, what assurance can there be, that contenting themselues with the forme which now you would bring in, they would not immediatly fall to disorder, and confound with inuentions new and lawes vndiscreet, which wise men could not resist, the wayes to gouerne a Commonweale, which had bin wisely deliberated and established? Which things being dangerous at all times in such a sort of Commonweale, would bring farre more perill at this present; seeing it is the nature of men, when they come out of one extremitie, wherein they haue bin holden by force, to runne with a swift course to another extremitie, without staying in the midst: euen so, men drawne out of a tyranny, if they be not restrained, runne headlong into an vnbridled libertie, which iustly may be called a tyranny: because in these actions a people and multitude is like vnto a tyrant, when he giueth where is no cause of merite, and taketh from him that hath well deserued, confounding the degrees and distinctions of persons; yea haply their tyranny is so much the more hurtfull, by how much their ignorance (containing neither weight, measure nor law) is greater then the malignity, although it be gouerned by some rule, with some bridle, or some limites. And we ought not to be moued by the example of the *Venetians*, for that in their behalfe both the situation makes something, and the forme of gouernment receiued of long time may do much, together with the order and disposition of things ruled in such sort, that the counsels of importance rest more in the power of a few then of many, and their spirits haply not being by nature so subtile as ours, they are more easie to be kept quiet and contented. Besides, the policie of the *Venetians* stands not only vpon the two foundations that haue bin considered, but for their perfection and firmnesse it imports much that they haue a Duke perpetuall, with many other ordinances, which whosoeuer would introduce into this Commonweale, should seeme to bring in innouations, and find many resistances, seeing our Citie takes not now her being, nor at this present the first time of her institution. And therefore ancient customes impugning oftentimes common profit, and men suspecting that vnder colour of preseruation of the libertie, there would be raised a new tyranny, wholsome counsels will be of litle force; euen as in a body infected and repleniished with ill humors, medicines are not of that seruice, as in a body purged. For which reasons, and for the nature of humane things which commonly go impairing, it is more to be feared, that that which in this beginning shall be imperfectly ordained, will be wholly disordered with time, then to hope that by time and with occasions it may be reduced to perfection: we haue examples of our owne, and need not fetch them from others. For, tell me, at what time hath the people gouerned absolutely this City, that it hath not bin full of discords, that it hath not suffered dismembring,

bring, and lastly that the State hath not immediatly changed? And if we stand so much vpon the examples of others, why do we not remember, that the gouernment wholly popular, bred in *Rome* so many tumults, that had it not bin for the science and discipline of warre, the life of that Commonweale had bin short? Let vs remember that *Athens* a most flourishing and mighty Citie, lost not for other occasion her Empire, and so fell into seruitude of her owne citizens and strangers, then for that they did dispose of great affaires with the deliberations & counsels of the communaltie. But I see not for what occasion it may be said that in the forme introduced in the Parlament, the libertie is not there wholly found, seeing all things are referred to the disposition of Magistrates, and they not perpetuall, but changing, are not elected of a few, but approued of many, and ought according to the ancient custome of the Citie, to be referred to the arbitrement of the lot; then they cannot be distributed by factions, or by the appetite of Citizens particular. We shall haue a farre greater assurance when the affaires of most importance shall passe by the examination and direction of the most wise, the most practised, and most graue men, who will manage and gouerne them with another order, another secrecie, and another iudgement, then would be expressed in a multitude or communaltie vncapable of such things, who sometimes when is least need are most prodigall in expences, and ciniones in weightie businesses so sparing and niggardly, that oftentimes for sauing a litle, they fall into very great expences and dangers. Indeed as *Paul Aethenie* hath said, the infirmitie of *Italy*, and particularly of our country is very great, and of no litle consideration. Then what folly is greater, then when we haue need of Phytitions experienced and wise, to put our bodies into the hands of such as haue least skill and experience? And lastly, you haue to consider, that you shall maintaine your people in greater rest, and leade them most easily to counsels wholesome both for themselues; and to the benefite of euery one, in giuing them in the Commonweale a moderate part and authoritie; seeing if you referre all things to their arbitration, there will be danger that they will become insolent, and wholly disagreeing from the counsels of your wise, carefull, and affectioned Citizens.

Ieronimo Sauonarola esteemed for a Prophet in Florence.

In this Councell, whereunto was not admitted the great number of Citizens, the aduice then tending to a forme of gouernment not so large and popular, had preuailed, if amongst the deliberations of men, there had not bene mixed authoritie diuine, pronounced by the mouth of *Ieronimo Sauonarola*, a religious man of the order of Frier Preachers. This man hauing bin continually exercised for many yeares in the publike preaching of Gods word at *Florence*, and hauing ioyned to his singular doctrine a generall brute of holinesse of life, had gotten in the opinion of most part of the people, the name and authoritie of a Prophet: for that at times wherein in *Italy* was no other apparence in mans reason, then of common tranquillitie, he would in his Sermons propheſie of the coming of forreine armies, with so great astonishment of men, that neither wals nor campes were able to resist them: which things, with many others of other nature, he would assure that he did not foretell by discourse humane, or knowledge of the Scriptures, but simply did foresee them by reuelation diuine; and so would sometimes touch the mutation of the state of *Florence*. But at that time he detested publikly the forme of gouernment agreed vpon in the Parlament, affirming that it was the will of God, that they did erect a policie meerly popular, in such sort that it should not be in the power of a few citizens to alter neither the suretie nor the libertie of the residue: insomuch that for the reuerence of one of so great a name, ioyned to the desire of many, such as were of the other opinion, should not be able to resist so great an inclination. Therefore this matter being many times propounded and debated, it was lastly determined, that there should be held a Councell of all the Citizens, wherein should haue no accesse (so it was spread in many places in *Italy*) the dregs of the people, but onely such as by the ancient lawes of the Citie might participate in the gouernment: In this Councell they should not meddle with, nor dispose of other things, then of the election of all the Magistrates for the Citie and for the dominion, and of the confirmation of prouisions of money, together with all the lawes ordained before by the Magistrates, and other Councels more priuate and strait. And to the end that the occasions of ciuill discords should be taken away, and the spirits of euery one the more assured, it was prohibited by decree publike, according to the example of the *Athenians*, not to remember the errors and transgressions committed in times past in the affaires of Estate. Vpon which foundations, might perhaps haue bene constituted a well ordered and stable gouernment, if at the same time they had introduced all the ordinances which then came into

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the conſideration of wiſe men: but ſuch things being not able to be deliberated without the conſent of many, who for the memory of things paſt were full of ſuſpitions, it was iudged and determined, that for the preſent the grand Councell ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as a ground and foundation of the new libertie, referring to accompliſh that which wanted, vntill a better opportunitie of time, and vntill (by the meanes of experience) the publike vtilitie ſhould be knowne of ſuch, as had no capacitie to know it by reaſon and iudgement. This was the courſe and condition of the affaires of *Tuskane*.

But in this meane while, the *French* King, after he had conquered the Citie of *Naples*, to giue a full perfection to his victory, he had principally to looke to remoue two impediments: The one, how he might get new Caſtle, and the Caſtle of the Egge, which are two fortreſſes of *Naples*, holding good yet for *Ferdinand*; but for the towne of *S. Vincent*, built for the guard of the hauen, he had it without much reſiſtance: His other conſideration was, how he might reduce the whole kingdome to his obedience. In which two things fortune ſtill followed him with a full faile. For, new Caſtle the habitation of the Kings, ſeated vpon the banke or ſhoare of the ſea, by the couetouſneſſe and cowardize of fiue hundred Lance-knights holding garriſon there, after a ſlight defence was rendred, with condition that they might depart in ſafetie with all the goods they were able to carry. In this Caſtle was found great quantities of victuals, whereof the King without conſideration to that might happen, made prodigall liberalities to certaine of his owne people. And touching the Caſtle called the Egge, built within the ſea vpon a rocke, aforetime parcell of the firme land, but now deuided from it by the operation of *Lucullus*, was ioyned with a narrow bridge to the next brinkes or ſhoares of *Naples*: they within the rocke, ſeeing themſelues battered without ceaſſing with the artillery, which might well ſhake the wals, but nothing moue the rocke, agreed to yeeld vp the place, if within eight dayes they were not ſuccoured. The Barons alſo and gouernours of the communaltie, went many dayes iourneys to meet the *French* Captaines and companies of ſouldiers ſent into ſundry parts of the Realme, ſtriuing who ſhould be the firſt to receiue them, with ſuch inclination or aſtoniſhment of all, that almoſt all the places of ſtrength were rendred by thoſe that kept them, without any reſiſtance at all: yea the rocke of *Caietta* notwithſtanding it was made ſtrong with men, and all things neceſſary for defence, yet after a few light aſſaults, it yeelded to the diſcretion of the victors: ſo that within a few dayes, and with a wonderfull facilitie, all the kingdome was brought into the obedience of King *Charles*, except the Iſle of *Iſchia*, the Caſtles of *Brunduſia* and *Gallipoli* in *Powilla*, and in *Calabria* the rocke of *Reggi*, ſituate in the point of *Italy* right ouer againſt *Sicile*, the Citie holding for the King: and except alſo *Turpia* and *Mantia*, who in the beginning diſplayed the banners of *France*, but refuſing to liue vnder the ſubiection of other then the King himſelfe, who had already diſpoſed them to certaine of his fauourites, they changed coũſell, and returned to their firſt Lord. The like was done within a little time after by the Citie of *Brunduſia*, to the which the *French* King hauing ſent no men, but vſing negligence where was neceſſitie of care and counſell, did ſcarcely heare their Magiſtrates ſent to him to *Naples* to capitulate: by which occaſion ioyning with the opportunitie offered, thoſe that kept the Caſtles in the name of *Ferdinand*, had good meanes by perſwaſions to draw againe the Citie to the deuotion of the *Aragons*: by which example alſo, the Citie of *Otrante* lately declared for the *French*, and no creature ſent thither to receiue them, continued not long in their affection: All the Lords and Barons of the Realme (except *Alphonſo d'Aualo* Marquis of *Peſcaire*, who left within new Caſtle by *Ferdinand*, was gone to him when he perceiued the inclination of the Lance-knights to yeeld: and except two others, who (for that the *French* King had giuen away their eſtates, were fled into *Sicile*) came to do homage to the new King: who, deſiring to aſſure wholy ſo great a conqueſt by way of concord, called afore him vnder ſafe-conduct afore he had wonne the rocke of the Egge, *Dom Federicke*, who, as well for that he had remained many yeares in the Court of *France* in the time of the Kings father, as alſo for that he touched his Maieſtie in kindred, was much fauoured of all the Lords of *France*. The King told him, he would endue *Ferdinand* (ſo that he would leaue all that was his in the Realme of *Naples*) with eſtates and large reuenues in *France*: and touching him, to recompence him liberally with all that he poſſeſſed there. But *Federicke* knowing that his nephew was determined to accept no condition, except he might haue *Calabria*, anſwered with words graue and wiſe: That ſeeing God, fortune, and the good wils of men, had concurred in his preſent felicities, to giue him the king-

The French king makes offers to Dom Federike.

Dom Federike anſwereth the king.

dome of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* was not determined to make reſiſtance againſt ſo fatall a diſpoſition, but, rather eſteeming it no ſhame to giue place to ſo great a King, he would no leſſe then others, remaine in his obedience and deuotion, ſo that his Maieſtie would contribute to him ſome part of the kingdome, (ſecretly meaning *Calabria*) to the end that dwelling therein not as a King, but in the condition of one of his Barons, he might honour the clemency and magnanimitie of the *French* King, in whoſe ſeruice he hoped to haue once occaſion to ſhew that vertue which his malicious fortune would not ſuffer him to expreſſe in the action of his owne ſafetie: That, nothing could turne more to the glory of King *Charles* then that counſell, bearing reſemblance and affinitie with the counſels of thoſe Kings whom antiquitie hath ſo much recommended vnto vs, who by ſuch meanes raiſed their names to immortalitie, and obtained amongſt the people diuine honours: That, it was a counſell no leſſe for his ſuretie then for his glory; for that *Ferdinand* brought to his deuotion, the Realme would be aſſured to him, that he ſhould not hereafter feare the change of fortune, who had this common propertie: that as often as victories were not aſſured with moderation and diſcretion, ſhe would blemiſh by ſome accident vnlooked for, the reputation of the glory gotten. But the King doubting that if he communicated any part of the kingdome with his competitor, he ſhould expoſe the reſidue to manifeſt perill, *Dom Federicke* parted from him without any thing doing: and *Ferdinand* vnderſtanding of the rendring of the Caſtles, ſailed into *Sicile* with fourteene light galleys ſlenderly appointed, wherein he paſſed from *Naples*: This he did to be ready vpon all occaſions, leauing the guard of the rocke of *Iſchia* to *Ianicke d'Aualo* brother to *Alphonſo*, both men of great valour, and of ſingular faith towards their Lord. But the *French* King, to take from the enemy that receptacle, very conuenient to trouble the Realme, ſent thither his army by ſea, which arriued at length in the port of *Naples*; and finding the towne abandoned, they forbare to aſſaile the rocke, wherein, for his inuincible ſtrength by ſituation, they diſcerned many impoſſibilities to preuaile: and therefore the King determined to ſend other ſhips from *Prouence* and from *Genes*, to take *Iſchia*, and aſſure the ſea which *Ferdinand* vexed ſometimes. But their counſell and diligence were not equall to their fortune, ſeeing that all things went ſlowly forward, and were guided with moſt great negligence and confuſion. For, the *French* by reaſon of ſo great felicitie, became more inſolent then of cuſtome, and let go at aduenture the affaires of importance, hauing no other thoughts then of feaſting and pleaſures: and ſuch as were great about the King, cared not but for their owne particular, and to draw of the victory all the profite they could, without any reſpect either to the dignitie or profite of their Prince.

The French king ſends an army to inuade Iſchia.

The death of Gemin Otto. a Turke kept in refuge by the Pope.

About this time died at *Naples Gemin Ottoman*, to the great diſpleaſure of the King, who layd vp in him many foundations and opportunities for the warre he determined to make againſt the *Turke*: and it was beleeued his death was brued in a cup of poyſon, which the Pope had giuen him, to worke his end in a certaine time: or that hauing deliuered him againſt his will, and ſo depriued of the forty thouſand duckats which his brother *Baiazet* payed him yearely, he tooke for conſolation, that he that had taken him away, ſhould receiue by him no commodity or profite: or at leaſt for enuie he bare to the glory of the *French* King: or laſtly for feare that things ſucceeding happily with him againſt the Infidels, he would afterwards turne his thoughts to reforme the abuſes of the Church, which being wholly altered from the ancient cuſtomes, made euery day of leſſe authority the Chriſtian Religion; euery one withall hauing an aſſured expectation that they would further decline before the end of his reigne; which being gotten by wicked meanes, was haply neuer in the memory of man adminiſtred with worſe orders: And there were that beleeued (for the corrupt nature of the Pope made credible in him all wickedneſſe) that *Baiazet* after he vnderſtood that the *French* King prepared to paſſe into *Italy*, practiſed by the meanes of *George Bucciardin* corrupted with money, to oppreſſe the life of *Gemin*. And yet the King nouriſhing ſtill his inclination to the warres of the *Turkes*, (more vpon a greene humour of youth and volubility of mind, then by maturitie of counſell) ceaſſed not for his death to ſend into *Greece* the Archbiſhop of *Duraz*, of the nation of *Albania*, who put the King in hopes, by the meanes of certaine factions of the baniſhed, and other vaine intelligences, to ſtirre vp ſome commotion in that prouince: but new accidents conſtrained him to turne his ſpirits to new thoughts.

It hath bene ſhewed before, how the deſire to vſurpe the Duchie of *Millan*, ioyned to a feare that *Lodowike Sforce* had of the *Aragons* and *Peter de Medicis*, induced him to procure the

the *French* King to passe into *Italy*; by whose comming, after he had obtained his ambitious pretence, and that the *Aragons* were brought into those necessities, that there was no abilitie remaining to defend their proper safetie: a second feare, both more great and more reasonable then the first, began to present it selfe before his eyes; and that was the seruitude houering ouer him and all the *Italians*, if the kingdome of *Naples* were ioyned to the power of the Crowne of *France*: and for that cause he desired that by the *Florentines* should be obiected many difficulties and impediments against the resolution of his enterprise. But when he saw his Maiestie was easily ioyned with that Commonweale, and with the same facilitie had ouercome all the impediments of the Pope, and lastly without resistance had preuailed ouer the Realme of *Naples*, the danger seemed euery day so much the greater to him, by how much the course of the *French* victories aduanced more and more with facilitie, fortune and felicitie. Alike feare also began to stirre in the minds of the Senate of *Venice*, who in all their counsels hitherunto had constantly perseuered in neutrality, gouerning their abstinence with so great discretion, no lesse in action then in demonstration, that there was no meanes to suspect their inclination more to one partie then to another. So that hauing chosen for Ambassadours to the King, *Anthonie Loredan* and *Dominicke Treuisan*, (yet not vntill they vnderstood that the King had passed the mounts) they lingred so long to send them, that the King was arriued at *Florence* afore them. But now the Senate perceiuing the violent course of so great felicitie, and that the King like a thunderbolt, without any resistance ran through all *Italy*, they began to esteeme as their owne the damage of their neighbours, and to feare lest in the ruine of others their destruction were also conspired; chiefly for that the King hauing made himselfe Lord of *Pisa* and other fortresses of the *Florentines*, and hauing left garrison in *Sienna*, and after done the like in the State of the Church, it seemed to them a signe and argument that his thoughts stretched further then the Realme of *Naples*. For these causes the Senate gaue willing eare to the perswasions of *Lodowike Sforce*, who as soone as the *Florentines* had yeelded to the King, had begun to solicite them to ioyne with him in a common remedy against common dangers: and it was beleeued, that if the *French* King had met with any impediments either at *Rome*, or at his entry into the Realme of *Naples*, they had al together take armes against him: but the Kings victory was so sodaine, that it preuented all the impedimēts that could be obiected. And now the king doubting the practises of *Lodowike*, had retained in his pay since the conquest of *Naples*, *Iohn Iaques Trtuulce* with an hundred lances, & with an honorable pension, ioyning vnto him with many promises the Cardinall *Fregosa* and *Obietto de Fiesquo*: these, for that they were mighty instruments to trouble and raise emotions in the towne of *Genes*; the other, for that being a chiefe leader of the *Guelfes* faction at *Millan*, he caried a minde much deuided from *Lodowike*; to whom as yet the King refused to giue the principalitie of *Tarenta*, saying that he was not bound to do it vntill he had reduced into his power all the Realme of *Naples*. Which things being very displeasing to *Lodowike*, he stayed twelue galleys which were armed for the King at *Genes*, and forbad the appointing of any more vessels there for the *French* seruice; which the King complained of, as the cause why he did not eftsoones reassaile with a new supply the rocke of *Tschia*.

Lodo. Sforce beginneth too late to feare the greatnesse of the French.

Then suspitions and disdaines growing on all parts, and the sodaine conquest of *Naples* representing to the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* the present perill of their estates: they were constrained to deferre no longer to put their thoughts in execution. And that which furthered their resolution and courage, was the consideration of the mightie company of Confederates: for that to this the Pope was no lesse ready, to whom the greatnesse of the *French* was fearfull, then *Maximilian* the Emperour, to whom for many occasions of hatred to the Crowne of *France*, and for the many iniuries receiued by the King reigning, the prosperities of *France*, were alwayes, aboue all other, most displeasing. But the chiefe grounds and foundations whereupon the *Venetians* and *Lodowike* wrought, were the King and Queene of *Spaine*, who being a litle before bound to the *French* King (not for other respect then to draw from him the Earledome of *Rossillion*) not to hinder him in the conquest of *Naples*, had cunningly reserued to themselues till that time a free power to do the contrary. For, (if their bruites be true) there was a clause annexed to the capitulations made for restitution of the Earledome of *Rossillion*, which bare, that they should not be bound to any thing that touched the preiudice of the Church: of which exception they inferred, that if the Pope, for the interest of his chiefe, desired them to succour the Realme of *Naples*, they had good right so to do, without breaking

their faith, or contradicting their promises. And to this they added afterwards, That by the same capitulations they were forbidden to oppose themselues against King *Charles*, in case it appeared that the same kingdome did iudicially appertaine vnto him. But what difference soeuer was betweene the truth and their construction of things, it is certaine, that hauing got that they desired, they began not onely to giue hope to the succours of them of *Aragon*, and secretly to solicite the Pope not to abandon their cause; but also, as they had in the beginning exhorted the *French* King with words moderate, as louers of his glory and zealous to Religion, to conuert his armies rather against Infidels then the Christian nations: so they continued eftsoones that course, but with so much more efficacie, and with words so much the more suspitious, by how much the victory of the King aduanced: and to the end they might haue the better meanes to nourish in greater hopes the Pope and the *Aragons*, giuing out neuertheless that they had regard onely to the guard of *Sicilie*, they were ready to send thither an army by sea; which arriued there after the losse of *Naples*, but yet with equipage and furniture more in demonstrations then in effects, for that it contained not aboue eight hundred horsemen mounted vpon Iennets, and a thousand footmen *Spaniards*. They vsed these apparences vntill the taking of *Ostia* by the *Colonnoys*, and the threats of the *French* against the Pope, gaue them a more honest occasion to aduance that which they had resolued in their minds: And following their deuice to action, they protested openly to the King whilest he was at *Florence*, by their Ambassadours, that according to the office of Christian Princes, they would take the defence and protection of the Pope, and the Realme of *Naples* (a chiefe of the Church of *Rome*:) and hauing already begun (as soone as they vnderstood of the flying of the *Aragons*) to negotiate with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* for confederation, they eftsoones solicited them with a new instance, to communicate with them for their common suretie against the *French* men.

A confederate league against the French king.

So that at length, in the moneth of Aprill and in the Citie of *Venice*, where were the Ambassadors of all those Princes, was contracted a confederation betweene the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Spaine*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Millan*; the title and publication whereof was onely for the defence of the estates of one another, reseruing place to whosoeuer would enter it with conditions reasonable. But they all being of opinion that it was necessary so to tẽper things as the *French* King might not hold *Naples*, it was agreed in capitulations more secret, that the bands of *Spaniards* arriued in *Sicilie*, should be a succour for the recouering of that kingdome to *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, who with a great hope of the good wils of the people, laboured to enter into *Calabria*: That the *Venetians* at the same time with their army by sea should assaile the sea coasts of the said kingdome: That the Duke of *Millan* (to hinder succours that might come out of *France*) should do what he could to get the Citie of *Ast*, wherein was the Duke of *Orleans* with a very small strength: That to the Emperour and King of *Spaine* should be contributed by the other Confederates a certaine quantitie of money, to the end that either of them should make warre vpon the Realme of *France* with a puissant army. The Confederates also desiring that all *Italie* would be vnited in the same concord of will, made instance to the *Florentines* and Duke of *Ferrara* to participate with this league. But the Duke being dealt withall after the league was published, refused to take armes against the *French* King; and yet, with an *Italian* subtiltie he consented that *Dom Alphonso* his eldest sonne should take pay of the Duke of *Millan* for an hundred and fifty men at armes, with the title of Lieutenant ouer all his companies. But the cause of the *Florentines* was otherwise, hauing no lesse iust occasion to leaue the *French* King, then allured to the confederation with many great offers: for that immediatly after the publicatiõ of the league, *Lodowike* offered them in the name of all the Confederates (so that they would communicate in the league) all their forces to resist the King, if, in his returne from *Naples*, he would offend them, and to ioyne with them as soone as might be for the recouering of *Pisa* and *Liuorne*. And on the other side, the King making no reckoning of the promises he had made at *Florence*, had not in the beginning restored them to the possession of their townes, nor since the conquest of *Naples* redeliuered the Castles of the same: making his faith and oath inferiour to the counsels of those, who fauouring the cause of the *Pisans*, perswaded him that the *Florentines*, as soone as they were restored, would vnite with the other *Italians*: and notwithstanding the great summes of money which they had bestowed vpon the Cardinall *S. Malo*, yet he resisted coldly such as incensed the King against them, as one that would not for the loue of

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the *Florentines* come to contention with the great ones of the kings Court. Further not only in theſe but alſo in many other things the king had made manifeſt, that he made no reckoning of his faith, neither did he conſider how important the amitie of the *Florentines* might be to him in thoſe times; inſomuch that one day their Ambaſſadours complaining of the rebellion of *Montpulcian*, and ſummoning him, according to his bond, to compell them of *Sienna* to render it: he anſwered as in ſcorne; What haue I to do if your ſubiects rebell, becauſe they are ill intreated? Yet notwithſtanding, the *Florentines* not ſuffering diſdaine to carrie them againſt their proper profite, determined not to hearken to the requeſts of the Confederates: aſwell not to prouoke againſt them of new the armie of *France* in the kings returne, as for that they might the ſooner hope to haue reſtitution of their places by ſuch as kept them: and laſtly, for that they truſted but litle in thoſe promiſes, knowing that they were hated of the *Venetians*, for the impediments which at ſundry times they had giuen to their enterpriſes; and knowing manifeſtly that *Lodowike* aſpired to the Lordſhip of *Piſa*.

But ſo it is, that about theſe times the reputation of the *French* began to diminiſh in the kingdome of *Naples*, for that giuing themſelues to their pleaſures, and gouerning all things at aduenture, they looked not to chaſe the *Aragons* out of thoſe few places yet holden by them, which they might eaſily haue done, if they had followed their fortune. But much more began they to decline in opinion, affection, and friendſhip: for, albeit the king ſhewed himſelfe very fauourable and liberall towards the people, in granting throughout the Realme ſo many priuiledges and exemptions, as they amounted to more then two hundred thouſand duckats by yeare, yet other things were not directed nor gouerned with ſuch order and diſcretion as appertained: for that the king would not take the paines to heare the complaints and ſuites of men, but referred ouer the whole charge of the affaires to ſuch as gouerned himſelfe; who partly by incapacitie, and partly by couetouſneſſe, confounded all things: ſo that the Nobility were not embraced with that humanitie they looked for, and much leſſe had recompences equall to their merits; but found many difficulties to enter into the chambers and audience of the king: there was made no diſtinction of perſons: the merits and ſeruices of men were not conſidered but at aduenture: the minds of ſuch as naturally were eſtranged from the houſe of *Aragon* were not confirmed: many delayes and difficulties were ſuborned touching the reſtitution of the ſtates and goods of thoſe that were of the faction of *Aniow*, and of the other Barons that had bene baniſhed by the old *Ferdinand*: fauours and graces were imparted to ſuch as procured them by corruption and meanes extraordinary: from many they tooke without iuſtice or reaſon, and to many gaue without occaſion or deſeruing: Almoſt all offices and dignities were transferred to the *French*, in whom were alſo inueſted (to the great griefe of the natural Lords) all the townes of the demaine (ſuch they call thoſe that are wont to obey immediatly the king:) things ſo much the more grieuous, by how much they had bene vſed to the wiſe and well ordered gouernments of the kings of the houſe of *Aragon*, and for that the king had promiſed there ſhould be no alteration of thoſe gouernments. But that which added much to this diſcontentment, was the naturall arrogancie of the *French*, aggrauated much by the facilitie of the victorie, which carried them into ſuch opinions of themſelues, that they eſteemed nothing of the whole Monarchie of *Italie*. Much more alſo was added by their inſolence and violence in taking vp their lodgings, no leſſe at *Naples* then in other parts of the Realme, where their companies were diſtributed, who did euery where ill intreate their hoſts: inſomuch that the ardent deſire which before they had of them, was now turned into extreme hate: and on the contrary in place of the malice they bare to the *Aragons*, there was inſinuation of compaſſion to *Ferdinand*, no leſſe for the generall expectation of his vertue, then for the memory of the gracious ſpeech which with ſo great ſweetneſſe and conſtancie he deliuered to the *Neapolitans* the day of his departure: the fame ſo working that that Citie and almoſt all the kingdome expected with no leſſe deſire, an occaſion to call backe the *Aragons*, then a few moneths before, they had deſired their deſtruction. Now began to be agreeable to them the name ſo hatefull of *Alphonſo*, calling iuſt ſeueritie, that which they had wont to note in him for crueltie; and interpreting to true ſinceritie of minde, that which wrongfully they had wont to conſter pride and fierceneſſe: ſuch is the nature of the people, inclined to hope more then they ought, and endure leſſe then is neceſſary, alwaies thirſting after innouations, and neuer contented with the time preſent: but chiefly of the inhabitants of *Naples*: who, of all the regions in *Italie* are

The French king vſeth negligence in ordering the things of Naples.

moſt noted of inconſtancie, and deſire of new things.

Before this new league was made, the *French* king had determined to returne into *France* with ſpeed, moued more with a light fancie, and a vehement deſire of his Court, then with conſiderations diſcreet or well tempered: ſeeing that in the kingdome of *Naples* remained vndecided many and great affaires of Princes and eſtates, and the parts of the Realme being not fully conquered, his victory had not yet her iuſt perfection. But after he knew that ſo many Princes were drawne into league againſt him, he was much moued in his minde, and fell to deuiſe with his Lords what he were beſt to do in ſo great an accident; ſpecially euery one aſſuring him that of a long time before the Chriſtian Princes had not made ſo puiſſant a league. And thoſe of his Counceil were of aduice, that he ſhould diſpatch his departure, doubting that by how long he taried, by ſo much the more would the difficulties increaſe, ſeeing the Confederats would winne time to make greater prouiſions; and the bruite ranne already, that by their direction a great leuie of *Almaines* ſhould paſſe into *Italie*, and men began to ſpeake much of the perſon of the Emperour: They perſwaded that the king would prouide that there might paſſe with diligence out of *France*, new bands of ſouldiers to the towne of *Aſt*, both to guard that Citie, and to keepe the Duke of *Millan* in neceſſitie to defend his owne countrey; and withall to be in readineſſe to paſſe further according to the occaſions of his Maieſties ſeruices. It was alſo determined in the ſame councell, to labour with all diligence, and with very great offers, to ſeparate the Pope from the other Confederates, and to diſpoſe him to transferre to the kings perſon the inueſtiture of the Realme of *Naples*, which (notwithſtanding he had promiſed abſolutely at *Rome*,) yet he had denied it till that day, and with declaratiõ that that grant or conceſſion ſhould not beare preiudice to the title and rights of another. In a deliberation ſo graue, and amongſt ſo many thoughts of ſuch importance, was not loſt the memory of the affaires of *Piſa*. For, the king deſiring for many regards, that in him might remaine power to diſpoſe of that eſtate, and doubting leſt by the ayde of the Confederates the people of *Piſa* would bereaue him of the Citadell, he ſent thither by ſea together with the Ambaſſadours of the towne which were with him, ſixe hundred *French* footmen, who being arriued there, conceiued the ſame affection which others that had bene left there, had apprehended: and being puſhed forward with a deſire to ſpoyle and prey, after they had receiued money of the *Piſans*, they went with their companies to encampe afore the towne of *Librafatta*, where the *Piſans* (whoſe Captaine was *Luke Maluezze*) had bene in campe certaine daies afore, vpon an aduertiſement that the *Florentines* had ſent part of their bands to *Montpulcian*, and hearing of the approch of their enemies, were raiſed and gone the day before: but returning thither eſtſoones with the ſupply of the *French* men, they tooke it in few daies; for the *Florentine* armie ſent to ſuccour it, could not paſſe the riuer of *Sercle* for the violence of waters, neither durſt they take the other way by the walls of *Lucques*, for the ill diſpoſition of that people, who were much moued, and fauoured greatly the liberty of the *Piſans*. Theſe bands with thoſe of the *French* that remained of the conqueſt of *Librafatta*, ran ouer the whole countrey of *Piſa*, as enemies manifeſt to the *Florentines*: who, when they complained, the king gaue no other anſwer, then aſſoone as he ſhould come into *Tuskane*, he would redeliuer all thoſe places he had promiſed, deſiring them to beare with patience that little reſpite. But the meanes of departure were not ſo eaſie to the king, as his deſire was ready: for that his armie was not ſo great, as, being deuided into two parts, it was able to bring him into *Aſt* without danger, and to ſuffice both to auoyd the impediments of the Cõfederates, and defend the kingdome of *Naples* againſt ſo many agitations as were then in preparing.

The French king taketh counſell of his Lords what to do againſt the league of Confederates.

In theſe difficulties he was conſtrained (to the end the Realme ſhould not be naked of defence) to diminiſh the prouiſions reſerued for his owne ſafety; and yet to keepe his perſon from manifeſt perill, his neceſſities enforced him not to leaue in the kingdome ſo ſtrong an army as was needfull. Therefore he determined to leaue there halfe of his *Swiſſers*, and a part of the *French* footmen, eight hundred lancemen of *France*, and about fiue hundred men at armes of the *Italians* which were in his pay, deuided partly vnder the enſignes of the Prefect of *Rome*, & partly vnder the *Colonnois* and *Anthonie Sauelle*, Captaines who had taſted plentifully of his liberalities, in the diſtribution of the townes and eſtates of the kingdome, but ſpecially the *Colonnois*: for that to *Fabricius* he had giuen the countrey of *Alba* and *Taillecoſſa* poſſeſſed before by *Virginio Vrſin*: and *Proſpero* he had indued with the Duchie of *Tracetta* and the Citie of *Fondi*, with

with many hamlets which belonged to the familie of *Caetane* and *Montfortin*, together with many other peeces adioyning, taken from the houſe of the *Comtes*. To theſe forces, he made reckoning that in all neceſſities he ſhould vnite the forces of thoſe Barons, who for their owne ſuretie, were conſtrained to deſire his greatneſſe: but ſpecially the powers of the Prince of *Salerne*, whom he had reſtored to the office of Admirall, and of the Prince of *Biſignian*. He created as Lieutenant generall ouer all the Realme, *Gilbert de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpenſier*, a Captaine more eſteemed for the greatneſſe of his houſe, and that he did participate in the bloud royall, then for his proper vertue: he aſſigned other Captaines in many parts of the Realme, on whom he had beſtowed eſtates and reuenues; of theſe the chiefe was *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, whom he had made great Conſtable of the Realme for *Calabria*: In *Caietta*, the Seneſhall of *Beaucaire*, whom he had raiſed to the office of high Chamberlaine: And in *Abruzze*, *Gracian* a valiant Captaine of great reputation: promiſing them to ſend them ſpeedy reſcue of money & men. But in the meane while to entertaine the warre, he left them no other prouiſion, then the aſſignation of thoſe moneys which ſhould be daily gathered of the reuenues of the Realme, which began already to wauer and ſhake, for that the name of the *Aragons* began to reuiue in many places: For, at the ſame time that the king would depart from *Naples*, *Ferdinand* accompanied with the *Spaniſh* armie that came by ſea into the Iſle of *Sicile*, was deſcended into *Calabria*, to whom flocked with a ſwift readineſſe many troupes of the countrymen, the City of *Regge* rendring it ſelfe to him, whoſe Caſtell had bene alwaies kept in his name. At the ſame time was diſcouered about the ſhoares of *Pouilla* the *Venetian* army by ſea, ouer whom was Captaine *Anthonie Grimany*, a man in that commonweale of great authoritie: But neither for theſe, nor any other ſignes of changes towards, the king did not forbeare, nor once ſuſpend or linger his deliberation to go his way. For, beſides that haply they were driuen by neceſſitie, the deſire was incredible in the king and all his Court to returne into *France*, as though fortune that was ſufficient to make them get ſo great a victorie, had bene ſtill able ſo to preſerue it for them. In this time alſo held good to *Ferdinand*, the Iſles of *Iſchia* and of *Lipara*, which albeit they were nearer to *Sicile*, yet are they members of the kingdome of *Naples*: he held *Regge* which he had newly recouered, and euen in *Calabria*, he commanded *Villeneufue* with the Caſtell, and places about *Brunduſia* where *Federik* was retired; alſo *Galipoli*, *Mantia*, and *Turpia*.

Gilbert Bourbon Duke of Montpenſier the kings Lieutenant in Naples.

The Realme of Naples beginneth to reclaime the name of the Aragons.

Now before the king departed from *Naples*, many things were in negociation betweene him and the Pope, not without great hope of concord: In which action was ſent from the Pope to the king, and after returned to *Rome* the Cardinall *S. Denis*, and for the *French* king, *M. Franci*. For the king deſired greatly the inueſtiture of *Naples*, and that the Pope, if he would not ioyne with him, at the leaſt that he would not be for his enemies, and that he would receiue him into *Rome* as a friend. To which demands, albeit at the beginning the Pope bare ſome inclinatiõ, yet, diſtruſting much in himſelfe of the king, and eſteeming that to ſeparate himſelfe from the Confederates, and conſent to the inueſtiture, would be ſuppoſed a meane ſufficient to make a faithfull reconciliation with him, he obiected many difficulties to the other demands; and to that of the inueſtiture, (albeit the king would condeſcend to take it vnder this condition, not to be preiudiciall to the rights of another) he anſwered, that he wiſhed the lawes might be looked into afore, to ſee to whom the right appertained: And on the other ſide, ſeeking to giue impediment by force to the kings entry into *Rome*, he ſent to the ſtate of *Venice*, and to the Duke of *Millan*, to furniſh him with ſuccours and ſtrength of ſouldiers; who, immediatly ſent him a thouſand light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen, with promiſe of an aide of a thouſand men at armes: with which bands, ioyned to his owne forces, he hoped to be able to make reſiſtance. But the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* conſidering afterwards, that it was a thing too dangerous to ſend their ſtrength and companies ſo farre from their owne eſtates, ſeeing that the whole armie agreed vpon was not yet in order, and that part of their people were occupied in the enterpriſe of *Aſt*; and withall remembring the infidelitie of the Pope, who when king *Charles* paſt that way, called *Ferdinand* into *Rome* with his armie, and ſuddenly changing aduice, made him iſſue forth againe: they began to perſwade him to withdraw himſelfe to ſome place of ſuretie, rather then to aduenture his perſon to ſo great a danger in ſtriuing to defend *Rome*; ſeeing that when the king ſhould enter the citie, he would as quickly be gone, without leauing any body therein; which would ſo much the more increaſe the kings hopes to come to ſome compoſition with him.

The *French* king departed from *Naples* the twentieth day of May: but for that he had not yet taken the Crowne with the ceremonies accuſtomed, a few dayes afore his departure, he was ſolemnly crowned in the Cathedral Church, and receiued with great pompe and glory the honours, oathes, and homages, accuſtomed to be done to new kings. At this coronation, the oration was pronounced in the name of all the people of *Naples* by *Iohn Iouian Pontan*, to whoſe prayſes very cleare and ſhining for the excellency of his doctrine, his life, and ciuilitie of manners, this action brought no ſmall diſgrace; for that hauing bene of long a principall Secretarie to the kings of *Aragon*, and in very great authoritie with them, and the teacher and maiſter of *Alphonſo*, he ſeemed (whether it were to obſerue iuſtly the parts proper to Oratours, or to ſhew his affection to the *French*) to take too great libertie to ſpeake in the diſpraiſe and derogation of the kings by whom he had bene ſo much aduanced. So hard it is ſometimes for a man to keepe in himſelfe that moderation and thoſe rules, which he flowing with ſo great doctrine, had taught vnto others, writing of morall vertues, and by his wit and knowledge had made himſelfe wonderfull to the world in all kind of learning. The king led with him eight hundred *French* lances, the two hundred Gentlemen of his guard, an hundred lances vnder the Lord *Triuulce*; three thouſand *Swiſſers* footmen, a thouſand *French* men, and a thouſand *Gaſcoins*; hauing ordained that in *Tuſkane Camilla Vitelli* & his brethren ſhould ioyne with him with two hundred & fiftie men at armes, and that the armie by ſea ſhould draw towards *Liuorne*. *Virginio Vrſin* and the *Count Petillane* followed the king without other guard then their faith giuen not to go away without leaue: & for that they reaſoned that they were not iuſtly made priſoners, their cauſe had bene diſputed in the kings Councell, afore whom they alledged, that at the time they yeelded themſelues, the king had not onely granted to thoſe that they ſent, but alſo ſet downe in writing vnder his owne ſignature, their ſafeconduct; whereof being aduertiſed by their ſolicitors, which attended the diſpatch of the Secretaries, they had vnder that truſt, at the ſummons of the firſt Herald that went to *Nola*, diſplaied the enſignes of the king, and giuen the keyes to the firſt Captaine hauing with him but a few horſemen, when as they hauing more then foure hundred men at armes might eaſily haue made reſiſtance. Further, they alledged the ancient deuotion of the family of *Vrſins*, who taking part alwaies with the faction of the *Guelffes*, had euer borne both in themſelues and in all the predeceſſors of that houſe, perpetuall impreſſions of honour, reuerence, and ſeruice, to the Crowne of *France*: That for thoſe regards it came to paſſe, that with ſo great a readineſſe they had receiued the kings Maieſtie into their eſtates bordering vpon *Rome*: and therefore it was neither conuenient nor iuſt, both in regard of the faith giuen by the king, and of their deportments, that they ſhould be holden priſoners. But they were anſwered with no leſſe roundneſſe by *Monſieur de Ligny*, whoſe ſouldiers tooke them within *Nola*: That the ſafeconduct, albeit it was determined and ſubſigned by the king, yet it is to be vnderſtood, that it was not perfectly giuen, but when it was confirmed with the kings ſeale, and with the ſeale of the Secretarie, and ſo deliuered to the partie: That in all grants and letters pattents ſuch was the ancient cuſtome in all Courts, to the end that if any thing were inconſideratly paſſed the mouth of the Prince, by reaſon of many thoughts and affaires, or for not ſufficient information of things, it might ſo be moderated: And that the confidence of that moued them not to yeeld to ſo ſmall a company of ſouldiers, but they did communicate in the generall neceſſitie and feare, for that there remained no meane either to defend or to flie, the whole countrey about them ſwarming with the armies of the victors: That what they alledged of their merits was falſe, which if it ſhould be affirmed by another, themſelues ought to denie it for their honour: for that it was manifeſt to all the world, that not of will or free conſent, but to auoyd danger (leauing in aduerſity the *Aragons*, of whom in proſperitie they had receiued great benefits) they agreed to giue the king paſſage through their lands: ſeeing therefore they were in pay of the enemy, and bare minds eſtranged from the name of the *French*, and that they had perfectly no ſafeconduct or ſuretie, they were made priſoners by good law and right of armes. Theſe reaſons thus auouched againſt the *Vrſins*, and ſuſtained by the power of *Monſieur de Ligny*, and authoritie of the *Colonneys*, who aſwell for ancient enuies, as for the diuerſitie of the factions, quarrelled them openly: there was no reſolution nor ſentence, onely they were commanded to follow the king, yet giuing them hope to be deliuered when his Maieſtie was come to *Aſt*.

The French king crowned king of Naples.

Virginio Vrſin and the Count Petillane being the kings priſoners ſhew reaſons to be redeliuered.

Their reaſons are diſproued by Monſieur de Ligny.

But the Pope, (the Confederates hauing counſelled him to go his way) though he were not without

without inclination to be reconciled with the king, with whom he negotiated continually: yet in the end ſuſpition and ielouſie preuailing with him, though he had nouriſhed the king with hopes that he would attend him; after he had beſtowed a ſufficient garriſon within the Caſtell *S. Ange*, two dayes before the king ſhould enter *Rome*, he went to *Oruiette*, accompanied with the Colledge of Cardinals, and two hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and three thouſand footmen: and he left behind him as Legat, the Cardinall of *S. Anaſtaſio*, to receiue and honour the king, who entred by that quarter on the further ſide of *Tyber*, to the end to auoid the Caſtell *S. Ange*: and refuſing the lodging that was offered him by the Popes commiſſion in the Pallace of the *Vatican*, he went and lodged in the ſuburbes. And when the Pope vnderſtood that the king came neare to *Viterbe*, notwithſtanding he entertained him with new hopes to meete with him in ſome place conuenient betweene *Viterbe* and *Oruiette*, he left *Oruiette* and went to *Perouſe*, with intention (if the king tooke that way) to go to *Ancona*, the better to haue meanes, by the commoditie of the ſea, to retire to ſome place abſolutely aſſured. And yet the king although he were very angry with him, rendred the Caſtels of *Ciuitauecchia* and *Terracina*, reſeruing *Oſtia*, which when he came out of *Italie*, he gaue vp to the power of the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad vincula*, who was Biſhop thereof. He paſſed in like ſort by the countreys of the Church, as through the dominions of a friend; ſauing that they of *Tuskanella* refuſing to receiue into their towne his vanrguard, the ſouldiers tooke it by force, and ſacked it, not without the ſlaughter of many.

After this, the king remained without any occaſion at *Sienna* ſixe dayes, not conſidering (neither of himſelfe, nor by the earneſt aduertiſements of the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad vincula*, and of *Triuulce*) how hurtfull it was to giue time to his enemies to make their prouiſions and vnite their forces: neither did he recompence the loſſe of time, with the profite of counſels or deliberations. For there was debated at *Sienna* the reſtitution of the fortreſſes of the *Florentines* promiſed by the king at his departure from *Naples*, and many times after confirmed on the way: and therefore, the *Florentines*, beſides that they were ready to pay the thirty thouſand duckats remaining of the ſumme agreed at *Florence*, offered to lend ſeuenty thouſand more, and to ſend with him till he were arriued at *Aſt*, *Franciſco Secco* their Captaine with three hundred men at armes, and two thouſand footmen: ſo that the neceſſity which the king had of money, the great commodity to augment his army, and the conſideration of his faith and othe, induced almoſt all thoſe of his Councell to perſwade effectually the reſtitution of the Caſtels and peeces of ſtrength, reſeruing *Pietraſanta* and *Serezana*, as fit meanes to draw more eaſily to his deuotion the hearts of the *Genowais*. But it was a reſolution in deſtinie, that the matter of new calamities ſhould remaine kindled in *Italie*. For, *Monſieur de Ligny*, a man both yong and wanting experience, but being borne of one of the ſiſters of the kings mother, and of no ſmall fauours with him, puſhed forward either by his lightneſſe, or elſe with diſdaine for that the *Florentines* addreſſed themſelues to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*; hindered this deliberation, alledging no other reaſon then the pitie and compaſſion of the *Piſans*: And touching the offer of the forces which the *Florentines* made, he deſpiſed them, vanting that the army of *France* was able to fight with all the men of warre in *Italie* knit in one ſtrength: and *Monſieur de Pienes* was a ſupporter of his opinion, for that he thought the king would beſtow vpon him the iuriſdiction of *Piſa* and *Liuorne*. There was debating alſo at *Sienna* of the gouernement of that City, for that many of the orders of the people and of the reformers (to plucke downe the brotherhood of the order of *Montenoue*,) made inſtance, that erecting a new forme of gouernement, the guard which they of *Montenoue* kept at the publike Pallace might be taken away, and the place ſupplied by a guard of *French* men vnder the leading of *Monſieur de Ligny*: And albeit this counſell was reiected in the councell of the king, as a thing of litle continuance, and impertinent to the time preſent; *Monſieur de Ligny* who had laid a vaine plot to make himſelfe Lord of it, obtained that the king would take into his protection that City vnder certaine conditions, binding himſelfe to the defence of it & all the dependances except *Montpulcian*; which he ſaid he would not intangle himſelfe withall, neither for the *Florentines* nor for the *Siennois*: And the communaltie of *Sienna* (albeit no mention was made of any ſuch thing in the capitulation) choſe, by the conſent of the king, *Monſieuer de Ligny* for their Captaine, promiſing him twenty thouſand duckats by yeare, vpon condition, that he would keepe there a Lieutenant with three hundred footmen for the guard of the place; which ſtrength he left there culled

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out of ſuch as were of the *French* army. The vanitie of which deliberations appeared immediatly, for that the Order of *Montenoue* hauing eftſoones reconquered with armes their authority accuſtomed, chaſed out of *Sienna* the guard, and diſmiſſed *Monſieur de Liſle* whom the king had left there for his Ambaſſadour.

But there were now great ſtirres and emotions in *Lombardie*: for the *Venetians*, and *Lodowike Sforce* (who had euen then receiued from the Emperour with much ſolemnity the priuiledges of inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, and made publike homage and oath of fidelity to the Ambaſſadours that brought them) raiſed great preparations to ſtop the king that he ſhould not returne into *France*, or at leaſt to aſſure the Duchie of *Millan*, to come to the which he muſt paſſe ouer ſo great a circuit of countreis. To theſe ends, euery of them readdreſſed their forces, and leauied of new, partly in cõmon, & partly at expences ſeparate, many men at armes, obtaining after many difficulties, that *John Bentiuole* whom they had taken into their common pay, ſhould ſticke to the league with the City of *Bolognia*. *Lodowike* armed at *Genes* for the guard of the ſame City, ten gallies at his owne charge, and foure great ſhips at the common expences of the Pope, the *Venetians*, and himſelfe: and being at the point to execute that whereunto he was bound by the couenants of the confederation touching the towne of *Aſt*, he ſent into *Germanie* to leauie two thouſand footmen, and conuerted to that enterpriſe *Galeas S. Seuerin* with ſeuen hundred men at armes, and three thouſand footmen: inſomuch as aſſuring him of the taking of that towne, and to atchieue all things to his honour, (as he was naturally very inſolent in his proſperities) he ſent this meſſage to the Duke of *Orleans* the more to terrifie him: That hereafter he ſhould forbeare to vſurpe the title of Duke of *Millan*, which title *Charles* his father had taken ſince the death of *Philip Maria Viſcounte*: That he ſhould not ſuffer new bands to paſſe out of *France* into *Italie*: That he ſhould cauſe to returne home againe ſuch as were already within the towne of *Aſt*: And that for the aſſurance of theſe things, he ſhould put the towne of *Aſt* into the hands of *Galeas S. Seuerin*, in whom the king might repoſe truſt as well as in him, hauing the yeare before bene receiued by the king into the brotherhood and Order of *S. Michael* in *France*; magnifying beſides, and boaſting of his forces; of the prouiſions the Cõfederates made to make head againſt the king in *Italie*; the great preparations of the Emperour and the king of *Spaine* to moue warre beyond the Mounts. But the Duke of *Orleans* was made nothing afraid with theſe vaine threats: for as ſoone as he vnderſtood they were about to make a new confederation, he purpoſed to fortifie *Aſt*, and ſolicited with great inſtance to ſend out of *France* new ſupplies; who, vnderſtanding that they were to be employed in the proper ſuccours of the kings perſon, began with great diligence to paſſe the mounts. By reaſon whereof the Duke of *Orlans* not fearing his enemies, marched into the field, and tooke in the Marquiſdome of *Saluce* the towne and Caſtell of *Galſinieres* which *Anthony Maria* of *S. Seuerin* poſſeſſed. Which being knowne to *Galeas*, who had a litle before taken certaine ſmall villages, he retired with his army to *Anon*, a towne of the Duchie of *Millan* neare to *Aſt*, neither hauing hope, to be able to offend, nor feare to be offended. But the nature of *Lodowike* being much inclined to entangle himſelfe with enterpriſes which required great expences, and on the contrarie, to ſhun euen in the greateſt dangers the ſame coſts and charges, was the occaſion to bring his eſtate into right great dangers: for that by reaſon of his very ſpare and needy paiments, a very few footmen came out of *Germany*, and for the ſame niggardneſſe, the bands that were with *Galeas* diminiſhed daily: on the contrary the ſupplies of *France* increaſed continually, who for that they were called to the reſcue of the kings perſon, marched with ſuch diligence, that the Duke of *Orleans* had already aſſembled three hundred lances, three thouſand *Swiſſers* footmen, and three thouſand *Gaſcoines*. And albeit the king had preciſely commanded him, that abſtaining from all enterpriſe, he ſhould ſtand vpon continuall readineſſe to meete him whenſoeuer he ſhould be ſent for; yet (it being hard for a man not to make reckoning of his proper profite) he determined to accept the occaſion to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the citie of *Nouare*, wherein he was offred to be put by two of the *Opizins*, Gentlemen of the ſame citie, hating much the Duke of *Millan*, for that as well from them as from many other of the towne, he had by falſe accuſations and vniuſt iudgement, vſurped certaine conduits of waters and other poſſeſſions. The enterpriſe and the manner of it being reſolued vpon, the Duke of *Orleans* paſſed by night the riuer of *Po* at the bridge *Sturo*, within the iuriſdiction of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, hauing in his company the Marquis of *Saluce*: he was receiued by the conſpiratours of the enterpriſe into the towne with

The Venetians and Lodowike Sforce prepare to ſtop the French kings returning into France.

Lodo. Sforce ſendeth haughtie meſſage to the Duke of Orleans.

An attempt vpon the towne Nouare.

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all his forces, and found no reſiſtance: and from thence making ſuddaine incurſions with part of his horſemen euen vntil *Vigeuena*, it was beleeued that if he had drawne his whole army with ſpeed towards *Millan*, there would haue riſen no ſmall inſurrections; for that the loſſe of *Nouaro* kindled in the *Millanois* a wonderfull inclination to reuolt and change; and *Lodowike*, no leſſe timerous in aduerſitie, then inſolent in proſperitie, was ſeene with teares vnprofitable to acknowledge his cowardize (as for the moſt part inſolency is ioyned with timerouſneſſe:) they alſo that were with *Galeas*, in whom onely conſiſted his defence, remaining behind, ſhewed themſelues in no place to his reſcue. But becauſe the conditions and diſorders of an enemy, are not alwaies knowne to the Captaines, it happeneth often in warres that many goodly occaſions are loſt; there being alſo no apparence that ſo ſudden a mutation could ſucceed againſt ſo great a Prince. The Duke of *Orleans*, to aſſure the conqueſt of *Nouaro*, determined to haue the Caſtel, which the fifth day accorded to yeeld, if within foure and twenty houres it were not ſuccoured: during which time, *Galeas de S. Seuerin* had leaſure to conuey his companies to *Vigeuena*; and the Duke (who the better to reconcile the minds of the people, had by proclamation called in many exactions impoſed afore vpon the communalty) good reſpite to increaſe his army. And albeit the Duke of *Orleans* hauing ranged his bands neare the walles of *Vigeuena*, offered battell to his enemies, on whom fell ſo generall aſtoniſhment, that they were vpon the point to abandon the towne, and paſſe the riuer of *Theſin* by a bridge they had made vpon boates, and other matter neceſſary to their ſuccours in the paſſage; the enemy refuſing to fight, the Duke of *Orleans* retired to *Trecas*. From this time the affaires of *Lodowike Sforce* began to proſper, many ſupplies of horſemen and footmen arriuing in his army. For the *Venetians* being content that the charge to meete the *French* King, ſhould be in effect to them alone, cõſented that *Lodowike* ſhould call backe part of thoſe bands he had ſent vpon the coaſts of *Parmeſan*, and withall they refurniſhed him with foure hundred light horſe: ſo that the meane to paſſe further, was taken from the Duke of *Orleans*, who making a road with fiue hundred horſemen euen to *Vigeuena*, and the horſemen of the enemy encountring with them, a great loſſe light vpon the Duk of *Orleans*. This encounter gaue courage to *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, both ſuperiour in forces, and nothing inferiour in fortune, to preſent battell to the Duke at *Trecas*. At length all the army being aſſembled (wherein beſides the *Italian* ſouldiers, was arriued a thouſand horſemen, and a thouſand footmen of *Almains*) incamped within a mile of *Nouaro*, whither the Duke of *Orleans* was retired with all his companies.

The newes of the reuolt of *Nouaro*, procured the King being then at *Sienna*, to come forward: and therefore to auoid all occaſions that might hinder his departure; and knowing well that the *Florentines*, warned by the perils paſt, and falne into new iealouſies, for that *Peter de Medicis* followed him, albeit they had determined to receiue him into *Florence* with great honours, yet for their more ſurety, had filled their towne with men of armes and piked bands; he drew to *Piſa* by the lands of the *Florentines*, leauing the City of *Florence* on the right hand: and in the towne of *Poggibonſe* met him *Ieronimo Sauonarola*, who according to his cuſtome, vſing the name and authority of God to his purpoſe, told him roundly that he ought to reſtore to the *Florentines* their townes, ioyning to his perſwaſions, threatnings abſolute and terrible, that if he obſerued not that he had ſworne with ſo great ſolemnity, vpon the holy Goſpels, and as it were afore the eies of God, a ſeuere puniſhment would ſhortly follow vpon him. The King made him ſundry anſwers, according to his inconſtancy; now promiſing to make reſtitution as ſoone as he was come to *Piſa*; and immediatly (wreſting his promiſe and oath) he ſaid he had ſworne to the *Piſans*, to protect their libertie, afore he made any oath at *Florence*: and yet he gaue hopes alwaies to their Embaſſadours for the reſtitution of their peeces as ſoone as he was come to *Piſa*. At *Piſa* the matter was eſtſoones proponed in the kings Councell, for that the bruite of the preparations, vnity and ſtrength of the Confederates about the bordets of *Parma* increaſing daily, they began to looke into the difficulties to paſſe through *Lombardy*: for which cauſe many deſired the moneys and other ſuccors offered by the *Florentines*. But to their aduice were contrary euen thoſe Captaines and gentlemen who had reſiſted it at *Sienna*: alledging, that albeit there happened by the oppoſition of the enemy, any diſorder or difficulty to paſſe through *Lombardy*, yet it were better to haue in their power the City of *Piſa* (whither they might retire) then to leaue it in the hands of the *Florentines*, who, hauing once reobtained the places they demanded, would be of no better faith, then had bene the other *Italians*; and adding withall,

Ier Sauonarola a Friar preatcher in Florence.

withall, that for the more ſurety of the kingdome of *Naples*, it was very conuenient to hold the port of *Liuorne*: for that the plot laid to alter the ſtate of *Genes* ſucceeding well to the King, (whereof the hope could not be doubtfull) he ſhould be ſoueraigne Lord almoſt of all the ſeas, from the port of *Marſeils* euen to the hauen of *Naples*. Certainly theſe reaſons were able to do much in the mind of the King, as yet little capable to chuſe the beſt counſel: but of farre greater power were the petitions and teares of the *Piſans*, who in great concourſe of men, women, and children, ſometimes proſtrate at the Kings feete, and eftſoones recommending to euery one (yea euen the leaſt of his Court, and the ſouldiers, with lamentable cryings and complaints bewailed their miſeries to come) the inſatiable hatred of the *Florentines*, and the laſt deſolation of their countrey: which ſhould not haue cauſe to lament for any other thing, then for that his Maieſtie had put them in liberty, and promiſed to protect them in it; in aſſurance whereof, they beleeuing the word of a right Chriſtian King of *France*, to be a word firme and reſolute, had taken boldneſſe ſo much the more to prouoke the hatred of the *Florentines*. With theſe complaints and exclamations they ſo moued the hearts of euery man, that all ſorts of people were ſtirred vp, euen to the archers and *Swiſſers*; ſo that one day after dinner the Gentlemen and ſouldiers went in great numbers and tumult to the King, whom (*Salzart* one of the Penſioners ſpeaking in the name of them all) they beſought with great inſtance, that for the honor of his perſon, for the glorie of the Crowne of *France*, and for the conſolation of ſo many of his ſeruants, prepared alwaies to put their liues in hazard for him, and who perſwaded him with a faith more loyall, ſimple, and innocent, then ſuch as were corrupted with the money of the *Florentines*, he would not take from theſe poore and naked *Piſans*, the benefite which ſo graciouſly he had beſtowed vpon them: offering him, that if for want of money, he ſuffered himſelfe to be carried into a deliberation ſo infamous, he ſhould rather take their chaines, their iewels, and their treaſures, yea and retaine in his hand their paies and penſions which they were to receiue of him. This vehement affection of the ſouldiers proceeded ſo farre, that a ſimple Archer had the boldneſſe to threaten the Cardinall of *S. Malo*; and others with braue ſpeeches to quarrell the Marſhall of *Gié*, and the Preſident of *Gannay*, whom they knew to labour the redeliuerie of the *Piſans* to the ſeruitude of *Florence*. Inſomuch that the King confuſed with ſo great contrariety among his people, let things hang in ſuſpence, and was ſo farre from taking any certaine reſolution, that at the ſame time he promiſed the *Piſans* againe neuer to paſſe them into the power of the *Florentines* and to the Embaſſadors of *Florence* attending at *Lucques*, he gaue intelligence, that that which he did not at that preſent for iuſt occaſions, he would do immediatly after he was arriued in *Aſt*, willing that their Commonweale ſhould ſend Embaſſadours thither.

The King departed from *Piſa* after he had changed the Captaine, and left ſufficient garriſon within the Citadell, doing the like in the other fortreſſes & peeces of defence: and being of himſelfe inflamed with an incredible deſire to conquer the towne of *Genes*, being ſet on by the Cardinals of *Rouere* and *Fregoſe*, and by *Obietto de Fieſque*, and others of the baniſhed, who gaue him hopes of a ſudden mutation there; he ſent with them from *Serezana* to this enterpriſe (contrary to the opinion of all his Councel, who allowed not to diminiſh the forces of the army) the Lord *Philip de Breze*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, with ſixe hundred lances, and fiue hundred footmen newly arriued out of *France* by ſea, ordaining that the men at armes of the *Vitellies*, coming behind with a ſlow march, and therefore not able in time to ioyne with him, ſhould follow them: and that certaine others of the baniſhed, together with the bands ſupplied by the Duke of *Sauoy*, ſhould enter the riuer of the Weſt: and laſtly, that the army by ſea, reduced to ſeuen gallies, two gallions, and two foiſts led by the Captaine *Mielans*, ſhould go to backe the army by land.

The king aſpireth to the ſurpriſing of Genes.

By this time the vantgard guided by the Marſhall of *Gié*, was come to *Pontrema*, which towne, after it had diſmiſſed three hundred footmen ſtrangers left there for the guard of the place, did yeeld ſuddenly by the meane of *Triuulce*, with couenant, that they ſhould not be vexed, neither in their perſons, nor in their goods. But the faith giuen by the Captaines did little auaile for the ſurety of the towne; for that the *Swiſſers* being violently entred, and taking occaſion of reuenge, becauſe when the army going to *Naples* paſſed through *Lunigiana*, about forty of their nation (for a quarrell happening at aduenture) were ſlaine by them of *Pontrema*; they ſacked and burnt the towne, after they had cruelly ſlaughtered all the inhabitants.

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In theſe times the army of the Confederates aſſembled diligently about the borders of *Parma*, in number about two thouſand and two hundred men at armes, eight thouſand footmen, and more then two thouſand light horſemen, the moſt part *Albanois* and of the prouinces neare to *Greece*; who brought into *Italy* by the *Venetians*, retained the ſame name they had in their countrey, and were called *Stradiots*. Of this army the ſinewes and principall ſtrength were the bands of the *Venetians*, for that thoſe of the Duke of *Millan* (he hauing turned moſt of his forces to the ſeruice of *Nouaro*) made not the fourth part of the whole army. Ouer the bands of the *Venetians*, wherein were many notable Captaines, commanded as generall *Francis Gonzague* Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, a man albeit very yong, yet what for his great courage and naturall deſire of glorie, his expectation ſurmounted his age: and with him were ioyned as commiſſioners, two of the chiefeſt of the Senate, *Luke Piſan* and *Melchior Treuiſan*. Ouer the regiment of *Lodowike Sforce*, commanded vnder the ſame title of Generall, the *Count Caiazze*, in whom *Lodowike* repoſed much: but for that he was nothing equall in armes to the glory of *Robert de S. Seuerin* his father, he had rather got the name of a ſubtill and politicke warriour, then of a hardy and reſolute Captaine; and with him was Commiſſioner *Francis Bernardin Viſcount* chiefe of the faction of the *Gibelins* at *Millan*, and therefore vſed as oppoſite to *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*. Among theſe Captaines and principals of the army, conſulting whether they ſhould go incampe at *Furnoue*, a little village at the foote of the mountaine; it was determined, for the ſtraightneſſe of the place, and perhaps (as was afterwards ſpred abroad) to giue occaſion to the enemy to deſcend into the plaine; that they ſhould lodge in the Abbey of *Guiarnola* diſtant three miles from *Furnoue*. This aduice was the cauſe that at *Furnoue* was lodged the vantgard of the *French*, which had paſſed the mountaine much afore the reſidue of the army, being hindred by the great artillery, which with many difficulties was drawne ouer that ſharpe mountaine of the *Appenin*, and had paſſed with farre greater troubles, if the *Swiſſers* (deſiring to wipe away the offence they had done to the Kings honour in the ſacke of *Pontremi*) had not applied a wonderfull diligence and promptitude to force the paſſage. *The army of the Confederates.*

The vantgard being arriued at *Furnoue*, the Marſhall of *Gié* ſent a trumpet to the *Italian* campe, to demand paſſage by their army in the name of the King, who without offence to any perſon, and receiuing victuals at conuenient prices, would paſſe that way to returne into *France*, diſpatching at the ſame inſtant certaine light horſemen to view the enemy and the countrey; who were broken and put to flight by certaine *Stradiots* which *Francis Gonzague* ſent againſt them. If vpon this occaſion the *Italians* had aduanced themſelues euen to the place where the *French* were, they had eaſily (by all coniecture) broken the vantgard, and ſo taken away all poſſibilities of the Kings paſſage: this occaſion remained in their fauour alſo the day following, notwithſtanding that the Marſhall after he had conſidered the danger, had retired his people into a place more high. But the *Italian* Captaines had not the boldneſſe to aſſaile them, aſwell for the aduantage of the place whither they were retired, as for that they feared the ouergreatneſſe of the vantgard, and that they were more neare to the maine army: and it is certaine, that as yet they had not aſſembled all the bands of the *Venetians*, who were ſo ſlow to ioyne in one ſtrength at *Guiarnola*, that it is manifeſt, if the King had not dallied ſo long vpon the way, at *Piſa*, *Sienna*, and other places without all occaſion, he might haue paſſed without impediment or encounter of the enemy: who being ioyned at laſt to his vantgard, lodged the day after with all his army at *Furnoue*.

The Princes confederate neuer beleeued that the King durſt haue paſſed the *Appenin* by the high way with ſo ſmall an army; for at the firſt they were of opinion, that leauing the greateſt part of his people at *Piſa*, he would returne into *France* with the reſidue by ſea: and afterwards vnderſtanding that he continued his way by land, they ſuppoſed, that to eſchue their army, he would lay his plot to paſſe the mountaine by the way of the borough of *Vaudetar*, and by the hill *Centeroix*, very ſharpe and difficult, from thence to paſſe to *Tortonnis*, hoping to meete the Duke of *Orleans* vpon the confines of *Alexandria*. But when it was certainely knowne that he was coming ſtraight forward to *Furnoue*, the *Italian* army (very well reſolued afore, both for the ſhew of courage in ſo many valiant Captaines, and for the report of the little number of the enemies) loſt ſome part of their courage, conſidering the valour of the men at armes of *France*, and the vertue of the *Swiſſers*, to whom without all compariſon, the *Italian* footmen were eſteemed much inferiour; they conſidered alſo the agilitie of ſuch as managed the great artilleries;

but ſpecially (which moueth much the minds of men when they haue taken a contrary impreſſion,) they redoubted greatly the vnexpected hardineſſe of the *French*, who, though their numbers were much inferiour to theirs, durſt yet approch ſo neare them. For theſe conſiderations, the courage euen of the Captaines being well moderated, they held a councell amongſt themſelues what anſwer they ſhould make to the trumpet ſent by the Marſhall of *Gié*: on the one ſide it ſeemed too dangerous to put the ſtate of all *Italie* in the diſcretion of fortune; and on the other ſide that it would bring great preiudice to the valour of al the ſouldiers and men of ſeruice in *Italie*, to ſhew that they had no courage to oppoſe againſt the army of the *French*, who, being farre inferiour in numbers, and leſſe expectation of other oportunities in a country ſtranger, durſt yet offer to paſſe euen in the face and eies of them. In this councell the aduice of the Captaines being diuerſe, after many diſputations, they laſtly agreed to ſend aduertiſment to *Millan* of the Kings demand, and to execute that which ſhould be determined by the Duke and the Embaſſadours of the Confederates; who being drawne into councel, the Duke and the Embaſſadours of *Venice* being moſt neare the danger, were both of this opinion, not to ſtop the way of the enemy, ſeeing he would go, but rather (according to an old prouerbe) to make him a bridge of ſiluer: otherwaies (according to many ancient examples) there might be danger, that neceſſity turned into deſpaire, he would make his owne way with great effuſion of bloud of ſuch as vndiſcreetly would hinder him. But the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, deſiring that without the danger of his King, they would make a triall of fortune, perſwaded vehemently and almoſt with proteſtation, not to let paſſe the King, nor to loſe the occaſion to breake that army, which paſſing in quiet, the matters of *Italy* would remaine notwithſtanding in greater dangers then before: for that the *French* King keeping *Aſt* and *Nouare*, all *Piemont* would obey his commandements: and hauing at his backe the realme of *France*, a realme mighty and rich, and the *Swiſſers* his neighbours ready to come into his pay in what numbers he would; and finding himſelfe increaſed in reputation and courage, if the army of the league, ſo farre aboue him in numbers, would conſent ſo cowardly to his paſſage; he would eftſoones torment *Italy* with greater courage, knowing that the *Italians* either would not or durſt not fight with the *French* men. All this notwithſtanding, the ſure opinion preuailing moſt in this councell, they determined to write to *Venice*, with whom bare rule the ſame aduice.

But now they conſulted in vaine, for the Captaines of the army after they had written to *Millan*, conſidering that they could not haue returne of anſwer in ſeaſon conuenient, and how much it would touch in diſhonour all the men of warre in *Italy*, to leaue the paſſage free to the *French* men, ſent backe the trumpet without any anſwer certaine, being reſolued to aſſaile the enemy, and charge them in the paſſage: the Commiſſioners of *Venice* being of the ſame aduice, but *Treuiſan* much more then his companion. The *French* men on the other ſide marched on with great arrogancie and boldneſſe, as they that till that time hauing encountred no reſiſtance in *Italie*, were perſwaded that either the army durſt not oppoſe any impediment, or at leaſt if they did, they ſhould eaſily put them to flight: ſo ſmall account made they of the *Italian* army. But when in deſcending from the mountaine, they deſcouered the army lodged in infinite numbers of tents and pauilions, and in a place ſo large that (according to the cuſtome of *Italy*) they might range themſelues in battell: and weighing their great numbers, and that if they had not meant to fight, they would not haue lodged ſo neare them: their great arrogancy began to take another habite, ſo that they would haue receiued it for a good newes, to heare that the *Italians* would be content to let them paſſe: and ſo much the more, for that the King hauing written to the Duke of *Orleans* to meete him with all the power he could make, and to march with ſuch ſpeed as he failed not at the day and place appointed: but the Duke returned aduertiſement, that the army of *Sforce* (oppoſed againſt him, ſtanding vpon a ſtrength of nine hundred men at armes, twelue hundred light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen,) was ſo mighty, that without manifeſt perill he could not aduance to obſerue his Maieſties appointment; conſidering beſides, that he muſt be enforced to leaue part of his bands for the guard of *Aſt* and *Nouare*. Theſe neceſſities conſtraining the King to turne his mind to new counſels, he commanded *Monſieur d'Argenton* (who, a little before, had bene his Embaſſadour at *Venice*, where *Piſan* and *Treuiſan*, now their deputy Cõmiſſioners, perſwaded him to diſpoſe the Kings mind to peace) to ſend a Trumpet to the ſaid Commiſſioners, to let them vnderſtand that he would commune with them for the common benefite: who accepted his deſire, and appointed the next morning

to

to meete in a place conueniene betweene both the armies. But the King, either for that in that place there was want of victuals, or for some other occasion, changed aduice, and would not in that place attend the issue of the conference.

The front of the tents and trenches of the one and the other army, was distant little lesse then three miles, stretched out along the right shore of the riuer *Taro*, which is rather a land-flood then a riuer, for that falling from the hill *Appenin*, after it hath run through a little valley inclosed with two little hils, it descends into the large plaines of *Lombardie*, and so falles into *Po*. Vpon one of these two litle hils, which was that of the right hand, descending, euen to the shore of the riuer, was lodged the army of the Confederates, incamped by counsell of the Captaines rather on that side, then on the left shore (where must be the way of the enemies,) to the end they should not haue the meane to turne to *Parma*, of which City for the diuersitie of factions, the Duke of *Millan* was not without suspition, the rather for that the *French* King had by the appointment of the *Florentines* for his conduct to *Asti*, *Francis Secco*, whose daughter was maried into the house of the *Torelli*, a family noble & mighty in the territory of *Parma*. The lodgings of the Confederates were fortified with ditches and rampiers, well furnished with artillery, by the mouth of the which, the *French* men going to *Asti*, must of necessity passe *Taro*, on the side of *Fornoue*, and march, no other thing remaining betweene them and the *Italians*, then the riuer. All the night the *French* were in great trauell for the vexations of the *Italians*, who caused their estradiots to make incursions euen into their campe; which was so troubled at euery bruite, as if there had bene a continuall alarme: to this was much helping a sodaine and most thicke raine mixed with lightnings and fearefull thunders, with many horrible crackes and flashes, which they tooke as a foreshewing of some sorrowfull accident, and which did more amaze them then the army of the *Italians*, not onely for that being in the midst of mountaines and enemies, and in a place which (if they preuailed not by fight) fauoured them with no hopes or meanes of safety; they were brought into great difficulties, and therefore had iust occasion of extreame feares: but also for that it seemed to them that the threatnings of heauen, which vse not to appeare but for great causes, were directed most to that part where was present the person of the King, of so great maiesty and power.

The morning following, being the sixth day of Iuly, the *French* army began by the peepe of day to passe the riuer: afore, marched the most part of the artillery, being followed with the vantgard, wherein the King (supposing that against it would be bent the greatest forces of the enemy) had put three hundred and fifty *French* lances, *Trimulce* with his company of an hundred lances, and three thousand *Swissers* which were the sinewes and hope of that army, and with them on foote *Engilbert* brother to the Duke of *Cleue*, and the Bayliffe of *Dion* that had leuied them: to these, the King adioyned three hundred archers, and certaine crosse-bowmen on horsebacke of his guard, whom he made alight on foote, and almost all the footmen which he had with him. After the vantgard marched the battell, in the middest whereof was the person of the King armed at all parts, and mounted on a fierce courser: and neare to him, (to gouerne with his counsell and authority that part of the army) was the Lord of *Trimouille*, a leader much renowned in the Realme of *France*. Then followed the arearegard guided by the *Count de Foix*: and in the last place was bestowed the baggage of the army. Notwithstanding this marching of the army, and the present readinesse to fight, yet the King, who could haue bene contented with some accord, solicited *Argenton* to go and negociate ettsoones with the *Venetian* Commissioners, euen at the same time that the campe began to moue. But the *Venetian* army being all in armes, and the Captaines determined to fight, the shortnesse of the time and neareneſſe of the enemy, left no respite or space of time to entertaine Parley: for, now began the light horsemen on both sides to skirmish, the artillery from all quarters to shoote off with a noise horrible, and the *Italians* issued out of their tents, had spred vpon the shoare of the riuer their squadrons prepared to the battell. These things notwithstanding, the *French* men forbare not to march, partly vpon the sand of the riuer, partly by the skirts or length of the little hill, for that in so straight a plaine they could not display their ordinance; and the vantgard being now led straight vpon the campe of the enemies, the Marquesse of *Mantua* with a squadron of sixe hundred men at armes of the gallantest of all the army, and with a great band of estradiots and other light horsemen, followed with fiue thousand footmen, passed the riuer at the backe of the arearegard of the *French*, leauing vpon the banke on the other side *Anthony* of *Montfeltre* bastard to *Federike*

The battell of Taro.

late Duke of *Vrbin*, with a great ſquadron, to paſſe when he ſhould be called to refreſh the firſt battell: he ordained beſides, that when the fight was begun, another part of the light horſemen ſhould charge the enemy in flanke, and the reſidue of the eſtradiots paſſing the riuer at *Fornous*, to giue vpon the baggage of the *French*, which either for want of men, or (as was bruited) by the counſell of *Trimulce*, was left without guard to who would make prey of it. On the other ſide, the *Count Caiazzo* with foure hundred men at armes (amongſt whom, was the company of *Dom Alphonſo d'Eſte*, come to the campe without his perſon, for that his father would it ſo) and with two thouſand footmen, paſſed the riuer of *Taro* to aſſaile the *French* vantgard: hauing in like ſort left on the banke on the other ſide *Annibal Bentiuole* with two hundred men at armes, to giue reſcue when he ſhould be called. And for the defence of their lodgings and tents, remained two great companies of men at armes, and a thouſand footmen, for that the Commiſſioners of *Venice* would reſerue in all fortunes a whole ſuccour for their ſafety. But the King ſeeing that (contrary to that his Captaines had perſwaded him) ſo great a ſtrength came to charge the areareguard, he turned his backe to the vantgard, and began to draw neare to the areareguard with the battell, haſting ſo diligently with a ſquadron afore the reſt, that when the charge began, he was in the forefront with the firſt that fought. Some haue written, that the companies of the Marqueſſe paſt the riuer not without diſorder, both for the height of the bankes, and for the impediments of trees, of blockes, and boughs, whereof commonly the riuers of land-flouds are full. To this others haue left in memory, that his footmen for the ſame difficulty, and becauſe the water was ſwelled with the raine that fel in the night, either came late to the ſeruice of the battell, or at leaſt all were not there, a great part remaining on the other ſide the riuer. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine, that the charge which the Marqueſſe gaue was reſolute and furious, and was no leſſe valiantly anſwered by the *French*, the ſquadrons on both ſides entring the conflict Pell-mell, and not according to the cuſtome of the warres of *Italy*, which was to fight one ſquadron againſt another, and in place of him that was weary and began to retire, to ſupply the fight with a freſh, making in the end but one great ſquadron of many ſquadrons, inſomuch as for the moſt part the skirmiſh or triall of armes wherein commonly died but a very few people, endured almoſt a whole day, and oftentimes the ſudden coming of the night was the cauſe that they brake off without victory certaine on either partie. The lances being broken, at the encounter of whom fell to the earth as wel on the one part as on the other, many men at armes, and many horſes, euery one began with the ſame fury, to lay hands vpon their battell axes, rapiers, and other ſhort weapons, the horſes fighting with their feete and their teeth, and with the ſhocke, no leſſe then the men that gouerned them. And truly the vertue of the *Italians* made an excellent ſhew in the beginning, chiefly for the valour of the Marqueſſe, who being followed with a valiant company of yong gentlemen and *Lancepezzades*, (theſe are braue & approued ſouldiers entertained aboue the ordinary companies) forgot nothing which appertained to a moſt braue Captaine. The *French* men ſuſtained with great valour ſo hote and furious a charge, but finding themſelues ouerlayed with ſuch ods of numbers, they began almoſt manifeſtly to ſtagger, not without the danger of the King, within a very few paces of whom, the baſtard of *Burbon* was made priſoner, notwithſtanding he fought with great vertue: by whoſe fortune the Marqueſſe hoping to haue the ſame ſucceſſe againſt the perſon of the King, being vndiſcreetly led into a place ſo dangerous, without that gard and order which was conuenient for ſo great a Prince; made many attempts with his ſoudiers to come neare him. Againſt whom, the King albeit he had few of his people about him, defended himſelfe gallantly and with great courage ouercame his preſent danger, the fierceneſſe and agility of his horſe doing more to his ſafety, then the ſuccours of his people. In theſe great perils, there wanted not in him, thoſe counſels, which feare brings to our memorie in actions dangerous: for that ſeeing himſelfe almoſt abandoned of his owne, he had recourſe to the heauenly aides, making a vow to *S. Denis* & *S. Martin*, reputed protectors particular of the realme of *France*, that if he paſſed ſafe into *Piemont* with his army, he would, as ſoone as he was returned on the other ſide the mounts, viſite, and that with great gifts, the Churches dedicated to their names, whereof the one is neare to *Paris*, and the other in the towne of *Tours*: and that euery yeare with moſt ſolemne feaſts and ſacrifices, he would honour and celebrate ſo great a grace receiued by their meane: which vowes being thus made, he entred into a new courage, and began eſtſoone to fight with greater valour then his complexion could naturally beare. But now the danger of the King ſo touched and enflamed

ſlamed thoſe that were leaſt diſtant from him, that running to couer with their perſons the perſon of the King, they ſuſtained the *Italians*: and his battell which remained behind, preſſing in at the ſame time, a ſquadron of the ſame charged ſo furiouſly the enemy in the flanke, that it moderated ſomewhat their heate, and preſently reſcued the Kings danger: whereunto was added this helpe, that *Rodolph Gonzague* vncle to the Marqueſſe of *Mantua*, a Captaine of great experience, as he encouraged the ſouldiers and reordered ſuch as he ſaw out of order, doing alwaies many other good offices of an excellent Captaine, as he raiſed by chance his beauer, was ſo hurt in the face with an eſtockado by a *French* man, that falling from his horſe, his people could neuer reſcue him in ſo great a confuſion and tumult, and ſo thicke troupes of fierce horſes; but other men and horſes falling vpon him, he died rather ſtifled and ſmoothered with the throng of horſes feete and treadings, then by the armes or blowes of the enemies: A chance truly vnworthy ſuch a man, for that in the counſels of the day before, and the ſame morning, he perſwaded (contrary to the will of his nephew) to abſtaine from fight, iudging it a great want of diſcretion to hazard themſelues to the will of fortune without any neceſſity. Thus the battell changing by diuerſe accidents, and no aduantage appearing more for the *Italians* then for the *French* men, it was neuer more doubtfull then now to whom the victory would remaine: in ſo much that hope and feare being equall on both parts, they fought with an incredible fury, euery one eſteeming that the victory reſted in his right hand, and in his ſtrength. The *French* men had a deſperate courage, as well for the preſence and danger of their King (for that nation hath alwaies borne no leſſe reuerence to the maieſty of their Kings, then to things of diuinity) as for that they were in ſuch place, as gaue no hopes of their ſafety but onely by the victory. The *Italians* were encouraged, by the couetouſneſſe of ſo rich a pillage, by the honorable example of the Marqueſſe leading them to the battell with ſo happy ſucceſſe, and by the great number of their army, by reaſon whereof they had expectation of ſuccours from many of their friends; a thing which the *French* could not hope for, for that either their whole companies were already in the fight, or at leaſt attended euery inſtant to be charged by their enemies. But (all men know) the power of fortune is great in all humane actions, more mighty in matters of war then in any other thing, but moſt infinite and ineſtimable in the feats of armes; where) one commandement ill vnderſtood, one order ill executed, one raſhneſſe, one vaine voice, yea ſometimes euen of the meaneſt ſouldier, carieth many times the victory to ſuch as ſeemed euen vanquiſhed and ouercome; and where vnlooked for do happen many ſodaine accidents, which it is impoſſible for a Captaine to foreſee, or hinder by his counſell. In ſo much as, in ſo great a doubt, not ſayling of her cuſtome, ſhe did that, which neither the vertue of men, nor the force of armes had yet done. For, the eſtradiots ſent to charge the tents and baggage of the *French*, hauing begun to ſpoile without any reſiſtance, and beginning to leade away to the other ſide the water, ſome mulets, ſome ſumpters, and ſome armour: not onely the other eſtradiots appointed to charge the *French* in the flanke, but euen ſuch as were already within the fight, ſtirred vp with the ſight of the gaine wherewith they ſaw their companions go laden to their tents, left the battell, and went to pill and ſpoile that that was left of the *French* pillage: and following their example, you ſhould ſee many horſemen, and footmen iſſue by troupes out of the battell, to do the like. By which occaſion, not onely the ſuccours ordained failing the *Italians*, but euen the number of thoſe that fought diminiſhing with ſo great diſorders, and *Anthony* of *Montfeltre* not remouing for that no man called him, *Rodolph de Gonzague* being ſlaine, vpon whoſe call he depended, the *French* men began to winne ſo much ground, that now nothing did more ſuſtaine the *Italians* (manifeſtly declining) then the vertue of the Marqueſſe, who fighting moſt valiantly, made head yet againſt the violence and fury of the enemies, encouraging his people as well by his owne example, as with vehement and moſt affectionate ſpeeches, perſwading them rather to loſe their liues then their honors. But it was impoſſible that few ſhould long reſiſt againſt many, and the enemies increaſing vpon them on all ſides, and a great part of their owne being ſlaine, and many hurt, yea euen of the particular band of the Marqueſſe; they were driuen to betake themſelues to flight, to repaſſe the riuer, which by the raine fallen ouer night, and which with haile and thunder in great abundance during the fight, was riſen ſo high, that it gaue great impediments to ſuch as were forced to repaſſe it. The *French* men followed the chaſe with a fury equall to their fortune, euen to the riuer, regarding nothing more then cruelly to make ſlaughter of thoſe that fled, without taking any priſoner, or reſpecting either ſpoile or gaine; but there was heard through the

field the redoubled voice of one that cried; Companions remember *Guignegate*: *Guignegate* is a village in *Picardie* neare to *Terwaine*, where, in the later yeares of the raigne of *Lewis* the xj. the *French* men almoſt victorious in a battell againſt *Maximilian* king of *Romains*, being diſordered becauſe they began to fall to pillage, were put to flight. But at the ſame time that on that ſide of the army the fight was valiant and obſtinate, the vantgard of the *French* (againſt the which *Count Caiazze* led one part of the horſemen) came to the battell with ſo great a fury, that the *Italians* aſtoniſhed when they ſaw they were not followed of their peoples, inclined of themſelues ſo faſt to diſorder, that many of their leaders being ſlaine, amongſt whom was *Iohn Piccingin* and *Galeas* of *Correge*, they returned in manifeſt flight to the great eſquadron. But the Marſhall of *Gié*, diſcerning (beſides the ſquadron of the *Count*) another regiment of men at armes prepared to the battell on the other ſide the riuer, would not ſuffer his ſouldiers to follow them: which afterwards by ſome was reputed a counſell diſcreet and wiſe, and by others, looking perhaps leſſe into the reaſon then into the euent, it was iudged a reſolution rather cowardly then conſtant: for that, if they had purſued them, the Count and his companies had giuen him their backes; by which diſaray he had ſo amazed the reſidue of their ſtrength remaining on the other ſide the water, that there would haue bene great impoſſibility to retaine them, ſeeing that the Marqueſſe flying as well as the others, and repaſſing the riuer as ſtrongly and in as good order as he could, found them in ſuch tumults and ſeparations, as euery one thinking to ſaue himſelfe with his cariage, the high way that goeth from *Plaiſance* to *Parma* was already full of horſes, of men, and cariages which drew to *Parma*. This tumult partly was ſtayed by the preſence and authority of the Marqueſſe, who reaſſembled them, and put eftſoons all in order: But much more did reaſſure the diuided minds of the *Italians*, the coming of *Count Petillane*, who in ſo generall a confuſion of both the armies, vſing the occaſion, fled to the *Italian* campe: where diſperſing comfort to euery one, and affirming that amongſt the enemies was no leſſe diſorder and amaze, he eftſoones confirmed their mindes: in ſo much that euery one ſuppoſed that without him, either at the inſtant, or at the leaſt the night following, all the campe had diſperſed in great terrour. The *Italians* then being retired to their campe, except ſuch as being caried with confuſion and tumult (as it hapneth in ſuch like caſes) and being alſo daunted by the greatneſſe of the floud, thought to find ſafety in flying, and were diſperſed into ſundry places, whereof many falling into the hands of the *French* men, were by them ſlaine. The king with his people drew to his vantgard which had not ſtirred: and there deuiſing with his Captaines, whether he ſhould ſuddenly paſſe the riuer to aſſaile the enemies in their lodgings, he was counſelled by *Triuulce* and *Camilla Vitelli*, (who was come to the battell with a few horſemen, hauing ſent the reſidue of his company to the enterpriſe of *Genes*) to ſet vpon them: and *Francis Secco* furthering the expedition more then any other, told the King that the way that was ſeene ſo farre off, was full of men and horſes, which argued that either they were fled to *Parma*, or hauing begun to flie, were eftſoones returned to the campe. But indeed the difficulty to paſſe the riuer was not little, and the bands that partly had fought, and partly were kept armed in the field, were ſo weary and ouer-trauelled, that by the counſell of the *French* Captaines, it was determined to ſeeke harbour; and ſo they went to lodge vpon the hill in the village of *Medeſane*, of little more diſtance then a mile from the place of the battell: there they pitched their lodging without any order, but with great incommodity, for that the moſt part of their baggage and ſtuffe was made pillage by the enemy.

This was the diſcourſe of the battell betweene the *Italians* and the *French* vpon the riuer of *Taro*, not vnworthy of memory, for that it was the firſt of very long time that was fought in *Italy* with ſlaughter and bloud, ſeeing that in all battels or actions of warre in that countrey, the liues of men were wont more to be put to ranſome, then ſold with the price of bloud. But in this, notwithſtanding of the *French* part, the ſlaughter ſcarcely contained two hundred bodies, yet of the *Italians* were found dead more then three hundred men at armes, and of others as many as made vp the number of three thouſand perſons, amongſt whom was *Ramiccio de Farneze* leader of the *Venetian* horſemen, with many other gentlemen of marke. *Bernardin de Montone* alſo a Captaine of horſemen vnder the *Venetians*, (whoſe name was more populous and renowmed by *Braccio de Montone* his grandfather, one of the firſt beautifiers of the *Italian* diſcipline of warre, then by his proper vertue or fortune) receiued a blow with a maſe vnder his helmet, with the which being fallen from his horſe, he was left on the ground for dead. This ſlaughter

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was so much the more wonderfull to the *Italians*, by how much the encounter endured not aboue an houre, euery one on both sides fighting with his proper force and valour, without helpe of the artillery. Touching the honour of the iourney, either part laboured to appropriate to his particular; the renowme and glory of the victory. The *Italians* occupied this reason, for that their tents and carriages remained vntouched, where the *French* on the contrary, had their lodgings rifled, and lost much of their best stuffe, yea part of the proper paullions of the King: alledging further, that they had vtterly discomfited the enemies, if one part of their people appointed to enter the battell, had not turned to the pillage of their trenches; a thing which the *French* confessed to be true. And the *Venetians* laboured so much to attribute the glory of this iourney to themselues, that by publike commandement through all the lands of their obedience, and specially at *Venice*, they made bonfires, with other feasts and testimonies of gladnesse. This publike example was followed with no lesse affection of sundry particulars, for that vpon the sepulcher of *Melchior Treuisan*, were stamped these words in the Church of the *Frier minors*; He fought prosperously vpon the riuer of *Taro* against *Charles* King of *France*. But by the vniuersall consent of men indifferent, the palme, merit, and true glory of the victory, was adiudged to the *French* men, both for the numbers of the dead, so farre different and vnequall; and for the chase of the enemies ouer the riuer, and also for that they wonne their liberty to passe further, which was the controuersie for which they came to the battell. The king remained all the day following incamped in the same place, procuring (by the meane of *Argenton*) a parley with the enemies, by which was accorded a truce till night: the King on the one side desired to passe with surety, knowing that many of the *Italians* army had not yet fought; and remaining in order about their trenches, the march of so many daies iourney through the Duchy of *Millan* with the enemy in his taile, could not but be dangerous: and on the other side, he knew not what resolution to take; such was the simpleneſſe of the councell with whom he vsed most conference in his deliberations, reiecting for the most part the aduices of men graue and experienced. No lesse doubt and incertainty trauelled also the minds of the *Italians*, who albeit at the beginning they were falne into no small astonishment, yet were eftsoons so reassured, that the night after the battell, they held counsell (by the incouraging and comfort of the *Count Petillane*) to inuade the *French* campe in the night, being lodged with many incommodities, and not fortified: but by the plurality of voyces this counsell was reiected, as too dangerous. There ran a bruite then through all *Italy*, that the bands of *Lodowicke Sforce*, according to his secret direction, would not fight, for that, hauing so strong an army of the *Venetians* vpon his Estate, he was in more feare of this victory, then of the fortunes of the *French*, touching whom he was indifferent whether they were victors or vanquished: and that for his better surety in all chances, he would keepe his forces whole, which was an occasion that the *Italians* did not obtaine the victory: which opinion was maintained by the Marqueſſe of *Mantua* and the other *Venetian* Captaines, to make their reputation the greater, and willingly receiued of all such as desired augmentation of the glory of the *Italian* souldiers. But I haue heard this bruite confuted by a personage of great grauity, and remaining then at *Millan* in such a place of honour, that he had entire knowledge of the affaires, who affirmed that *Lodowike* hauing sent all his forces to the siege of *Nouaro*, had not so many at the battell of *Taro* as were of great consequence for the victory, which the army of the confederates had obtained, if their proper disorders had not hurt them more then the want of a greater number of men; seeing withall, that many whole companies of the *Venetians* fought not at all. And also the *Count Caiazze* sent against the enemy but one part of his companies, and that very coldly: he did it perhaps, for that the vantgard of the *French* was so strong, that the danger was apparent to commit himselfe to fortune, and perhaps because ordinarily actions couragious and venturous haue made him more wonderfull, then such wherein was surety. And yet the companies of *Sforce* were not altogether vnprofitable, for that albeit they fought not, yet they kept at a bay the vantgard of the *French*, and were the cause that it gaue no succours to the King, who with the lesse or most weake part of the army, sustained with the great danger of his person, all the brunt and sway of that daies fight. And if I be not deceiued, this testimony is no more confirmed with authority then with reason. For, how is it likely, that if that intention had bene in *Lodowike*, he would not rather haue instructed his Captaines, to dissuade from letting the *French* men to passe: seeing that if the victory had falne on the *French*, his bands being so neare the enemy, had bene no more in safety then the

others, notwithstanding they meddle not in the battell? and with what discourse, with what consideration, or with what experience of things could he promise to himselfe, that comming to the fight, fortune would be so equall, that the *French* King should neither be victor nor vanquished? And this is likewise without doubt, that they had not fought at all without his aduice; for that the companies of the *Venetians* being sent to the Duchie of *Millan* onely for his good and safetie, would not haue swerued from the mind of his Captaines.

The morning following, the King departed with his army before day, without sound of trumpets, to couer his discamping as much as he could: and for that day he was not followed by the army of the Confederates, who though they had had will to haue pursued him, yet they should haue found impediments in the waters of the riuer, which were so much increased by raines that fell in the night, that there was no possibility of passage for the day following: onely at the declining of the Sunne, passed ouer not without danger the *Count Caiazze* with two hundred light horsemen, and following the trace of the *French* men, who marched the right way towards *Plaisance*, he gaue them the day following many alarmes and impediments: and yet, all wearied and trauelled as they were, they kept their way without disorder, the villages refreshing them with plenty of victuals, partly for feare to receiue hurt by them, and partly by the meane of *Triuulce*, who scouring before for the same effect with the light horsemen of the army, made perswasions to men, sometimes by threats, and sometimes with his authority, great in that Duchy with all sorts, but very great with the family of the *Guelfes*. The army of the league which remoued the day after the discamping of the *French*, and but little disposed (specially the prouisors of the *Venetians*) to put themselues any more in the arbitrement of fortune, came neuer so neare them, as to annoy them with any little disturbance: but being lodged the second day vpon the riuer of *Trebia* a little beyond *Plaisance*, (the *Swissers* and two hundred lances, and almost all the artillery remaining betweene the riuer and the city of *Plaisance* for the commodity of incamping,) the flouds were so great by reason of the raines falling in the night, that notwithstanding their extreme diligence, it was impossible that either the footmen or horsemen could passe but at high day, & then with difficulty, although the waters began to abate: notwithstanding all which oportunities fauoring the army of the league, yet they neuer executed any action against the *French* but a farre off, nor yet the *Count de Caiazze* who was entred within *Plaisance*, for suspition of reuolt or tumult: which suspition was not altogether without occasion; for that it was beleeued, that if the King according to the counsell of *Triuulce*, had displayed his ensignes vnder the name of *Francis* the little sonne of *John Galeas*, the Duchy would easily haue falne into some mutation, so plausible was the name of him whom they held for their lawfull Lord, and so hatefull the remembrance of the vsurper, and of speciall importance the credit and friendships of *Triuulce*. But the King in whom was setled no other impression then to passe on, would not be entangled with new practises, but followed his way with diligence, finding great want of victuals after the first daies trauell, and in all places the forts and peeces well guarded, *Lodowike* hauing distributed what into *Tortona* vnder *Iasper S. Seuerin*, surnamed *Frecasse*, and what into *Alexandria*, many horsemen with twelue hundred lance-knights, which he had drawne from the campe of *Nouaro*. After the King was passed *Trebia*, his army was alwaies vexed in the taile by the *Count Caiazze*, who had ioyned to his light horsemen fiue hundred lance-knights of the garrison of *Plaisance*, finding no meanes to haue the residue of the light horsemen and foure hundred men at armes to be sent him from the armie, for that the *Venetian* Commissioners, warned by the perill at the battell of *Taro*, would giue no consent eftsoones to hazard their forces: but at last the *French* men (when they were neare to *Alexandria*) taking their way more high towards the mountaine where the riuer of *Tanaro* runnes with shalloweſt water, were brought without losse of men in eight remoues or soiournings of the campe before the wals of *Ast*: in which city after the King was entred, he dispersed his men of warre into the champion, with intention to increase his army, and to abide in *Italy* vntill he had succoured *Nouaro*: and the campe of the league which had pursued him to the countrey of *Tortona*, despairing now to vexe him more, went and ioyned it selfe to the companies of *Lodowike Sforce* besieging the said city of *Nouaro*; which euen now began to suffer great scarcity of victuals, for that by the Duke of *Orleans* nor his people had bene vsed any diligence for prouision, which by reason of the fertility of the countrey, they might haue done very abundantly: but like men either blinded with security, or else of little policy, they neuer considered of the danger, till the meanes of remedy were past, consuming

ſuming without ſparing all the ſtore of victuals which they found there.

About this ſeaſon returned to the King thoſe Cardinals and Captaines, who with ill ſucceſſe had bene at the enterpriſe of *Genes*. For after the Kings army by ſea had taken the towne of *Spetia*, it ſet vpon *Rapalle*, and poſſeſſed it eaſily: but there iſſued out of the port of *Genes* a nauy of eight light gallies, one carricke, and two barks of Biskay, which by night put on land ſeuen hundred footmen, who without any difficulty tooke the borough of *Rapalle*, with the *French* garriſon that was within, and then accoaſting the *French* nauy which was retired to the gulfe, after a long fight, they remained victors, taking and burning all their veſſels, the Captaines made priſoners, and the place by this victory made more renowmed, for that in the yeare before, the *Aragons* were there defeated. Neither was this aduerſity of the *French* recompenced by the army that went by land, who guided by the Eaſt riuer to *Valdibiſogne*, and ſo to the ſuburbs of *Genes*, found themſelues deceiued in their hopes that they had conceiued, that in *Genes* would riſe tumults: and therefore vnderſtanding of the ſpoile and loſſe of the nauy by ſea, they tooke way with ſpeed to the mountaine, which is very tharpe and vneaſie, and from thence deſcended to the valley of *Pozzenere*, which is on the other ſide of the City: from whence, notwithſtanding their troups were well increaſed by the concourſe of paſſants and other people, whom the Duke of *Sauoy* had ſent in their fauour, they drew with the ſame diligence towards *Piemont*. In the action of this enterpriſe it is certaine, that if they within the towne had not bene reſtrained from iſſuing forth, for doubt leſt the faction of *Fregoſa* would make ſome innouation, they had wholly broken the *French* army and put them to flight. The horſemen alſo of *Vitelli* now come to *Chiuſure*, vnderſtanding the ſucceſſe and great diſorder of thoſe with whom they went to ioyne in ſtrength, retired with great haſte and not without danger, to *Serezana*: in ſo much, that except *Spetia*, all the places of that riuer that had bene occupied by the baniſhed, recalled againe forthwith the *Genouayes*, as did in like ſort in the riuer of the Ponent, the city of *Vinſentille*, which at the ſame time had bene occupied by *Paul Baptiſta Fregoſa*, and certaine others of the baniſhed.

Ferdinand to recouer his kingdome of Naples.

At the ſame time, the warre was alſo as hote in the realme of *Naples*, as in the parts of *Lombardy*, but with a more diuerſe fortune: for *Ferdinand* after he had taken *Regge*, conſidered how he might recouer the places bordering, hauing in his army ſix thouſand men, comprehending ſuch of the countrey and *Sicille* as willingly followed him, together with the horſemen and footmen of the *Spaniſh*, ouer whom was Captaine, *Gonſaluo Fernand* of the houſe of *Aghilar*, and countrey of *Cordone*, a man very valiant and long exerciſed in the wars of *Granado*; who at his firſt coming into *Italy*, being called (by a *Spaniſh* brag) the great Captaine, to ſignifie with this title, the ſoueraigne power he had ouer them, did well deſerue by the many goodly victories he atchieued, that that ſurname might be after confirmed and perpetuated in him by vniuerſall conſent, in teſtimony of his great vertue and excellency in the knowledge of warre. To this army, which had already ſtirred vp a great part of the country, *Monſieur d'Aubigny* preſents himſelfe neare *Seminara*, a towne vpon the ſea, with the men at armes of *France* remaining for the gard of *Calabria*, and ſuch bands of horſemen and footmen as the Lords of the countrey of the *French* faction had ſent to him: and being come to the battell, the valour of the ſouldiers which were of traine and exerciſe, caried the victory againſt the ignorance of the other little experienced. For, not onely the *Italians* and *Sicilians* which *Ferdinand* had gathered in haſte, but alſo euen the *Spaniards*, were ſouldiers new and vntrained to ſeruice; with whom notwithſtanding, he maintained the skirmiſh with great ſtoutneſſe, for that the vertue and authority of the Captaines failing nothing of their place and office, ſuſtained ſuch as for all other regards were much inferiour, and aboue the reſidue *Ferdinand* behaued himſelfe as appertained to his worth; but his horſe being ſlaine vnder him, he had in all coniecture, remained either dead or taken, if *Iohn de Capua* brother to the Duke of *Termini*, (who had bene his Page from his childhood, & whom he had entirely loued in the floure of his age) had not alighted and remounted him vpon his horſe, and with an example of faith and loue very notable and worthy, offered his owne life for the ſafety of his Lord, for he was ſlaine in the flight. *Gonſaluo* flieth along the mountaines to *Regge*, and *Ferdinand* to *Palma*, which lieth vpon the ſea neare to *Seminara*, and there tooke gallies and ſayled to *Meſſina*. And as in aduerſities neceſſity is mighty to make men reſolute, ſo by this ouerthrow, there increaſed in him a new courage and will to aſſay againe the triall of fortune: for, he was not onely aduertiſed, that the whole city of *Naples* thirſted with great deſire to haue

him,

him,but alſo by ſecret intelligence he knew,that he was generally called by the principals of the Nobility and people: and therefore fearing leſt ſingring ioyned to the report of his ouerthrow in *Calabria*, might eftſoones make cold that diſpoſition; after he had aſſembled (beſides the gallies which he had led from *Iſchia*, and the foure that ſerued his fathers firſt departure from *Naples*) the other veſſels that brought the *Spaniards* into *Sicile*, with all others that he could recouer of the cities and Barons of *Sicile*, he hoyſſed ſaile out of the port of *Meſſina*, not tarrying, for that he had not men of warre ſufficient to arme them: wherein wanting forces conuenient for ſuch an enterpriſe, he was conſtrained to furniſh and ſerue his turne, no leſſe with demonſtration and apparence, then with the effect and ſubſtance of things. He departed then from *Sicile* with threeſcore veſſels of cable and anker, and twenty others of leſſe propoetion, accompanied with *Ritaienſe* of *Catelognia*, Captaine of the *Spaniſh* veſſels, a man whoſe expetience was equall to his reſolution in ſeruices at ſea; but with ſo ſmall proportions of fighting men, that in moſt part of theſe veſſels, there were almoſt no other ſorts of men, then ſuch as neceſſarily were appointed to the ſeruice of the nauigation. In this ſort his forces were ſmall, but great towards him were the fauors and goodwils of the people: in ſo much that being arriued in the road of *Salerne*, *Salérne* it ſelfe, the coaſt of *Melfe*, and of *Cauo*, hoiſſed their ſtreamers to the wind. Afterwards he remained two daies aboue *Naples*, in expectation to heare of ſome tumult in the towne: but it was in vaine, for that the *French* mē running preſently to armes, & planting ſure gard vpō places of perill, ſuppreſſed immediatly the rebellion that euen already was kindled: yea, they had put remedy to all their dangers, if they had valiantly followed the counſell of ſome amongſt them, who geſſing that the veſſels of the *Aragons* were ill manned with ſouldiers able to fight, aduiſed *Monſieur Montpenſier* to refurniſh the *French* veſſels which were in the hauen, with bodies reſolute and men of action, and ſo giue the charge to the enemy. But the third day *Ferdinand* deſpairing of commotion in the City, turned his ſailes into the ſeaward to retire to *Iſchia*: by which it happned, that the conſpirators with *Ferdinand*, conſidering that their faction and intelligence was now diſcouered, and therefore his cauſe was become theirs, aſſembling themſelues they determined to make of their common neceſſity a ſpeciall vertue: following this deliberation, they diſpatched ſecretly a little boate to call home *Ferdinand*, beſeeching him to put on land either all or the greateſt part of his companies, to the end to giue the more meanes & courage to ſuch as were inclined to make inſurrection in his fauour. Vpon this intelligence, *Ferdinand* returned eftſoones aboue *Naples*, & the day after the battel of *Furnoue*, he approched neare the ſhoare to take land at *Magdalena* a mile from *Naples*, and where the riuer or rather ſmall brooke of *Sebeta* falls into the ſea, which had lyen vnknowne if the verſes of the Poets of *Naples* had not giuen it a name. *Monſieur Montpenſier* to whom all things were diſcloſed, ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe hardy and ready to charge them when was cauſe to feare them, then he was vnreſolute and fearefull the day before when courage was neceſſary; in ſo much that he iſſued out of the Citie almoſt with all his ſtrength to ſtop the deſcending of *Ferdinand*: which was the cauſe that the *Neapolitans* hauing ſo faire an oportunity, (which was ſuch as they could not haue deſired better) roſe ſuddainly into armes: and ſounding the alarme by ringing the great bell of the Friers next to the walls of the towne, all the other Churches doing the like, they ſeized vpon the gates of the Towne, and began to publiſh the name of *Ferdinand*. This ſuddaine tumult ſo amazed the *French* men, that holding it a place of no ſurety to remaine betweene the enemies and the Citie rebelled, and leſſe expectation to returne by that way they iſſued out, they determined to reenter *Naples* by the gate that belonged to the new Caſtell: for the accompliſhment whereof they muſt take a long way, full of hils and very troubleſome, compaſſing the walls of the towne. But in this meane while *Ferdinand* being entred, and mounted on horſebacke with certaine of his followers by the *Neapolitans*, rode throughout the towne, to the incredible ioy and gladneſſe of euery one, the Communaltie receiuing him with great cries and ſhowtes, and the Ladies and women beholding him out of windowes and caſements, could not be ſatisfied to couer him with flowers and ſweete waters: yea many of the Nobleſt ran into the ſtreets to embrace him & wipe the ſweate from his face, not being negligent for all this in things neceſſary for the defence of the Citie. For, the Marquis of *Peſcaire* accompanied with the ſouldiers which were entred with *Ferdinand* and the youth of *Naples*, looked to the intrenching and fortifying of all places for their defence againſt the *French*: who after they were come vpon the greene of the new Caſtell, did what they could to reenter into the heart of the Citie, but being repulſed by croſ-

The City of Naples riſeth to let in Ferdinand.

bow

bow men and ſmall ſhot, and finding at all the entries and comings into the ſtreets, a ſufficient defence, and the night now drawing on, they retired to the Caſtell, leauing almoſt (of all ſorts) two thouſand horſes vpon the greene, hauing no place nor feeding for them in the Caſtell wherein they incloſed themſelues, with *Monſieur Montpenſier*, *Meſſire Yues d'Alegre*, a Captaine of reputation, and *Anthonie* Prince of *Salerne*, with many others *French* and *Italians* of marke: who albeit they ſpent certaine dayes in skirmiſhing, aſwell on the Caſtell greene as about the port, diſcharging their artillerie into the towne, yet finding in their repulſes a redoubled valour in the enemie, they remained void of hope to be able to recouer the Citie of themſelues. The example of *Naples* was immediatly followed by *Capua*, *Auerſa*, the rocke of *Mondragon*, and many other peeces thereabouts, yea moſt part of the kingdome was ſuddainely in reuolt: but among others thoſe of *Caietta*, hauing taken armes with more courage then force, for that certaine gallies of *Ferdinand* were diſcouered afore the hauen, were with great ſlaughter ouercome by the *French* garriſons there, who in their furie ſacked all the Citie.

At the ſame time the nauie of the *Venetians* being come neare to *Monopoly* one of the Cities of *Pouylla*, after they had ſet on land their Eſtradiots and many of their footmen, aſſaulted it both by ſea and land, where *Peter Bembo* owner of one of the *Venetian* gallies was ſlaine with a ſhot out of the towne. But in the end fortune yeelding to vertue, the Citie was taken by force, and the Caſtell likewiſe rendred, for feare which the *French* Captaine had that kept it: and the ſaid nauy tooke alſo by compoſition the towne of *Poliegnane*. But *Ferdinand* was not without apparent hopes to haue the new Caſtell and the Caſtell of the Egge, for that famine (which is an enemie troubleſome) ſerued more for him then his force or policie, there remaining a very ſmall quantitie of victuals in regard of the proportion of men that were within: and winning vpon them continually the places about the Caſtell, to the end to keepe them in a ſtraiter compaſſe: therefore the *French* men ſeeing their armie by ſea had no ſuretie in the hauen, which contained fiue ſhips, foure light gallies, a galliot, and a gallion, they retired them betweene the tower of *S. Vincent*, the Egge Caſtell, and *Pizzifalcone*, which yet they held, as alſo the hinder parts or skirts of new Caſtell where were the gardens of the Kings: in ſo much as keeping peeces euen to *Capella*, and fortifying the Monaſterie of the Croſſe, they made incurſions euen to *Piegrotte* and *S. Martin*. Againſt whom *Ferdinand* hauing taken and fortified *Hippodrome*, and made couert waies by *Incoronato*, he poſſeſſed the Mount of *S. Herme*, and afterwards the hill of *Pizzifalcone*, the *French* holding the Caſtell ſeated in the higheſt part of it. To hinder the ſuccours that were to come from it, (for in taking it they might endomage and batter from the ſteepe places the nauy of the enemy) *Ferdinand* aſſailed the Monaſterie of the Croſſe: at whoſe firſt approch they receiued ſuch harmes by the artillery, that deſpairing to win it by force, they deuiſed to betray it by practiſe and intelligence; a deuice very vnhappy and wretched to him that was the author: for that a More which was within, hauing fraudulently promiſed to the Marquis of *Peſcaire* (aforetimes his maſter) to put him within the place, and in that action, hauing made him come by night by a ladder faſtened to the wall of the Monaſtery to ſpeake with him, to the end to agree vpon the manner and time to enter it the ſame night; he was by great treaſon and double intelligence ſlaine with the ſhot of a crosbow running through his throate. *Marquis of Peſcaire ſlaine.*

And the reuolt firſt of *Proſper* and then of *Fabrice Colonne* was of no little importance for the affaires of *Ferdinand*, who euen during the bond of their ſeruice and oath contracted with the *French* King, returned to the pay of *Ferdinand* almoſt aſſoone as he had recouered *Naples* excuſing themſelues, that they were not ſatisfied in due time of the payments promiſed; and that *Virginio Vrſin* and the *Count Petillane* (with ſmall regard to their merites) had bene much cheriſhed by the King: which reaſon ſeemed to many very weake, and farre inferiour to the greatneſſe of the benefites which they had receiued of him. But who knowes whether that which in reaſon ought to ſerue as a bridle to reſtraine them, was not the very motion that led them to do the contrary? For by how much the benefits they had receiued were great and many, by ſo much perhaps was great in them the deſire to keepe them, perceiuing withall the ill diſpoſition of the affaires of the *French*, which began euen then to ſhake and decline. *The Colouni returne to the pay of Ferdinand.*

But now the Caſtell thus hemmed in, and the ſea reſtrained by the nauie of *Ferdinand*, the want of victuals increaſed more and more, and they that were beſieged entertained themſelues onely with hopes to haue ſuccours out of *France* by ſea, the rather for that the King (aſſoone as he was arriued at *Aſt*) had diſpatched *Peron de la Baſche* to rigge in the hauen of *Ville Franche*

neare

neare *Nice*, an armie at ſea of two thouſand *Gaſcoynes* and *Swiſſers* with prouiſion of victuals, whoſe leader and Captaine ſhould be *Monſieur d'Arban*, a man warlike, but not experimented in ſea ſeruice. This nauie being put vnder ſaile, and arriued as farre as the Iſle of *Pozeza*, diſcouering thereabout the nauie of *Ferdinand* containing thirtie ſailes and two great ſhips of *Genes*, retired and fell forthwith into flight: and being purſued vnto the Iſle of *Elba*, they made way in ſuch feare to the hauen of *Lyuorne*, with the loſſe of a little ſhip of *Biſcay*, that it was not in the power of the Captaine to withhold moſt of his men from going on ſhoare, and againſt his will they went to *Piſa*. By reaſon of the retraict of this army by ſea, *M. Montpenſier* with his companies, preſſed with want of victuals, accorded to render the Caſtell to *Ferdinand*, hauing now endured the ſiege three moneths, and from thence to go to *Prouence*, if they were not reſcued within thirtie dayes. This contract included ſuretie of life and goods to all ſuch as were within the Caſtell, giuing in hoſtage to *Ferdinand*, *Iues d'Alegre* with three others for aſſurance of the conditions. But the ſhortneſſe of time made impoſſible all hopes or expectation of ſuccours, other then ſuch as they had within the realme. In which reſpect *M. de Perſie* one of the Captaines of the King, accompanied with the *Swiſſers* and part of the *French* lances, and the Prince of *Byſignian* with many other Barons, drew ſtraight to *Naples*: againſt whom *Ferdinand*, hauing aduertiſement of their coming, ſent out to *Eboly* the *Count* of *Matalona* with an armie for the moſt part confuſed, compounded of bodies whom he truſted and eſteemed his friends. This armie albeit much ſuperiour in numbers and furniture, yet encountring the enemy at the lake of *Pinzola*, which is a little borough neare *Eboly*, they fell into generall diſorder and preſent flying without fighting. In which chaſe was taken priſoner *Venantio* ſonne of *Iulius Varano* Lord of *Camerin*: but being not purſued by the *French*, they retired without great loſſe to *Nola*, and ſo to *Naples*. The victors followed their enterpriſe to ſuccour the Caſtels, and that with ſo great reputation for the victory obtained, that *Ferdinand* was at the point once againe to abandon *Naples*: but in the end being incouraged by them of the towne, who were no leſſe puſhed forward with the feare they had of their liues, (remembring their rebellion) then with the friendſhip they bare to *Ferdinand*, he incamped at *Capella*: and the better to let the enemies for approching the Caſtell, caſting a trench from the Mount *S. Hermo* vntill the Egge Caſtell, he furniſhed with artillerie and footmen all the hils vnto *Capella* and aboue *Capella*: In ſo much that albeit the *French* men, who being come to *Nocere* by the way of *Salerna*, paſſing by the caue and the hill *Piegrotte*, were guided to *Chiaia* neare to *Naples*: yet all things hauing good defence, and by the valour of *Ferdinand*, the artilleries thundring vpon the *French* men, but ſpecially thoſe that were planted vpon the hill of *Pizifolcone* which commanded the Egge Caſtell, (and in thoſe places where earſt were the ſingularities and pompes ſo much renowmed of *Lucullus*,) they could paſſe no further, nor approch *Capella*. And hauing no meane to make further abode there, for that nature fauoureth the place with all pleaſures and commodities ſauing freſh waters, this neceſſitie conſtrained them to retire ſooner then they would, leauing behind at their diſcamping three peeces of artillery, and part of the relieſes which they had brought to reuictual the Caſtels; and ſo tooke their way towards *Nola*, againſt whom *Ferdinand* oppoſed himſelfe, leauing the Caſtell beſieged, and incamped with his companies in the plaine of *Palma* neare to *Sarnie*. But *Monſieur Montpenſier* by their departure ſeeing himſelfe deprived of ſuccors, leauing three hundred men within the new Caſtell (a number no leſſe proportioned for the victuals which now were ſhort, then for the ſeruice and defence) and a garriſon within the Egge Caſtell, drew away with him the reſidue (which were in all two thouſand & fiue hundred ſouldiers) & by night embarking himſelfe and his companies went to *Salerna*, not without the great complaints of *Ferdinand*, who pretended, that it was not lawfull for him (during the terme wherein he had promiſed to yeeld) to depart with ſuch a companie, vnleſſe he had rendred both the Caſtels according to the contract. This eſcape wrought many paſſions in *Ferdinand*, in whom was no want of inclination (according to the rigour of the contract) to reuenge the iniury and infidelity of *Montpenſier*, vpon the bloud and life of the *Oſtages*, for that the Caſtels were not redeliuered at the terme accorded, but almoſt a moneth after: at which time thoſe that remained in the new Caſtell not able any longer to reſiſt the rage of hunger, rendred the Caſtell, with condition to haue the *Oſtages* deliuered. And almoſt at the ſame time, and for the ſame occaſion they that were within the Egge Caſtell, agreed to yeeld the firſt day of the next Lent, if they were not reſcued before. Much about this time died at *Meſſina*, *Alphonſo* of *Aragon*; the glory and fortune of whom

Monſieur Montpenſier ſtealeth from Naples.

Alphonſo king of Aragon dieth.

whom (by which whileſt he was but Duke of *Calabria*, his name was very famous) was conuerted into a great infamy and infelicitie when he came to be King of *Naples*. It was ſaid, that a litle before his death, he made inſtance to his ſonne to returne to *Naples*; where the hatreds that were generall againſt him beforetime, were now almoſt conuerted into affections and good likings: to whom it is ſuppoſed, that *Ferdinand* (ambition and deſire to reigne, bearing more rule in him then reuerence and reſpect to his father) anſwered no leſſe ſubtilly then in ſcorne, that he ſhould attend and expect till he had ſo aſſured the Realme, that he ſhould not eftſoones be driuen to abandon it and flie. And *Ferdinand* to entertaine himſelfe in the friendſhip of the King of *Spaine* by a more ſtrait bond, tooke to wife (with diſpenſation of the Pope) *Iane* his aunt, daughter to *Ferdinand* his grandfather, and of *Iane* ſiſter to the ſaid King of *Spaine*.

Ferdinand marieth his Aunt

Now whileſt the ſiege was continued with diuers ſucceſſe about the Caſtles of *Naples* (as hath bene ſaid) the ſiege of *Nouaro* was brought to very ſtrait and hard termes; for the Duke of *Millan* had there a puiſſant army, which the *Venetians* had ſuccoured with ſuch a readineſſe, that in no enterpriſe within memory haue they bene knowne to make leſſe ſparing of charges: ſo that in a very ſhort time there were in this campe of the Confederates three thouſand men at armes, three thouſand light horſemen, a thouſand *Almaines* on horſebacke, and fiue thouſand footmen *Italians*; but the principall ſtrength of their army ſtood vpon ten thouſand Lance-knights (for ſo are the *Almaine* footmen called) entertained moſt part by the Duke of *Millan*, to be oppoſed againſt the *Swiſſers*; for that the *Italian* footmen could not endure their name, and much leſſe heare ſpeake of them without feare; ſo greatly were they diminiſhed in reputation and courage, ſince the *French* men came into *Italy*. Ouer them were gouernours many valiant Captaines, amongſt whom was moſt ſingular *George Pietrepante* of the countrey of *Auſtrich*, who a few yeares before being in the pay of *Maximilian* King of *Romanes*, conquered with great praiſe vpon the *French* King the towne of *S. Omer* in *Picardie*. And the Senate of *Venice* was not onely carefull to ſend to this ſiege many bands of ſouldiers, but alſo to entertaine them in a greater courage, they created Gouernour and Captaine generall ouer the army the Marquis of *Mantua*, honoring in him by the collation of that dignitie the vertue he ſhewed in the battell of *Furnoue*; and with an example worthy of eternall memory, they had not onely increaſed the payes of ſuch as ſhewed valour there, but alſo endued with penſions and ſundry recompences the ſonnes of many that died in that battell, and transferred dowrie to their daughters. The ſiege of *Nouaro* was continued with this mightie army, for that the counſell of the Confederates (referring all things appertaining to that action to the will of *Lodowike Sforce*) was, not to hazard the triall of battell with the *French* King, vnleſſe they were conſtrained, but rather in fortifying about *Nouaro* the places of importance, to let victuals for entring. For they hoped that thoſe within could not hold out long, for that they had ſmall ſtore of victuals; and had need of much, ſeeing that beſides the people of the Citie, and the paiſants which were thither retired, the Duke of *Orleans* had of *French* and *Swiſſers* more then ſeuen thouſand men of choiſe. In which reſpect, *Galeas de S. Seuerin* giuing ouer all cogitation to take the towne by force, for the multitudes of men of warre that were within, had incamped himſelfe with the Dukes army at *Mugnes*, a place of ſuretie vpon the high way, very conuenient to giue impediments to the prouiſions that might come to *Verceil*: and the Marquis of *Mantua* with the bands of the *Venetians*, taking at his arriuall by force certaine peeces thereabout, together with the Caſtle of *Brione*, a place of ſome importance, had alſo refurniſhed *Camarian* and *Bolgare* which are betweene *Nouaro* and *Verceil*, diſtributing the army into ſundry places about *Nouaro*, the better to ſtop the courſe of victuals, and fortified euery particular lodging.

The ſiege of Nouaro.

On the other ſide, the *French* King to haue more oportunitie to the ſuccours of *Nouaro*, was remoued from *Aſt* to *Thurin*: and albeit he made many iourneys euen to *Chyers*, to make court to a Lady remaining there, yet that vanitie brought no negligence to the common affaires, for that they ceaſſed not without intermiſſion to conſider of the prouiſions for the warres, ſoliciting continually the companies come out of *France*, with intention to put to the field two thouſand *French* lances. They were no leſſe diligent to ſolicite the deſcending of ten thouſand *Swiſſers*; for the leuie of whom was diſpatched the Bailiffe of *Dion*: and the reſolution was, that as ſoone as the army was poſſeſſed of them, to aduance all meanes poſſible to reſcue *Nouaro*. For without the ſtrength of the *Swiſſers*, there was litle abilitie in the *French* to accompliſh any worthy enterpriſe, ſeeing the Realme of *France* in thoſe times albeit mightie in horſemen, and well furniſhed

niſhed with artilleries and men moſt apt and nimble to manage them, yet it was very weake in footmen of the proper region: the reaſon was, that armes and exerciſes of warre reſting onely in the Nobilitie, the ancient valour of that nation was failed in the multitudes of men of baſe condition, ignorant in martiall ſeruice, for the long time they had not managed armes; in place of which they had giuen themſelues ouer to trades, profites, and delights of peace. For, many of the ancient Kings before, fearing the fury of the popular ſort, by the example of diuers conſpiracies and rebellions hapning in the ſame kingdom, thought it neceſſary in policie to diſarme them, and draw them from the vſe and practiſe of armes. For theſe reaſons the *French* men, not truſting in the vertue of their owne footmen, neuer went to the warres with courage, vnleſſe their army were ſtrengthened with certaine bands of the *Swiſſers*; which nation (in all ages reſolute and hardy in armes) had about twentie yeares before much increaſed their reputation, for that being aſſailed by a mightie army led by *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon* (he that for his power and fierceneſſe was much redoubted, not onely in the Realme of *France*, but of all his neighbours) they had in leſſe then one moneth put him thriſe to flight; and at the laſt chaſe, either as he fought, or as he fled (the certaine maner being doubtfull) they tooke from him his life. So that what for their reſolute valour, and that the *French* had no controuerſie with them, and leſſe feare to doubt them for their intereſts particular, then they had of the Lance-knights, they entertained no other forreine ſouldiers then the *Swiſſers*, vſing their ſeruice in all their warres of importance: but more willingly at that time then at any other, for that they ſaw how hard a thing it was, and full of danger, to reſcue *Nouaro* enuironed with ſo great an army, and wherein were ſo many bands of Lance-knights gouerned by the ſame diſcipline that the *Swiſſers* were.

Vercell giuen to the Duke of Sauoy.

The Citie of *Vercell* is ſituated in the mid way betweene *Thurin* and *Nouaro*, and hauing in ancient times bene a member of the Duchie of *Millan*, it was giuen by *Philip Maria Viſcounte* (during the long warres he had with the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*) to *Aymie* Duke of *Sauoy*, to ſeparate it from then. Into this Citie were not yet entred any bands of either part, for that the Ducheſſe, mother and tutor to the yong Duke of *Sauoy*, who in her heart was wholly *French*, would not diſcouer her ſelfe to the King till he were more ſtrong, giuing in the meane while to the Duke of *Millan* gracious words and hopes: but as ſoone as the King was ſtrong in men, and come from *Thurin* a chiefe Citie of the ſame Duchie, ſhe conſented that he and his ſouldiers ſhould enter into *Vercell*; ſo that by the oportunitie of that place the King had greater hope to be able to ſuccour *Nouaro* when all his ſtrength ſhould be aſſembled. And for this cauſe the Confederates began to doubt, that to determine with more mature deliberation how they ſhould proceed in theſe difficulties, *Lodowike Sforce* went to the army with *Beatrix* his wife, who ordinarily accompanied him no leſſe in matters of importance, then in actions familiar: in the preſence of whom, and (as the bruite went) chiefly by her counſell, the Captaines after many reaſonings, concluded with one conſent, that for the more common ſuretie of them all, the bands of the *Venetians* ſhould be ioyned to the army of the Duke of *Mugnes*, leauing ſufficient guard in all the other places about *Nouaro* ſeruing to the ſiege: That *Bolgare* ſhould be abandoned, for that being within three miles of *Vercell*, it was neceſſary, if the *French* men came with ſtrength to get it, either to loſe it with infamy, or (contrary to the former reſolution) to ſuccour it with the whole army: That in *Camarian*, three miles from *Mugnes*, where the campe was, the garriſon ſhould be refurniſhed: Laſtly, that the whole campe being fortified with trenches and rampiers, and ſupplied with ſtore of artillery, the Captains ſhould dayly enter into other counſels, according to the behauiours of the enemy. They forgat not to giue order to ſpoile and cut downe all the trees euen to the walls of *Nouaro*, to giue incommodities to men and forage for horſes, whereof there were great quantities in *Nouaro*. Theſe things reſolued on, and a generall muſter made of the whole army, *Lodowike* returned to *Millan*, to make with more readineſſe ſuch prouiſions as dayly ſhould grow neceſſary for the ſeruice; and withall to fauour the temporall forces with the authoritie and armes ſpirituall, the *Venetians* and he wrought ſo much with the Pope, that he ſent one of his officers at the Mace to the King, commanding him within ten dayes to depart out of *Italy* with all his army, and within another ſhort terme to ſend all his people out of the Realme of *Naples*; otherwiſe that vnder the ſpirituall paines wherewith the Church is wont to threaten, he ſhould appeare before him perſonally at *Rome*. This remedy the ancient Popes haue vſed in times before: for according to traditions written, *Adrian* the firſt of that name, conſtrained with no other armes then theſe, *Deſiderius* King of the *Lombards* (going

The Pope commands the French king to go out of Italy

(going with a ſtrong army to trouble the Citie of *Rome*) to retire from *Ternie* (where he was arriued) to *Pauia*. But the reuerence and feare which for the holineſſe of their life was nouriſhed in the hearts of men, being now failed, it was a thing hard to hope, that of manners and examples ſo contrary, would come like effects. Then the *French* King (ſcorning at his commandement) anſwered the meſſenger, that the Pope refuſing at his returne from *Naples* to tary in *Rome*, whither he went deuoutly to kiſſe his feete, he could not but maruell, by what reaſon he could require him now to come thither: notwithſtanding he ſaid, that to obey him, he would looke to open his way; and prayed him, leſt he ſhould take thoſe paines in vaine, to attend him there till he came.

In this time at *Thurin* the King contracted with the Ambaſſadours of *Florence* new capitulations, not without the great contradiction of ſuch as aforetimes had made reſiſtance; who now had ſo much the more occaſion to impugne it, by how much the *Florentines* (after they had recouered the other boroughs and ſtrong places of the hils of *Piſa*) their campe being afore *Pont de Sac*, and the ſouldiers that were within rendring it with condition to haue their liues ſaued; they did (contrary to their faith and promiſe giuen) put to the ſword almoſt all the *Gaſcoine* footmen which were found with the *Piſans*, and vſed many cruelties againſt the dead bodies. This accident hapned againſt the wils of the *Florentine* Commiſſioners, who with great difficultie ſaued a great part of them; but altogether by the incitation of certaine ſouldiers, who being priſoners to the *French*, were very rigorouſly dealt withall: yet in the Court of the King, all being taken by their aduerſaries as a ſigne manifeſt of minds malicious to the name of all the *French* men, many impediments were obiected to the ſolicitation and practiſe of the accord; which notwithſtanding had his paſſage and full concluſion: not that the memory of the promiſes and oaths ſolemnly made had more power then all other reſpects, but the vrgent neceſſitie and want of mony and other commodities to ſuccour the affaires of the kingdome of *Naples*. This then was the accord: That without any delay, all the Townes and Caſtles which were in the Kings poſſeſſion, ſhould be reſtored to the *Florentines*, vpon condition that the State of *Florence* ſhould be bound to deliuer within two yeares next coming (at the pleaſure of his Maieſtie, and receiuing of him ſufficient recompence) *Pietraſanta* and *Serezana* to the *Genoways*, in caſe their Eſtate ſhould fall to the iuriſdiction and obedience of the King: That vnder this hope the *Florentines* ſhould make preſent paiment of the thirtie thouſand duckats remaining of the capitulation made at *Florence*, receiuing a pawne of iewels for their ſuretie and reſtitution, if for any occaſion their places were not rendred: That after the redeliuery of their places, they ſhould lend to the King vpon bonds of the Generals of the Realme of *Frante* (ſo are called the foure officers royall, which receiue the reuenues of the Crowne) threeſcore and ten thouſand duckats; and to ſend part of them in his Maieſties name to the bands which were in the Realme of *Naples*, and another part to be miniſtred to the *Colonnoys*, in caſe they were not reconciled to *Ferdinand*; whereof his Maieſtie (albeit he had ſome apparance of the accord of *Proſper*) was not yet fully informed: That if they had no warres in *Tuskane*, they ſhould ſend to *Naples* to the aide of the *French* army there, two hundred and fiftie men at armes: And in caſe they had warres in *Tuskane* (but no other then thoſe of *Montpulcian*) they ſhould be bound to ſend them thither to accompany the bands of *Vitelli* which were in the countrey of *Piſa*; and yet ſhould not be bound to entertaine them in that ſeruice any longer then all the moneth of October: That they ſhould pardon the *Piſans* for all their offences committed, giuing them a forme certaine for the reſtitution of their goods which had bene taken from them, together with conuenient and liberall meanes to exerciſe their traffickes and merchandizes: That for the ſuretie and obſeruation of theſe things, they ſhould deliuer as hoſtages at the election of the King, ſix of the principall citizens of *Florence*, and they to remaine a certaine time in his Court. This accord concluded, and the thirtie thouſand duckats (which were immediatly ſent to make a leauy of *Swiſſers*) giuen vnder gage of the Kings iewels, the commiſſions and commandements of the King were immediatly diſpatched to the Captaines of the fortreſſes, to make preſent redeliuery to the *Florentines* without any difficultie.

The Gaſcoines put to the ſword by the Florentines.

Capitulations betweene the French king and the Florentines.

The French kings iewels are pawned.

But within *Nouaro*, albeit the vertue of the ſouldiers was great, and moſt great (for the memory of the rebellion) the obſtinacie of the townesmen to defend the towne, yet things diuolued dayly to more hard and difficult termes; the ſtore of victuals ſo faſt diminiſhing, that they began euen now to be pinched with the want of neceſſaries: and although the Duke of *Orleans*,

when he ſaw himſelfe in ſuch a ſtrait, had rid out of the towne all vnprofitable mouthes; yet ſo it was, that that remedy was not ſufficient, for that many ſouldiers of the *French* and *Swiſſers* not able to beare theſe diſcommodities, began to languiſh in diſeaſes and ſickneſſe: by reaſon whereof, the Duke being alſo troubled with a quartane feauer, made many ſolicitations to the King by meſſengers and letters, not to deferre their ſuccours; which could not be aduanced with ſuch readineſſe as might be able to miniſter to their generall neceſſities, for that there was not aſſembled ſuch ſufficient ſtrength as was needfull. And yet the *French* army made many attempts to reuictuall the towne by night, vſing to that purpoſe the ſeruice both of horſemen and footmen: but being alwayes diſcouered by the enemy, they were conſtrained to retire; and ſometimes with great damage to their Leaders. But to ſtop altogether the paſſage of victuals into the towne, the Marquis of *Mantua* aſſailed the Monaſtery of *S. Francis*, ſtanding neare the wals of *Nouare*; and hauing taken it, he manned it with a garriſon of two hundred men at armes, and three thouſand footmen of the *Almaines*: by which meanes the army Confederate was diſcharged of a great care, the way being now made ſure, by the which reliefe was brought into the towne; and the way of the gate that leades to the mount *Biandrane* was ſtopped, which was of moſt facilitie to enter *Nouare*. Alſo the day after he tooke the Baſtillion, made by the *French* vpon the point of the ſuburbes of *S. Nazare*; and the night following were ſurpriſed the whole ſuburbes, together with the other platformes neare to the gate, wherein he beſtowed a guard, and fortified the ſuburbes; the Count *Petillane* (whom the *Venetians* had taken into their pay, with the title of Gouernour) being hurt there with a ſmall ſhot neare the girdle place, and in great danger of death. For the ſucceſſe of theſe places, the Duke of *Orleans* diſtruſting to be able to defend any more the other ſuburbes which he had fortified at his entry into *Nouare*, he ſet fire on them the night following, and drew all his ſtrength to the defence and guard of the Citie onely: and ſuſtaining himſelfe in the extremitie of famine with the hope of ſuccors, the rather for that the *Swiſſers* beginning now to arriue at the campe, the Kings army paſſing the riuer of *Steſia*, was marched a mile from *Verceil* to lodge in the field; and hauing beſtowed a guard in *Bolgare*, expected the reſidue of the *Swiſſer*; who being once aſſembled, the army was reſolued to miniſter ſuccours to *Nouare*: an action notwithſtanding full of many difficulties, for that the *Italian* bands were lodged in the places of aduantage, well furniſhed and fortified; and the way from *Verceil* to *Nouare*, full of lakes and waters, and very vneaſie to paſſe, by reaſon of the broad and deepe ditches, whereof the country is full: beſides, betweene *Bolgare* holden by the *French*, and the campes of the *Italians*, was *Camarian*, which the *Italians* guarded. In reſpect of theſe difficulties, there appeared not in the mind of the King nor of others, any great forwardneſſe; and yet notwithſtanding if the whole number of *Swiſſers* had ſooner arriued, they had aduentured the fortune of battell, the euent whereof could not but be doubtfull to either of the armies: and therefore, they both hauing regard to the danger preſent, there wanted no ſecret trauell to ſolicite an accord betweene the King and the Duke of *Millan*, albeit it was with ſmall hope, for the great diſtruſt that was betweene thoſe two Princes, and for that both the one and the other (for their greater reputation) made ſhewes that they had no deuotion to peace. But fortune layed open another meanes more expedient for ſo great a concluſion: for about the ſame time, the Lady Marqueſſe of *Montferrat* being dead, and being in debate who ought to take the gouernment of a litle ſonne whom ſhe had left, to which Regentſhip aſpired with one deſire the Marquis of *Saluce*, and *Conſtantine* brother to the ſaid Lady deceaſſed, one of the ancient Lords of *Macedonia*, which *Mahomet Ottoman* had occupied many yeares before. The *French* King fauouring much the tranquillitie of that eſtate, ſent *Argenton* to *Caſal Cernas*, to ordaine and eſtabliſh a Protectorſhip according to the conſent of the ſubiects; and being gone thither alſo as a mourner for the death of the Lady one of the principall officers of the Marquis of *Mantua*, they two meeting vpon the way, fell into diſcourſe of a peace, and of the great good that would redound to both parties: and the matter went ſo farre, that *Monſieur Argenton* by the perſwaſion of this officer, tooke occaſion to write to the *Venetian* Commiſſioners, repeating the reaſons and matters which had bene begun to be debated euer ſince they were at *Tare*: and they fauouring the motion with very forward affections, communicated immediatly with the Captaines of the Duke of *Millan*, and ſo with one agreement ſent to require the *French* King (now come to *Verceil*) that he would aſſigne ſome of his Councell to meet in ſome conuenient place to commune with ſuch as they ſhould appoint in deputation for their part. Wherunto the King

conſen-

consenting, there assembled the day following betweene *Bolgaro* and *Camarian* for the *Venetians* the Marquis of *Mantua*, and *Bernard Contarin* gouernour of their Estradiots; for the Duke of *Millan* was sent *Francis Bernardin Viscounte*; and for the *French* King the Cardinall of *S. Malo*, the Prince of *Orange* (to whom being newly come to the campe, the King had giuen the principall charge ouer the whole army) the Marshall of *Gié*, *Monsieur de Piennes*, and *Monsieur d'Argenton*: who making many meetings, and withall some of them making iourneys from the one army to the other, the differences and chiefe controuersies fell at last vpon the citie of *Nouaro*: for that the *French* King making no difficultie in the effect of the restitution, but in the manner, the lesse to offend his honour, laboured that it might be referred (in the name of the King of *Romanes* direct Lord of the Duchie of *Millan*) into the hands of one of the *Alpine* Captaines which was in the campe of the *Italians*: and on the contrary, the Confederates requited that it might be left freely. These and other doubts hapning, not being able to be resolued with that speed which they that were within *Nouaro* required, being now fallen vpon such extremities, that what by famine and other diseases rising by it, there were dead of the Dukes company aboue two thousand bodies: a truce was made for eight dayes, with sufferance to the said Duke and the Marquis of *Saluce*, to go with a small company to *Verceil*, but vnder promise and faith to returne to *Nouaro* with the same company if the peace proceeded not: and for the suretie of the Dukes person (for that he was to passe through the campe of the enemy) the Marquis of *Mantua* went to a tower neare to *Bolgare*, in the keeping of the *Count de Foix*. But the souldiers that remained in *Nouaro*, would not haue suffered him to depart, if he had not giuen them his faith, that within three dayes he would returne, or else by his meanes they should haue libertie to go out; and if the Marshall of *Gié* being there for his conduct, also had not left one of his nephews for hostage: for that not onely the victuals were consumed, which ordinarily serued for the sustenance of man, but also the vncleane and filthy scraps, from which they could not abstaine in so great an extremitie. Immediatly after the Duke was come to the Kings presence, the truce was eftsoones proroged for a few dayes, with condition that all his companies should go out of *Nouaro*: That the towne should be left in the power of the people, and they to make an oath not to giue it to either partie without common consent: And that thirtie footmen, who should be victualled dayly by the campe of the *Italians*, should remaine in the Castle for the Duke of *Orleans*. Thus all the souldiers issued out of *Nouaro*, whom the Marquis of *Mantua* and *Galeas de S. Seuerin* protected and conducted till they were in place of suretie. But so much were they weakened and consumed with hunger, that they were no sooner arriued at *Verceil*, then many of them died, and the residue remained altogether vnprofitable for the seruice of that warre.

The councell of the King and of the Venetians do meete.

The Prince of Orange Generall of the French armie.

About this time the Bailiffe of *Dion* arriued at the campe with the residue of the *Swissers*; of whom albeit his commission was to leauie but ten thousand, yet he could not chuse; but at the report of the Kings money, there descended by troupes a farre greater number, rising in the whole to an armie of twentie thousand: the one halfe was admitted to ioyne to the campe neare *Verceil*, and the residue remained ten miles off, because in policie it was not thought sure that so great a proportion of men of one nation should be at one time in one campe: and if their coming had bene somewhat sooner, the practises of peace had bene easily broken, seeing without them there were in the campe eight thousand *French* footmen, two thousand of those *Swissers* which had bene at *Naples*, and eighteene hundred lances.

But things being now so farre aduanced, and *Nouaro* already abandoned, the enterviewes did not discontinue, although the Duke of *Orleans* vsed all his endeuor to the contrary, hauing many of the greatest of the Court of his opinion: therefore the Deputies were euery day at the campe of the *Italians* to solicite with the Duke of *Millan*, who was newly returned thither, to the end to debate himselfe in a matter of so great consequence, doing all things (notwithstanding) in the presence of the Confederate Ambassadors. At length the Deputies returned to the King, bringing the last conclusion of all things that they could for the accord. First, that betweene the *French* King and the Duke of *Millan*, there should be a peace and friendship perpetuall (the Duke nothing derogating notwithstanding from his other confederations:) That the King should consent that the towne of *Nouaro* should be rendered to the Duke by the people, together with the Castle left to his Maiestie by the guard of thirtie footmen: That the towne of *Spetia* and all other places occupied by either part, should be rendred: That it should be lawfull

Peace betweene the French king and the Confederates.

to the King to arme at *Genes* (his free-hold and chiefe) ſo many veſſels as he would, ſeruing his turne of all the commodities of that Citie, ſo that it were not in fauour of the enemies to the ſtate of the ſame: That for aſſurance of this article, the *Genoways* ſhould giue him certain hoſtages: That the Duke of *Millan* ſhould cauſe to be rendred to the King, the veſſels loſt at *Rapalle*, and the twelue galleys reſtrained at *Genes*; and to arme for him preſently at his proper charges two groſſe carricks of *Genes*, which with foure others of his owne he determined to ſend to the ſuccours of *Naples*: That the Duke ſhould alſo deliuer to the King the yeare after, three others in the ſame maner: That the Duke ſhould giue free and friendly paſſage to the companies that the King ſhould ſend by land to the ſame ſuccours, vnder this couenant, that there ſhould not paſſe by his eſtate more then two hundred lances at a time: That if the King returned in perſon to the ſame enterpriſe, the Duke ſhould follow him with certaine bands of men: That the *Venetians* ſhould haue power to enter this contract within two moneths; and if they did enter, then to retire their army by ſea from the kingdome of *Naples*, and to be bound to giue no ſuccours to *Ferdinand*; but if they did not obſerue this, and the King ſhould raiſe warre againſt them, the Duke ſhould be bound to aide him, reaping to his vſe all that ſhould be conquered of the *Venetian* eſtates: That the Duke ſhould pay fiftie thouſand duckats in the moneth of March next to the Duke of *Orleans* for the charges of the warre of *Nouare*; and acquit the King of foureſcore thouſand duckats parcell of the money he had lent his Maieſtie when he marched firſt into *Italie*; the reſidue to be rendred by his Maieſtie at a longer terme: That *Iohn Iaques Trinulce* ſhould be releaſed of the baniſhment wherein he had bene condemned by the Duke, and enioy reſtitution of all his goods: That the baſtard of *Bourbon* taken in the iourney of *Furnoue*, and the Lord of *Miolans* taken at *Rapalle*, together with all the other priſoners, ſhould be redeliuered: That the Duke ſhould withdraw from *Piſa*, *Fracaſſe*, whom he had ſent thither a little before, together with all his bands, and thoſe of the *Genoways*: That he ſhould giue no impediment to the *Florentines* to recouer that which appertained to their iuriſdiction: That within one moneth he ſhould put the litle Caſtle of *Genes* into the hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who called to that end by both the parties, was now come to the campe of the *Italians*; and that the ſaid Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould keepe it two yeares at their common charges; and be bound by oath to redeliuer it (euen within the ſaid time) to the hands of the *French* King, in caſe the Duke of *Millan* ſhould not hold his promiſes; who immediatly vpon the concluſion of the peace, ſhould giue hoſtages to the King for aſſurance to aſſigne the litle Caſtle at the time agreed vpon. Theſe conditions brought to the King by his Deputies that had debated them, were propounded in his Councell; wherein being found no leſſe variation of minds, then contrarietie of reaſons, euery one diſputing particularly, *Monſieur Trimouille* reaſoned in this ſort: If in the preſent Councell we had not to debate but of meanes to increaſe the glorie of the Crowne of *France* by actions of valour and vertue, I ſhould not perhaps be ſo forward to encourage your Maieſties perſon to new dangers, although your owne example giues you counſell to the contrary, ſeeing that (being carried with no other affection then a deſire and ambition of glory) you determined the yeare paſt, againſt the counſels and humble petitions almoſt of the whole body of your Realme, to deſcend into *Italy* to conquer the kingdom of *Naples*; where your enterpriſe hauing a ſucceſſe ſo happie, and with ſuch increaſe of your name & honor, it is a thing manifeſt, that now we haue not onely to deliberate, whether the occaſion to winne new honors and glorie is to be reiected, but alſo whether we ſhould reiect and loſe againe that reputation which you haue got with ſo great charges and dangers; and conuert the honour already wonne, into perpetuall ignominie; and whether you ought to be the perſonage that ſhould reprehend and condemne the counſels eſtabliſhed by your ſelfe. For your Maieſtie might without any loſſe to your reputation haue remained in *France*; and that which the world will now account diſhonorable feares and cowardize, could not as then be referred to any other thing then to negligence, or to an age occupied in pleaſures. Your Maieſtie as ſoone as you had bene arriued in *Aſt*, might eſtſoones haue returned into *France*, with the ſame ſpeed, and leſſe ſhame, making as though the matters of *Nouaro* concerned you nothing at all. But now by the preſence of your armie ſo long incamping here, you haue publiſhed your intention, and that you were touched with deſire to deliuer the towne from ſiege: for which regard alſo hauing aſſembled out of *France* ſo great a proportion of Nobilitie and a leauie of *Swiſſers*, at a charge intollerable; who will doubt, that if you depart and not deliuer that towne, but your glorie (with the reputation of your whole Realme) will

Monſieur Trimouils opinion touching the peace.

will turne into a reproch and infamie perpetuall? But (if in the great hearts of great Kings, there may be motions more violent then the desire of renowne and glory) there be yet reasons more mightie, or at least more iust and necessary; seeing our retrait into *France*, consenting to the losse of *Nouàro*, neither is, nor will be thought any other thing then the losse of the whole kingdome of *Naples*, and the vnworthy slaughter of so many Captaines and Nobles of *France*, left there for the defence of the same, vpon your hopes, ioyned with your faith and promises to send them speedie succours: wherein, how miserable will be their expectations, but more wretched and desperate their estates and conditions, when they shall vnderstand that your Maiestie incamping vpon the frontiers of *Italy*, with an armie so populous and forces so resolute, shall yet retire and giue place to the enemy. The successe of warres (as euery one knowes) depends for the most part of fame and renowne, which when it declines, declineth withall the vertue of the souldiers, the faith of the people diminisheth, and the reuenues appointed to sustaine and maintaine the warres, fall to wants & diminutions; and on the contrary, the enemy increaseth in courage, such as wauder in feares and doubts, come to be resolute and well assured, and all difficulties are infinitely increased. So that, for so wretched and miserable a newes, the vigour and courage of our armie falling into faintnesse and feeble doubts, and the valour and reputation of our enemies more and more increasing, who doubts not to see with this alteration & change, the reuolt and rebellion of all the kingdom of *Naples*, together with the desolation of our whole army; and so that honorable enterprise begun and prosecuted with so great felicitie, to bring forth in the end no other fruite then dommage and dishonour inestimable? For he that is perswaded that this peace is made with good faith and meaning, lookes with slender iudgement into the condition of things present, and much lesse knoweth the natures of those with whom we deale: seeing it is a thing of easie comprehension, that we shall no sooner haue turned our backes to the region of *Italy*, then all these promises and contracts will vanish and turne into smoke; yea in place to minister those aides they haue promised, they will send succours to *Ferdinand*: and those very bands which will brag that they haue caused vs cowardly to flie out of *Italy*, will march to *Naples* to make themselues rich with the spoiles of our countrimen: which infamie, me thinkes, might be the easier borne, if by any probable reason we might doubt of the victorie. But it is a doubt vaine, and by no sense can settle in the minds of any, who making consideration of the greatnesse of our army, and the oportunities of the countrey adioyning, will remember how ouerwearied and trauelled with a long march, disfurnished of victuals, our numbers small, and in the midst of the countrey of the enemy, we fought against a most huge armie at the riuer of *Taro*, making the riuer by our valour swell higher with the bloud of our enemies, then with his proper streames: at what time also we opened our way with the sword, and as conquerers rode eight dayes iourney through the Duchie of *Millan*, enemy to our enterprises and greatnesse. We haue now twise as many horsemen, the numbers of our *French* footmen redoubled, and in place of three thousand *Swissers*, our army embraceth at this instant two and twentie thousand. And albeit the enemy is stronger then before in *Almaine* footmen, yet in all discourse of reason, they cannot hold comparison with ours: neither are their horsemen other then the selfe same, and their Captaines euen those, that hauing once yeelded vnder the force of our armes, and by our fury suffered so great harmes, will not eftsoones returne to the fight, but with minds fearfull and appalled. But it may be obiected, that the profits of the victory are so small, that they ought not to stand in regard with vs. Nay, on the contrary, they are such, as we should seeke to obtaine with what danger soeuer: for that they include not onely the preseruation of so great a glory gotten, the succours of so rich a kingdome as *Naples*, the safetie of so many of your Captaines, and the honorable deliuery of such a proportion of your Nobilitie; but also they make a secret offer to inuest you in the whole Empire of *Italy*; which if we remaine here with the vpper hand, will be the recompence of our victory. For what other bands, or what other armies remaine to the enemies, in whose campe are assembled all the forces, and all the Captaines which they could leuie? One trench which we shall winne, one rampier which we shall force, will put into our bosomes (things honorable and great) not onely the Empire and treasures of all *Italy*, but also the meanes to be reuenged of all our common wrongs. If these two spurres or motions, alwayes accustomed to pricke forward base and cowardly minds, stirre not with another quickenesse our warlicke and resolute nation, we may iustly say, that our valour hath rather failed vs then our fortune, by whom is prepared the occasion

" to winne in ſo litle a place, and in ſo few houres, ſo great and worthy recompences, that greater or more worthy could not be wiſhed. The Prince of *Orange* hauing a contrary affection, ſpake againſt this opinion, in this ſort:

The Prince of Orange ſpeaketh.

" If your affaires (right Chriſtian King) were not ſo much preſſed with time, but that they would giue you leiſure to accompanie your forces with induſtrie and diſcretion; or if they ſtood not vpon ſuch termes, as you are conſtrained (if you will continue the warre) to proceed with impetuoſities contrary to all the precepts and directions of warre, I could alſo be one of thoſe who would giue counſell to reiect the peace: for that by many reaſons we are incouraged not to accept it, as alſo it cannot be denied, but that it would be a thing honorable to continue the warre, and no leſſe conuenient for the affaires of *Naples*. But the termes whereinto are brought the towne and Caſtle of *Nouaro*, not prouided of victuals for one day, compell vs (if we will ſuccour it) to ſet ſpeedily vpon our enemies: and if (ſuffering it to be loſt) we meane to tranſport the warre into another part of the ſtate of *Millan*, the ſeaſon of the Winter now at hand, very vnfit to make warre in places ſo low and full of waters, the qualitie of our army, which for the nature and great multitudes of *Swiſſers* not being ſpeedily employed, may be more preiudiciall to vs then to our enemies; and laſtly, our generall want of money making our abode here impoſſible for any long time, inforce vs (not accepting the accord) to ſeeke the meanes to put ſuddenly an end to the warre: a thing which cannot be done otherwiſe, then directly to go and charge the enemies; which as well for their conditions, as the diſaduantages of the country, is ſo dangerous, as to proceed in this ſort, can hold of nothing elſe but raſhneſſe and indiſcretion: for that their campe is ſo ſtrong both by nature and art, they hauing had ſo much time to rampier and fortifie it; the places round about where their garriſons are, ſo conuenient for their defence, and ſo well manned: the countrey, for the quantitie of ditches and impediment of waters, ſo vnapt to the ſeruice of horſmen; that to go ſeeke them directly, and not to accoaſt them ſtep by ſtep, obſeruing the commodities and aduantages, and (as the ſaying is) to winne vpon them by litle and litle, is no other thing then to tempt fortune, and aduenture vpon perils moſt certaine and deſperate. For with what diſcourſe, with what reaſon of warre, or with what example of notable Captaines, may we with ſuch raſhneſſe and importunitie inuade ſo great an army, and that in trenches ſo ſtrong and well furniſhed with artillerie? No, it is better (if you will proceed otherwiſe then at aduenture) to ſeeke to draw them from their trenches by winning ſome place which they command, or at leaſt in reſtraining their victuals: wherein I can ſee no other thing to aſſure our hopes, then by proceeding deliberately, and with the length of time, which we haue no meanes to attend. Beſides, our horſemen containe neither ſuch number, nor that valour, which haply many do weene, for that (as all men know) many are ſicke, many are returned into *France* with leaue, and without leaue; and many of thoſe that remaine, ouertrauelled with this long warre, haue more deſire to go home then to fight. And the great number of *Swiſſers*, who are the principall force of our armie, may haply be more hurtfull, then would be vnprofitable a leſſer proportion: for ſuch hath bene alwayes the experience of the cuſtomes and nature of that nation, that to manage them being ſo ſtrong and many together, cannot almoſt be without certaintie of ſome dangerous tumult, ſpecially things proceeding (as is neceſſarie) with length of time: during which time, by reaſon of their paiments, wherein they are inſatiable, and other accidents which follow of courſe, may happen a thouſand occaſions to turne and change them; and ſo we ſhould remaine vncertaine whether their aide would ſerue vs as a medicine or a poiſon: and in ſuch an vncertaintie we cannot eſtabliſh any thing in our counſels, and much leſſe reſolue our minds to any enterpriſe of valour or importance. No man doubteth but the victory is more honorable and ſure for the defence of the kingdome of *Naples*, then the agreement to peace: but in all humane actions, and ſpecially in warres, we muſt accommodate our counſels to neceſſitie, and not for the deſire to obtaine that part which is hard and impoſſible, to put the whole in manifeſt perill; ſeeing it is the office of a valiant Captaine, as well to ſhew wiſedome in his actions as courage. The enterpriſe of *Nouaro* (Sir) was not your principall intention, neither doth it touch you but indirectly, for that you pretend no right to the Duchie of *Millan*; and much leſſe are you come to *Naples* to ſtay to make warre in *Piemont*, but to returne into *France*, to giue order to leuie treaſure and men, to the end with more mightie ſuccours to miniſter aide to your companies at *Naples*; who in the meane while, with the reſcue of your nauie departed from *Nice* with the companies of the *Vitellies*, and with the men and moneys

neys of the *Florentines*, wil haue ſo good meanes to defend themſelues, that they may without danger attend the great prouiſions which you are to areare at your returne into *France*. I am none of thoſe that will aſſure that the Duke of *Millan* will iuſtly obſerue theſe capitulations, yet receiuing hoſtages of him and the *Genoways*, and the Caſtle alſo committed according to the forme of the contract, you are not without pawne and ſuretie. It is alſo reaſonable in him to demand peace, becauſe lying neareſt the danger of your forces, his feares are no leſſe iuſt, then his perils likely. Beſides, leagues, which haue many competitors, of their proper nature haue not that ſtabilitie and concord, but vpon occaſions they come to diſagree and fall off one from another; in which caſe, euery litle hole that they ſhall make, yea euen the ſmalleſt ouerture that ſhall appeare, will make to vs the victory no leſſe eaſie then well aſſured. Seeing then your affaires ſtand in theſe degrees, my aduice is, that your Maieſtie hearken to peace; not that it is of it ſelfe profitable or commendable, but becauſe it is an office in Princes wiſe and ſtayed, in cauſes difficult and dangerous, to allow for eaſie and commendable, that that is neceſſarie, or at leaſtwiſe ſuch as are leaſt intangled with dangers and difficulties. The Duke of *Orleans* rebuked ſo ſharply the ſpeeches of the Prince of *Orange*, that either of them falling from words to reproches and iniuries, the Duke gaue him the lie, in the whole preſence of the Councell: but the inclination of moſt part of the Councell, and almoſt of the whole army, was to embrace the peace; a ſweete deſire to returne into *France* bearing ſo much power in them all, and no leſſe in the perſon of the King, that they were not able to diſcerne the danger of the kingdome of *Naples*, and much leſſe to ſee how ſlanderous it was to ſuffer to be loſt afore their eyes the Citie of *Nouaro*; and laſtly to depart out of *Italy* with conditions ſo vnequall, conſidering the vncertaintie of the obſeruation: which diſpoſition was ſo vehemently fauoured by the Prince of *Orange*, that many doubted leſt to gratifie the Emperour, to whom he was moſt affectioned, he had no leſſe regard to the profit of the Duke of *Millan*, then to the commodities of the *French* King; with whom truly his authoritie was great, partly for the excellencie of his wit, and partly for his valour, but moſt of all, for that it is a cuſtome and propertie with Princes, to eſteeme moſt wiſe, ſuch as are moſt conformed to their inclinations.

The lie giuen to the Prince of Orange.

At laſt the peace was made, which was no ſooner ſworne by the Duke of *Millan*, then the King reiecting all other thoughts then ſuch as made for his returne into *France*, went forthwith to *Thurin*: his haſte was the more importunate to depart from *Verceil*, for that thoſe bands of the *Swiſſers* that were in the campe to aſſure their payes of three whole moneths (according to the cuſtome of *Lewis* the eleuenth, as they alledged) began to ſpeake of ſtaying the King or the Chieftaines of his Court for the ſuretie of their pay, although they could not claime ſo much by promiſe, nor yet had ſerued him ſo long time: from which danger albeit the perſon of the King was deliuered by his ſudden departure, yet they hauing made priſoners the Bailiffe of *Dion* and others that leuied them, he was in the end conſtrained to aſſure all their demands, as well with promiſes as with hoſtages. From *Thurin* the King deſiring to make a perfect eſtabliſhment of the peace, ſent to the Duke of *Millan* the Marſhall of *Gié*, the Preſident of *Gannay*, and *Argenton*, to induce him to parley with him: wherewith the Duke ſeemed to be well pleaſed, but yet with ſome doubt of treaſon; in ſo much, that either for that ſuſpition, or obiecting perhaps ſome expreſſe difficulties, as not to giue occaſion of iealouſie to the Confederates, or for that his ambition would not ſuffer him to come in a behauiour inferiour to the *French* King, he propounded to haue the meeting vpon the middeſt of a riuer, where a bridge being made either with barkes or other matter, there ſhould be betweene them a ſtrong barre of wood: a maner of communing together vſed heretofore by the Kings of *England* and *France*, and other great Princes of the Weſt. This the King refuſing, as a thing vnworthy his greatneſſe, after he had receiued his hoſtages, he diſpatched *Peron de la Baſche* to *Genes* to receiue the two carricks that were promiſed him, and to rigge foure others at his owne charges for the ſuccours of the Caſtles of *Naples*, which he knew had not receiued the reſcues ſent from *Nice*; and therefore the beſieged had made compoſition to render vp the Caſtles if they were not ſuccoured within thirtie daies. The King made his plot to arme the ſaid veſſels with three thouſand *Swiſſers*, and to adioyne them to the ſaid nauie parted from *Nice* now retired to *Liuorne*, and to certaine other veſſels expected from *Prouence*. All which (without the great ſhips of the *Genoways*) had not bene ſufficient for thoſe ſuccours, the hauen of *Naples* being now filled with a huge army by ſea, for that beſides the veſſels which *Ferdinand* had brought, the *Venetians* had alſo ſent thither twentie

The Swiſſers offer to ſtay the King for pay.

galleys

galleys and foure ſhips. The King after he had diſpatched *Monſieur Argenton* to *Venice*, to ſolicite the Senate to enter into the peace, and participate with the accord, tooke his way into *France*, with all his Court, with ſuch great ſpeed and deſire to be there, that there was nothing could ſtay him any few dayes in *Italy*, no not till the *Genoways* had deliuered him their hoſtages promiſed vpon the contract at *Verceil*; which certainly they had accompliſhed, if he had not departed ſo ſuddenly. Thus then vpon the end of October, in the yeare 1495. the King returned on the other ſide the mounts, reſembling rather a perſonage vanquiſhed, then a Prince victor (notwithſtanding the victories he had obtained:) and left as his Lieutenant in *Aſt* (a Citie which it ſhould ſeeme he bought of the Duke of *Orleans*) *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* with fiue hundred *French* lances, who not many dayes after, of their proper authoritie followed the King; by whom was left no other ſuccours for the kingdome of *Naples*, then the nauies preparing at *Genes* and *Prouence*, and the aſſignation of the aides and moneys promiſed by the *Florentines*.

Triuulce left to guide Aſt, followeth the King.

After the diſcourſe of other things, me thinkes it cannot be out of purpoſe (ſpecially it being a deſtinie fatall, that the calamities of *Italy* ſhould take their beginning of the paſſage of the *French* men, or at leaſt were imputed to them) to leaue to memory and tradition in what ſort began the diſeaſe which the *French* men call the euill of *Naples*, and the *Italians* name the botch, or more commonly the diſeaſe of *France*. It happened as an infection to the *French* men whileſt they were at *Naples*, and by them in their returne from that warre was diſperſed and ſpread through all *Italy*. This diſeaſe either altogether new, or at leaſt vnknowne to that age in our hemiſphere, otherwiſe then in the moſt extreme and furtheſt parts, was for certaine yeares ſo horrible, that it well deſerueth mention, as a moſt grieuous calamitie: for it appeared alwayes either in vile botches or buttons, which oftentimes proued vlcers incurable; or elſe they tormented the whole body with paine and aches in the ioynts and ſinewes: and the Phyſitions hauing no experience in maladies of that nature, and therefore ignorant in the remedies proper and naturall, applied oftentimes cures directly reſiſting and contrary, which inflamed the infection to greater rage, euen to the killing of many bodies of all ages and ſexes; and many became deformed with them, and ſubiect to almoſt torments perpetuall; yea the moſt part ſuch as ſeemed to be deliuered of them, returned eftſoones in ſhort time to the ſame miſerie. But after the courſe of many yeares (either the influence aboue being appeaſed which bred them ſo horrible and raging, or by long experience their proper remedies and cures being found out) the diſeaſe began to be leſſe malicious, changing it ſelfe into diuers kinds of maladies differing from the firſt calamitie; whereof truly the regions and people of our times might iuſtly complaine, if it hapned to them without their proper diſorder, ſeeing it is well approued by all thoſe that haue diligently ſtudied and obſerued the properties of that euill, that either neuer or very rarely it happeneth to any, otherwaies then by contagious whoredome. The *French* thinke it reaſonable to acquit them of the ignominie, for that it is knowne ſince, that ſuch a diſeaſe was tranſported out of *Spaine* to *Naples*, and yet not proper or naturall of that nation, but brought thither from the Iles, which (as elſewhere we ſhall more fitly declare) in thoſe ſeaſons began to be knowne to our regions by the nauigation of *Chriſtopher Columbus a Genoway*: in which Iles (by the fauour of Nature) are remedies ready to the cure of that ill, by drinking onely of the iuyce of a wood (moſt ſingular for many other worthy properties) which growing plentifully in thoſe places, is a remedie no leſſe eaſie then abſolute and aſſured to the inhabitants there.

The French pocks, and their beginning.

The end of the ſecond Booke.

THE

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Lodowike Sforce keepeth not the treatie of peace. The Venetians take the towne of Piſa into their protection. The French King determineth to returne into Italy. The Emperour and the Venetians beſiege Liuorne; defended by the Florentines, to whom the French ſend aide. The Pope makes warre vpon the Vrſins. The French King dieth at Amboyſe. Frier Ieronymo Sauonarola is hanged at Florence.

BY the diſhonorable returne of the *French* King ouer the Mounts, proceeding notwithſtanding more of indiſcretion and diſorders, then by puſillanimitie or weakneſſe of his armie; wiſe men grew into hopes that *Italy* (after ſo many ſtormes of grieuous infelicities) would now at laſt be deliuered of the inſolent power of the *French*; wherein by ſo much more were worthy and notable the vertues and actions of the Senate of *Venice* and Duke of *Millan*, by how much the taking armes with a wiſe and reſolute counſell, were the onely lets, that ſo goodly a part of the world fell not into the ſeruitude of ſtrangers: and if they had not bene carried with ambitious reſpects touching their particular intereſts, nor (to their proper infamie and common harmes) had ſo corrupted the vniuerſall benefite and commonweale of that region; no man might haue doubted, that *Italy* (their counſels and forces reſtored to their former luſtre) had not bene for a long time aſſured againſt the furie and violent inuaſion of the nations beyond the Mounts. But ambition, which would not ſuffer any of them to be contented with his limits, was the cauſe not onely to returne vpon *Italy* new troubles, but alſo that they could not enioy the fruite of the victorie which they had gotten ſince againſt the *French* in the kingdome of *Naples*: a victorie, which the negligence and vnwiſe counſels of the King made eaſie to them; for that the ſuccours which he had leuied at his departure out of *Italy*, were vtterly vaine, his prouiſions of nauigation, and the aides promiſed by the *Florentines*, ſeruing alſo to like effect. *Lodowike Sforce* conſented not to the peace with the King with a ſound faith and meaning, for that remembring the iniuries he had done him (as it is the nature of him that doth wrong) he thought it ſtood not with his ſuretie, eftſoones to commit himſelfe to the fidelitie of the King; but the deſire to recouer *Nouaro*, and deliuer his owne Eſtate from the incommodities of the warre, induced him to promiſe that which he had no deſire to keepe, following the Kings humor with words, and keeping his intentions diſſembled: and it may be ſuppoſed, that in the peace made with this ſemblance, did participate the conſent of the Senate of *Venice*, willing to disburden their Eſtate without infamie, of the exceſſiue expences in the warre of *Nouaro*. Neuertheleſſe *Lodowike*, becauſe he would not in vnaduiſed ſort breake the articles of the capitulation, but ſhadow his doings with ſome colour, performed that which he could not denie to be in his power; he deliuered the hoſtages, he ſet at libertie the priſoners, paying their ranſomes of his proper treaſures; he reſtored the veſſels taken at *Rapallo*; he withdrew from *Piſa*, *Fracaſſe*, whom he could not diſſemble to be in his pay: laſtly, he put the Caſtle of *Genes* into the hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, who went thither in perſon to receiue it. But on the other ſide, he left within *Piſa Luke Maluezzo* with many bands of ſouldiers, as though he were in the wages and pay of the *Genoways*; he ſuffered that two carricks which were armed at *Genes*, went to *Naples* for the ſeruice of *Ferdinand*, vſing this excuſe, that for that he had entertained them afore the concluſion of peace, they of *Genes* would not conſent that they ſhould be denied to him: he laboured ſecretly that the *Genoways* ſhould not deliuer in their hoſtages to the King: and that which was of greater conſequence for the loſſe of the Caſtles of *Naples*, after the King had armed and manned the foure ſhips, and that he had furniſhed him of the two, for the which

Lodowike ſubtile in diſſembling.

Shifts of Lod. Sforce to breake the peace.

which he was bound; he wrought ſo with the *Genoways*, that making ſemblance of feare, they gaue impediments that the kings ſouldiers ſhould not be armed, if firſt they receiued not of him ſufficient caution that he ſhould not employ them againſt themſelues, nor attempt with that force, to change the gouernment of *Genes*. For theſe cauillations, the King complained by men expreſſe to *Lodowike*; who anſwered, that he had promiſed to furniſh him with the ſhips, but had not conſented that they ſhould be manned with *French* ſouldiers. And ſometimes he alledged, that the iuriſdiction which he had of *Genes* was not abſolute, but limited and reſtrained to ſuch conditions, as he had no power of compulſion, and much leſſe was his authoritie to enforce their wils to his deſires, ſpecially in things which they pretended to be dangerous to their Eſtate, or to derogate the liberties of their Citie: wherein the better to iuſtifie his excuſes, he wrought ſo, that the Pope commanded the *Genoways* and him, vpon paine of the Church cenſures, that they ſhould not ſuffer to be drawne from *Genes* by the *French* King, veſſels of any ſort or nature: in ſo much as the ſuccours expected with ſo great deſire by the *French* which were in the kingdome of *Naples*, ſtood them in no ſtead; no more did the aides and moneys promiſed by the *Florentines*. For after the accord made at *Thurin*, *Guid'Anthonie Veſpucci* one of their Embaſſadours aſſiſtant at the concluſion, departing immediatly with all the neceſſarie diſpatches; and paſſing without ſuſpition through the Duchie of *Millan*, for that the commonweale of *Florence* was not declared enemy to either part; he was retained in *Alexandria* by the Dukes commiſſion; and all his papers and diſpatches taken from him, he was led forthwith to *Millan*, where the capitulations and promiſes of the *Florentines* being bewrayed, the *Venetians* and the Duke tooke counſell, not to ſuffer the *Piſans* to periſh: who as ſoone as the *French* King was gone out of *Italy*, had by new Embaſſadors recommended their affaires to *Venice* and *Millan*. Their reſolution to reſcue the *Piſans*, was not without the conſent of the Pope and the Embaſſadors of the other Confederates, vnder pretence to hinder the money and aides which the *Florentines* (reentring into *Piſa* and their other places) were to ſend to the Realme of *Naples*; and alſo for that being conioyned with the *French* King, and by the recouering of that Citie, made more mightie, they might in many ſorts endomage the common ſafetie of *Italy*. But the principall humor that fed that motiue, was their ambition and great deſire to make themſelues Lords ouer *Piſa*: vpon which prey, as it had bene long afore vehemently aſpired vnto by *Lodowike*; ſo the *Venetians* began now in like ſort to caſt their eyes, as thoſe who ſeeing the ancient vnitie of the other Potentates broken, and one part of them weakened which had wont to oppoſe againſt them, embraced already with thoughts and hopes the monarchie of all *Italie*: whereunto they eſteemed they impery of *Piſa* very conuenient, to begin with the commoditie of his hauen (which they thought could not be long kept by *Florence* not holding *Piſa*) to ſtretch out their limits euen to the inferiour ſea; hauing withall by the oportunitie of that Citie, an entrie of great importance into *Tuſcane*. But the Duke of *Millan* ſhewed moſt readineſſe to miniſter to their ſuccours, who entertaining at the ſame inſtant the *Florentines* with diuers practiſes, had obtained that *Fracaſſe* vnder colour of his priuate buſineſſe (for he had poſſeſſions in that countrey) ſhould go to *Piſa*, and the *Genoways* to refurniſh them with new ſupplies of footmen. The *Venetians* alſo forgot not to nouriſh them with promiſes and comforts of ſpeedy ſuccours, and accordingly diſpatched one of their Secretaries to *Genes* to make a leuie of footmen, and perſwade the *Genoways* not to abandon the *Piſans*: yet they were long in ſending their ſtrength thither, perhaps by this opinion, that ſo long as the Citadell was holden by the *French* King, and ſo long as he were in *Italy*, it was not conuenient to lay any great foundation of thoſe things.

The Venetians in mind to reſcue the Piſans

On the other ſide, the *Florentines*, aduertiſed of the new couenants made with the King by their Embaſſadours at *Thurin*, had increaſed their armie, to be the more able to conſtraine the *Piſans* to receiue them as ſoone as they ſaw the diſpatches of the King. And albeit, as you haue heard, they were reſtrained together with their Embaſſadours by the Duke of *Millan*, yet they forbare not to take the burrough of *Palaye*, and ſo planted their campe afore *Vicopiſan*: the beſieging of which place was of no effect, partly for that the Captaines (either by ill counſell, or for that they iudged their ſtrength not ſufficient to bring their campe on that ſide towards *Piſa*, the *Piſans* hauing erected a Baſtillion on a mount neare the towne) encamped on the lower ſide towards *Bientina*, a place of litle commoditie to hurt *Vico*, and keeping it, the way of *Piſa* and *Caſina* lay open to thoſe that were beſieged; partly for that *Paul Vitelli* hauing receiued three

thouſand

thousand duckats of the *Pisans*, went thither to defend it, entring with his companies and the bands of his brethren, vnder a fained colour to haue letters of the King; and commandement from the Generall of *Languedocke*, brother to the Cardinall of Saint *Mallo* (remaining sicke at *Pietrasanta*) to protect *Pisa* and the appurtenances, vntill other order were taken. And certainly it is a thing right wonderfull, that the *Pisans* were at one and the same time defended by the souldiers of the *French* King, and aided by the succours of the Duke of *Millan*, and nourished also with hopes by the State of *Venice*, notwithstanding that Senate and the Duke of *Millan* were in open warre with the *French* King. With the succours then of the bands of *Vitelli*, *Pisa* defended it selfe easily, and gaue no litle domage to the campe of the *Florentines*, the same being pitched in a place so open and discouered, that it receiued many harmes by the artilleries which the *Pisans* had brought into *Vico*; in so much as hauing remained there many dayes, the Captaines of the *Florentines* raised the siege, to their reproch and shame. But after this, the Kings dispatches being at last come (which written into copies, were secretly sent out by many wayes) the towne, castles, and port of *Liuorne* were immediatly rendred to the *Florentines* by *Salliant* Lieutenant to *Monsieur Beaumont*, to whom the King had giuen them in charge: when *Monsieur de l'Isle* Deputie Commissioner to receiue of the *Florentines* the ratification of the accord made at *Thurin*, and to see the restitution executed, began to treate with *Entragues* Captaine of the Citadell of *Pisa*, and of the Castles of *Pietrasanta* and *Matron*, to resolue with him of the day and maner to resigne them vp. But *Entragues*, induced either by the same inclination common with the other *French* men that were then in *Pisa*, or by some secret commissions from *Monsieur de Ligni*, vnder whose name, and as depending vpon him, he was preferred to that charge, or perhaps drawne by the loue which he bare to a young maiden, daughter of one of the citizens of *Pisa*, (for it is not credible, that onely the desire of money led him, since he might receiue a greater quantitie of the *Florentines*) he began to oppose many difficulties, sometimes giuing to the Kings letters patents an interpretation contrary to the true sence; and sometimes he alledged, that at the beginning he had a commandement not to render them but by secret aduertisements from *Monsieur de Ligni*. Vpon which impediments, after they had in vaine disputed certaine dayes, it was necessary for the *Florentines* to make a new instance to the King, remaining yet at *Verceil*, to remedy that disorder expressed with so great an offence to his Maiestie, and hurt to his speciall profite. The King became much moued with the disobedience of *Entragues*, and commanded *Monsieur de Ligni* (not without indignation) to constraine him to obey, determining to send thither a man of authoritie with new letters patents and threats from the Duke of *Orleans*, whose seruant he was. But the resolute obstinacie of *Monsieur de Ligni*, and the fauours which he had in Court, being of more power then the slender counsell of the King, the dispatch was delayed certaine dayes, and in the end sent, not by a man of authoritie, but by *Monsieur Lancepugno*, a simple gentleman; with whom went *Camilla Vitelli*, to leade his companies to the Realme of *Naples*, and withall to conduct thither one part of the money to be defrayed by the *Florentines*, to whose army as soone as the Kings letters patents were arriued, were ioyned the men of warre of both the *Vitellies*. But this dispatch wrought no more effect then the first, notwithstanding the Captaine had receiued two thousand duckats of the *Florentines*, to entertaine (vntill the Kings answer came) the bands of footmen which were in garrison within the Citadell: and though to *Camilla* were payd three thousand duckats, because otherwise he would haue hindred that the Kings letters should not haue bene presented. For the Captaine of the Citadell (to whom it was supposed *Monsieur de Ligni* had sent by another way, commissions quite contrary) after he had many dayes abused their expectation, supposing that the *Florentines* (for that there were within the towne besides the inhabitants, a thousand footmen forreiners) could not force the suburbes of *S. Marke* ioyning to the gate of *Florence*, neare to the Citadell, at the entrie whereof the *Pisans* had formerly, by his consent, made a great Bastillion: and so that he might come to the end of his intention without manifest opposition against the Kings will, he sent to the other *Florentine* Commissioners, to present their army afore the said gate, (which they could not do vnlesse they wonne the suburbes) that if the *Pisans* would not receiue them in by accord, he would force them to abandon it, the same gate being so subiect to the artillery of the Citadell, that it was not able to maintaine defence against the will of such as had it in guard. The *Florentines* inclining readily to this deuice, went thither with a great preparation, a courage resolute, and an inflamed disposition of all the campe,

which then lodged at Saint *Remy*, a place neare to the ſuburbes: and with ſuch valour they aſſailed the Baſtillion on three ſides (in the forme, ſeate, and rampiers whereof, they had bene fully inſtructed by *Paul Vitelli*) that they brake and put to flight ſuch as ſtood in defence; and purſuing the chaſe, they enter pellmell the ſuburbes by a draw-bridge which ioyned to the Baſtillion, killing and making priſoners the moſt of them. In this fury there was no doubt, (without the aide of the Citadell) but at the ſame inſtant they might haue made perfect the conqueſt of *Piſa* by that gate, many of their men at armes being entred, for that the *Piſans* put to flight, made no reſiſtance: but the Captaine of the Citadell ſeeing things ſucceed otherwiſe then he looked for, began to diſcharge the artillery vpon the *Florentines*; with which accident vnlooked for, the Commiſſioners and Leaders maruelling not a litle, many of their ſouldiers ſlaine and hurt by the artillery, and *Paul Vitelli* wounded in one of his legs, they ſounded the retrait, holding it impoſſible to take *Piſa* at that time for the furious reſiſtance of the Citadell: yea within few dayes after, they were conſtrained for the harmes they receiued by the artillerie, to abandon the ſuburbes which they had brought into their power, and ſo retired with great diſcourage and no leſſe diſcontented to *Caſſina*, till the King had reformed ſo manifeſt a diſobedience of his ſubiects.

Peter de Medicis at the inſtigation of the Confederates, determined to returne to Florence.

In this meane while alſo, the *Florentines* were not without their perplexities, for new and dangerous practiſes ſtirred vp principally by the Potentates of the league; who to giue the more impediments to the conqueſt of *Piſa*, and by ſome new neceſſities at home, to enforce them to leaue the alliance of the *French* King, incenſed *Peter de Medicis* to make triall, with the aide of *Virginio Vrſin* (who being fled from the *French* camp the day of the battell of *Taro*, ſoiourned at *Bracciane*) to returne to *Florence*: a matter of right eaſie perſwaſion both to the one & the other: for that to *Virginio* it ſorted to good purpoſe (whatſoeuer became of the enterpriſe) to reaſſemble at the charges of others, his ancient bands and partakers, and to put himſelfe eftſoones into the reputation of armes: And *Peter* according to the cuſtome of men baniſhed, had no want of diuers hopes for the multitude of friends which he had in the Citie, by whom he had intelligence that the gouernment popular was diſpleaſing to many of the Nobles; and no leſſe for the multitude of his adherents and followers, which by reaſon of the ancient greatneſſe of his houſe, was almoſt vniuerſall through the whole dominion of *Florence*. It was beleeued that this plot tooke his firſt beginning at *Millan*, for that *Virginio* was no ſooner eſcaped out of the hands of the *French*, then he made his firſt office to go viſite the Duke; but afterwards it was concluded at *Rome*, where did negotiate many dayes with the Pope, the Embaſſadour of *Venice*, and the Cardinall *Aſcanius*, who proceeded by commiſſion from *Lodowike*. But the grounds and hopes of this enterpriſe were theſe; that beſides the bands which *Virginio* ſhould leuie of his old ſouldiers, and with ten thouſand duckats gathered by *Peter de Medicis*, of his owne, and by the liberalitie of his friends, *Iohn Bentiuole* (being then in the pay of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan*) ſhould at the ſame inſtant make warre againſt them vpon the frontier of *Bolognia*: and alſo that *Katherine Sforce*, whoſe ſonne tooke pay of the Duke of *Millan*, ſhould vexe them by the cities of *Imola* and *Furly*, confining vpon the lands of the *Florentines*. Laſtly, they made promiſe to themſelues (not in vaine) to haue at their deuotion the *Siennoys*, no leſſe inflamed with an old hatred againſt the *Florentines*, then deſirous to embrace occaſions to preſerue *Montpulcian*, a towne which they diſtruſted not to be able to defend of themſelues, for that hauing attempted not many moneths before with their owne ſtrength, and the bands of the Lord of *Plombin*, and *Iohn Sauelle*, (whom the Duke entertained in common with them) to make themſelues Lords of the countrey of the marriſh of *Chianes*, which marriſh had bene long time the limit or marke ſtone of that ſide betweene the *Florentines* and them; and to that end had begun to make neare to the bridge of *Valiane*, a Baſtillion to beate a Tower erected by the *Florentines* vpon the point towards *Montpulcian*; things fell out contrary to their expectation: for that the *Florentines*, moued with the danger of the loſſe of this bridge, which not onely tooke from them all meanes to moleſt *Montpulcian*, but alſo gaue entry to the enemies into the territories of *Cortona* and *Aretze*, and other peeces, which on the other ſide of *Chianes* appertained to their iuriſdiction, ſent thither a ſtrong ſuccour, which forced the Baſtillion begun by the *Siennoys*: and for their full ſuretie of that peece, they planted neare the bridge (but on the other ſide *Chianes*) a Baſtillion conuenient to beſtow many ſouldiers in; by whoſe helpe and commoditie they made roades euen to the gates of *Montpulcian*, vexing with like actions all the townes of the

the *Siennoys* on that ſide. To which ſucceſſe was ioyned this fortune, that a litle after the paſſage of the *French* King, they had broken neare to *Montpulcian* the bands of the *Siennoys*, and made priſoner *Iohn Sauella* their Captaine. But *Virginio* and *Peter de Medicis* hoped to obtaine place of retrait, with ſome other commodities of the people of *Peruſia*, not onely for that the family of the *Baillons* (who with armes and aides of their followers, were almoſt become maiſters of that Citie) were vnited to *Virginio* in a common fidelitie to the name and faction of the *Guelfes*, and had withall familiar and ſtraight friendſhips with *Laurence* and *Peter de Medicis* whileſt he ruled in *Florence*, by whoſe fauours and other miniſtrations they had ſpeciall countenance againſt all action of their enemies: but alſo being the ſubiects of the Church (but more in demonſtrations then in effects) it was beleeued that in things concerning principally their eſtates, they would yeeld to the will of the Pope, hauing communitie therein the conſent of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan*. *Virginio* then and *Peter de Medicis* departed from *Rome* with theſe hopes, and occupying amongſt themſelues theſe perſwaſions, that the *Florentines* trauelled with ciuill diuiſions at home, and vexed by their neighbours abroad, vnder the name of their Confederates, could hardly make reſiſtance: and remaining certaine dayes betweene *Terni* and *Todi* and theſe confines, where *Virginio* ſtudying by all meanes to plucke downe the *Gibelin* faction, leuied men and money of the *Guelfes*. At laſt they ſetled their campe in fauour of the *Peruſins*, before *Gualde*, a towne poſſeſſed by the communaltie of *Fuligni*, but ſold before by the Pope for ſixe thouſand duckats to the *Peruſins*; who were no leſſe inflamed with a deſire to haue it, then incenſed with the contention of the parties, by reaſon of whoſe dealings, all the townes about inclined then to emotion and inſurrection: for not many dayes before, the family of the *Oddies*, baniſhed from *Perouſa*, and Chieftaines of the faction contrary to the *Baillons*, hauing aides of them of *Fuligni*, *Aſceſe*, and other peeces adioyning, which embraced the part of the *Gibelins*, were entred *Corciana* (a ſtrong peece within fiue miles of *Perouſa*) with three hundred horſe, and fiue hundred footmen: for which accident, all the countrey being riſen (for *Spolette*, *Camerin*, and other places of the *Guelfes*, were fauourable to the *Baillons*) they of *Oddi* within few dayes after entred by night within *Perouſa*, and that with ſuch aſtoniſhment to the *Baillons*, that hauing loſt hope & abilitie of defence, they began to put themſelues to flight. But the *Oddies*, by a ſmall and vnlooked for aduenture, loſt that victorie, which the power of their enemies could not depriue them of: for that being come without impediment to one of the entries of the principall place, and one of them who for that purpoſe carried a hatchet, offering to cut in peeces the chaine drawne ouer the way, according to the cuſtomes of Cities in faction; and being ſo troubleſomly enuironed with the preſſe of his companies, that he had no ſpace to lift vp his arme to hew the chaine, cried with a loud voice, Giue backe, giue backe, to the end that hauing more roome, his libertie might be more furthering to the action he went about. This voice being wrongly vnderſtood, and repeated from hand to hand by ſuch as followed him, and ſo deliuered to others in a ſence ſounding to retire and flie, it was the cauſe that all the companies without other encounter or let, fell ſuddenly to flie, not one knowing by whom they were chaſed, nor for what occaſion they fled. This diſorder reſtored the aduerſaries to ſuch preſent courage, that reaſſembling their ſtrength, they charged them in the chaſe, and made great ſlaughter, taking priſoner *Troilo Sauello*, who for the ſame affection to the faction, had bene ſent to the ſuccours of the *Oddies*, by Cardinall *Sauella*: and applying their forces to the occaſion that was offered, they followed the chaſe euen to *Corciana*, which they recouered in this action, and with the ſame furie: and laſtly, not contented with the death of ſuch as they had in chaſe, they hanged many at *Perouſa*, following the crueltie which for the moſt part factions are wont to vſe. Of which tumults, many murders happening in the places bordering, for that in ſeaſons doubtfull, the parties are carefull, and do cuſtomably draw into inſurrection, either for deſire to cut off their enemies, or for feare to be preuented by them; the *Peruſins* inflamed againſt the *Fulignians*, had ſent the campe to *Gualda*, and hauing giuen the aſſault to it in vaine, with no leſſe diſtruſt to carry it by their owne ſtrength, they accepted the aides of *Virginio*, who offered himſelfe to them, to the end that at the bruite of bootie and ſpoile, the ſouldiers might runne with more readineſſe to the warre. And albeit they were preſſed by him, and by *Peter de Medicis* to miniſter openly to their enterpriſe, or at leaſt to giue ſome peece of artillerie or place of retrait for their people at *Chaſtillion du Lac* confining vpon the territorie of *Cortona*, with commoditie of victuals for the armie: yet they conſented to none of theſe demands,

A voice miſtaken deſtroieth an enterpriſe.

Faction breed inſurrection.

mands, notwithſtanding the Cardinall *Aſcanius* made in the name of the Duke of *Millan*, great inſtance, and the Pope commanding no leſſe by writs vehement and full of threats. All this was, for that ſince the taking of *Corciana*, the *Florentines* lending them money, and giuing yearely penſion to *Guy* and *Rodolpho* chiefe of the *Baillons*; and laſtly, hauing taken into their pay *Iohn Paul* ſonne to *Rodolpho*, they were of their ſide, and conioyned with them. Beſides theſe, they were eſtranged from the amitie of the Pope, for that they feared he ſtood fauorable to the cauſe of their aduerſaries, or at leaſt, by the occaſion of their diuiſions, they ſuſpected that he aſpired to put abſolutely that Citie vnder the obedience of the Church. In this time, *Paul Vrſin*, who with threeſcore men at armes of the old companie of *Virginio*, had remained many dayes at *Montpulcian*, and afterwards was gone to the borough of *Pieua*, entertained (by the direction of *Peter de Medicis*) a practiſe in the Citie of *Cortona*, with intention to execute it at ſuch time as the bands of *Virginio* ſhould approch, whoſe numbers and vertue anſwered not the firſt plots. But during that reſpite of time, the practiſe being diſcouered by the meanes of one of the exiles of baſe condition, one part of their generall grounds and deuices began to faile, and withall many great impediments to appeare. For the *Florentines* alwayes carefull to prouide for dangers, leauing in the countrey of *Piſa* three hundred men at armes, and two thouſand footmen, had ſent to incampe neare *Cortona* two hundred men at armes, and a thouſand footmen vnder the leading of Count *Rainuce de Marciane*, a gentleman of their companies: and to the end the bands of the *Siennoys* ſhould haue no oportunitie to ioyne with *Virginio*, according to the practiſe betweene them, they ſent to *Poggi* Imperiall vpon the borders of the countrey of *Sienna*, vnder the gouernment of *Guidobalde* of *Montfeltre* Duke of *Vrbin* (whom they had entertained into their pay a litle before) three hundred men at armes, and fifteene hundred footmen) beſides many baniſhed from *Sienna* (with whom they adioyned) to keepe the Citie in greater feare. But after *Virginio* had giuen many aſſaults to *Gualda*, where *Charles* his baſtard ſonne receiued a wound with a ſmall ſhot; and hauing embraced the moneys ſent ſecretly to him, as was ſuppoſed by the *Fulignians*, he raiſed his campe without mention or reſpect to the intereſts of the *Peruſins*, & marched to the victualling houſes, & ſo to *Panicale* in the countrey of *Perouſa*, making new inſtance that they would be declared againſt the *Florentins*: a thing which they did not onely denie to him, but alſo for the diſcontentment they had of his actions at *Gualda*, they compelled him almoſt with threatnings to depart out of their territories. In ſo much that *Peter* and he going firſt with foure hundred horſe to *Orſaia*, a towne neare to *Cortona*, hoping that in that Citie (which to auoide the harmes of the ſouldiers, had refuſed to receiue the men at armes of the *Florentines*) they ſhould find ſome tumult; when they ſaw all things in quiet, they paſſed ouer *Chianes* with three hundred men at armes, and three thouſand footmen, but the moſt part in diſorder, becauſe they had bene driuen backe, hauing but a very ſmall proportion of money: and they retired vpon the countrey of *Sienna*, neare to *Montpulcian*, betweene *Chianciana*, *Torrite*, and *Aſina longue*, where they remained many dayes without other action then certaine incurſions and pillages, hauing the bands of the *Florentines* (which paſſed *Chianes* at the bridge of *Valiane*) incamped directly oppoſite vpon the hill *Sanſouin*, and other places thereabouts. Neither on the ſide of *Bologna* (as they hoped) was any inſurrection, for that *Bentiuole* determining not (for the intereſts and regards of another) to enter warre with a Commonweale mightie and his neighbor, refuſed the quarrell and the defence, notwithſtanding the perſwaſions of the Confederates, to whom he made many excuſes, and vſed no leſſe delayes, neither was he content that many demonſtrations ſhould be made by *Iulian de Medicis*, who being come from *Bologna*, laboured to ſtirre vp the friends which they were accuſtomed to haue in the mountaines of that countrey. Yea amongſt the Confederates themſelues there was not generally one conſent of will and inclination, for that it was very acceptable to the Duke of *Millan*, that the *Florentines* ſhould be vexed with thoſe trauels, thereby to be leſſe able for the matters of *Piſa*: but it nothing pleaſed him, that *Peter de Medicis*, ſo greatly iniured by him, ſhould returne to *Florence*, notwithſtanding (to declare that hereafter he would wholly depend vpon his authoritie) he had ſent to him to *Millan* his brother the Cardinall. And touching the *Venetians*, they liked not to haue the burden of that warre impoſed vpon them, and much leſſe to embrace alone the quarrell: beſides, the Duke and they were buſie to leuie proniſions to expulſe the *French* out of the kingdome of *Naples*. In which reſpects, failing in *Peter* and *Virginio* not onely the hopes which they expected, but alſo the moneys greatly diminiſhing to entertaine their bands of footmen and

The Florētines euer politicke.

Bentiuole refuſeth to ioyne with the Confederates.

and horſemen, the neceſſities of their eſtates, and conſideration of their proper ſafeties, cauſed them to withdraw to *Bagno Rapulano* in the countrey of *Chiuſa*, a Citie ſubiect to the *Siennoys*; where not many dayes after (*Virginio* being drawne by his deſtinie) arriued *Camilla Vitelli* and *Monſieur de Gemel*, ſent by the *French* King to entertaine him into his pay, and to bring him into the kingdome of *Naples*, where the King deſired to ſerue his purpoſe of him, hearing of the defection of the *Colonnoys*. This offer (albeit many of his friends impugned it, aduiſing him rather to follow the ſeruice of the Confederates, who made great ſolicitation to him, or elſe to become for the *Aragons*,) was accepted by him, either for that he hoped by that meanes to be more able to recouer the lands and countrey of *Albe* and *Taillecouſſe*; or elſe remembring eſtſoones how things happened in the loſſe of the kingdome, and ſeeing the authoritie of the *Colonnoys* his ancient aduerſaries was great with *Ferdinand*, he was out of hope to recouer his former greatneſſe and fauour with him; or laſtly, for that he was moued (as himſelfe did aſſure) with a diſcontentment which he had of the Princes Confederate, failing to accompliſh thoſe promiſes which they made to him to miniſter fauours to *Peter de Medicis*. *Virginio* then entred pay with the *French* King, receiuing contract as well for him, as for others of the houſe of the *Vrſins*, for ſixe hundred men at armes; notwithſtanding vnder this obligation (ſuch be the fruits of thoſe that once haue made their faith ſuſpected) to ſend his ſonne *Charles* into *France* for the Kings ſuretie: and being poſſeſſed of the Kings money, he prepared himſelfe to go with the *Vitellies* to the kingdome of *Naples*, where both before the loſſe of the Caſtles and after, was continuall inſurrection in many places, with diuers accidents and fortunes.

Virginio Vrſin in pay with the French King.

Virginio leaueth his ſonne pledge to the French.

For, after *Ferdinand* had in the beginning made head in the plaine of *Sarny*, the *French* men that were retired from *Pied grotte*, were incamped at *Nocere* within foure miles of the enemie; where their forces being equall, they conſumed the time vnprofitably in skirmiſhing, without any action worthy of memorie; ſauing that ſeuen hundred of the armie of *Ferdinand*, as well footmen as horſemen, being led by a double intelligence to enter the borough of *Giſone*, neare the towne of *S. Seuerin*, were almoſt all either ſlaine or made priſoners. But the bands of the Pope being come to the ſuccour of *Ferdinand*, and by that meanes the *French* made inferiour, they retired from *Nocere*, which by that occaſion, together with the Caſtle, was taken by *Ferdinand*, with a great ſlaughter of ſuch as had followed the *French*. In this time *Monſieur Montpenſier* had foreſeene to furniſh of horſes and other things neceſſary for the warre, ſuch as were come with him from the new Caſtle; with whom, after he had remounted them in good order, he went to ioyne with the others, and after came to *Ariana*, a towne abounding with victuals. On the other ſide, *Ferdinand* ſeeing himſelfe leſſe ſtrong then the enemie, ſtayed at *Mantfuſcule* to temporiſe, without aſſaying of fortune, vntill the Confederates had refurniſhed him with a greater ſuccour. *Monſieur Montpenſier* tooke the towne, and afterwards the Caſtle of *S. Seuerin*, and with that fortune had done farre greater things, if the want of money and the difficultie to get ſome, had not hindred him. For hauing no reliefe ſent out of *France*, nor meanes to leuy any in the kingdome of *Naples*, he could not pay the ſouldiers; by reaſon whereof the armie inclining to diſcontentment, and ſpecially the *Swiſſers*, he could not poſſibly do any thing, whoſe effects might be anſwerable to the forces he had. In ſuch like actions were conſumed by the one and other armie, about three moneths: in which ſeaſon, *Dom Federike* who had with him *Ceſar* of *Aragon*, made warre in *Pouilla*; being aided by thoſe of the countrey; againſt whom made head the Barons and peoples that embraced the *French* part. On the other ſide, *Gracian des Guerres* made valiant defence in *Abruzze* againſt *Ferdinand*; and the Prefect of *Rome*, who had the Kings pay for two hundred men at armes, vexed with his eſtates the lands of *Moncuſin*, and the countrey thereabouts, where was ſomewhat declined the proſperitie of the *French*, by the long ſickneſſe of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, which interrupted the courſe of his victory, although almoſt all *Calabria* and the principalitie remained at the deuotion of the *French* King. But *Gonſalue* hauing gotten together the *Spaniſh* bands, with ſuch of the countrey as bare friendſhip to the *Aragons*, (now well increaſed by the conqueſt of *Naples*) had taken there certaine places, and made ſtrong in that prouince the name of *Ferdinand*, where the *French* found the ſame difficulties which were in the armie for want of money: notwithſtanding, the Citie of *Coſenze* being drawne into rebellion againſt them, they recouered it and ſackt it. But in theſe great neceſſities and dangers, appeared no ſuccours at all out of the Realme of *France*: for that the King ſtaying at *Lyons*, ſpent the time about iuſts, tourneys and other pleaſures, giuing ouer all

Nocere taken by Ferdinand.

Wants the hinderance of the French in Naples.

The King neglecteth warres in Naples.

all thoughts of the warre: and albeit he assured alwayes, that he would eftsoones consider of the affaires of *Italy*, yet by the effects it appeared not that he had any remembrance thereof. And though *Argenton* brought him this answer frō the Senate of *Venice*; that they pretended to haue no disfriendship with him, for that they entred not into armes vntill *Nocere* was taken, and for no other cause then for the defence of the Duke of *Millan* their confederate; and therefore they thought it a thing superfluous, to ratifie againe the ancient friendship with a new peace: and that on the other side they had offered him by persons indifferent, to induce *Ferdinand*, to giue him presently some summe of money, with constitution of a tribute of fiftie thousand duckats by the yeare, and to leaue in his hands for securitie, *Tarenta*, vntill a certaine time; the King, as though he had a prepared and puissant succour, refused to open his eares to these offers, notwithstanding (besides these perplexities of *Italy*) he was not without vexations vpon the frontiers of *France*; seeing that *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine* (being come in person to *Parpignian*) had made incursions into *Languedock*, where they did no small harmes, adding to their present furie, other demonstrations of farre greater emotions: and besides it was not long since the *Daulphin* of *France*, the onely sonne of the King, died; all which things (if he had bene capable to make wise election of peace or warre) ought to haue brought him with more facilitie to condescend to some accord.

Offers made vnto a King by the Venetians for Ferdinand.

The death of the Daulphin.

About the end of this yeare were determined the controuersies happening by reason of the Citadell of *Pisa*: for the *French* King being informed of the obstinacie of the Captaine, sent thither at last *Monsieur Gemel*, with threatnings and commandements rigorous, not onely addressed to him, but generally to all the *French* appertaining to the charge and seruice of the said Citadell; and a litle after, he dispatched thither *Monsieur Bonne* cousin to the Captaine, to the end that being informed by a person whom he might trust, both of the Kings message, and also the meanes to satisfie with present obedience his former faults and contumacie; and also of the danger wherein he stood continuing in disobedience; he might with more readinesse proceed to the execution of his maiesties commandements. The Captaine notwithstanding continuing in his former wilfulnesse, made no reckoning of the message of *Gemel*, who stayed there a few dayes, according to his commission to go with *Camilla Vitelli* to find *Virginio*: and much lesse was the coming of *Bonne* (who was hindered many dayes, for that by direction of the Duke of *Millan* he was retained at *Serezana*) to any purpose to turne the Captaine from his obstinacie; but hauing wrought *Bonne* to his opinion, he made a contract with the *Pisans* (*Luke Maluezze* interposing himselfe in the name of the Duke) by vertue whereof he deliuered to the *Pisans* the first day of the yeare 1496. their Citadell, receiuing of them twentie thousand duckats, whereof twelue thousand to remaine to himselfe, and eight thousand were to be deuided amongst the souldiers that were therein. But this you must vnderstand, that the *Pisans* hauing no meanes to pay such a summe of money, they had foure thousand of the *Venetians*, foure thousand of the *Genoways* and *Lucquoys*, and foure thousand of the Duke of *Millan*: who vsing at the same time his ordinary shifts and practises (whereunto men gaue litle faith) he solicited faintly to enter with the *Florentines* into firme intelligence and amitie, and was already agreed of conditions with their Embassadors. But surely there was no likelihood that euer *Monsieur de Ligni*, or the Captaine, or any other would haue vsed so great a transgression without the Kings will and liking, chiefly seeing the matter was so much to his disaduantage; for that albeit the Captaine had capitulated, that the Citie of *Pisa* should continue in the obedience of the Crowne of *France*, yet it remained manifestly at the deuotion of the Confederates: and for that the restitution tooke not effect, the *French* men that were left in the Realme of *Naples*, were naked of the succours of men and money, promised in the contract of *Thurin*. But the *Florentines* obseruing diligently the progresse of all these things, (albeit in the beginning they made great doubt) were possest at last with this opinion, that all was done contrary to the will of the King: a thing which might seeme incredible to all other that knew not what was his nature, nor what were the conditions of his wit and customes, nor how litle authoritie he bare amongst his people; and lastly, how easily men are emboldened against a Prince that is fallen into contempt.

The Citadell deliuered for twentie thousand duckats.

The King contemned by his owne subiects.

After the *Pisans* were entred by heapes into the Citadell, they razed it flat with the earth: and knowing themselues to be too weake to defend their cause, they sent at the same instant Embassadours to the Pope, to the Emperour, to the *Venetians*, to the Duke of *Millan*, to the *Genoways*, to the *Siennoys*, and to the *Lucquoys*, praying succours of euery one of them, but with greater

greater inſtance of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*; towards whom they nouriſhed a franke inclination to transferre the iuriſdiction of their Citie: wherein they had this cogitation; that they were conſtrained not ſo much to looke to the preſeruation of their libertie, as to eſchue the neceſſitie to returne eftſoones into the power of the *Florentines*: and alſo they had more hope in him, then in any other, for that he was the firſt ſtirrer of them to rebellion, by reaſon of neighbourhood; and for that hauing reaped from the other Confederates no other thing then hopes, they had alwayes receiued from him preſent and ready ſuccours. But the Duke (notwithſtanding his deſire was importunate) ſtood doubtfull whether he ſhould accept it, for feare leſt the other Confederates would take it ill, in whoſe councels was now begun to treate of the affaires of *Piſa*, as of a common cauſe: by reaſon whereof, ſometimes he would deſire the *Piſans* to deferre, and ſometimes aduiſed them that it might be done in publicke action, and in the name of the *Saint Seuerins*, and he to diſcloſe that all was done to his profit, when he ſhould ſee his time: but in the end, when he ſaw the *French* King was gone out of *Italy*, and finding withall that his buſineſſe with the Confederates was not now ſo great, he determined to embrace it.

Reaſons why the Piſans offer themſelues to the Duke of Millan.

But this inclination of the *Piſans* began to grow cold, for the great hopes they had to be ſuccoured by the Senate of *Venice*; and withall, they had this counſell of others, that more eaſily might they defend their eſtate with the aide of many, then to ſtand vpon the ſuccours of one alone; finding by this meanes a greater hope to maintaine their libertie. Theſe conſiderations growing now more ſtrong, after they had obtained the Citadell, they had ſpeciall regard to releeue and ſtrengthen themſelues with the fauours and ſuccours of euery one; for the furtherance of which intention, the diſpoſition of the Eſtates of *Italy* ſerued to good purpoſe. For the *Genoways*, for the malice they bare to *Florence*, and the *Siennoys* and *Lucquoys* for hatred and feare, were alwayes to miniſter aide to them in ſome ſort; wherein to proceed more orderly, they ſolicited to make a contract with obligations reſolued on to that effect: and the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, entertaining one deſire to be their ſoueraigne Lords, could not endure that they ſhould returne vnder the rule of the *Florentines*: and with the Pope and the Embaſſadours of the *Spaniſh*, much helped their common deſire to plucke downe the *Florentines*, as being too much inclined to the doings of *France*. Then after they had bene graciouſly heard in euery place, and obtained of the Emperour the priuiledge of confirmation of their libertie, they brought from *Venice* and *Millan* the ſame promiſes to preſerue them in their libertie, which they had made afore with common conſent, to helpe to deliuer them from the *French*: and the Pope in the name and conſent of all the Potentates of the league, incouraged them by a ſpeciall ſignature, with promiſe that they ſhould be mightily defended of euery one. But yet the moſt apparent ſuccours came from the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan*, the Duke augmenting the number of men that were there firſt, and the Senate refurniſhing them with a proportion ſufficient: an action wherein if they had both continued, the *Piſans* had not bene conſtrained to ſticke more to the one then to the other of them, and by that meanes alſo, the common benefite had bene more eaſily preſerued. But ſhortly after it came to paſſe that the Duke of *Millan*, who feared alwayes great expences, and being inclined of nature to proceed in all actions with apparences & ſhifts, made his account that the iuriſdiction of *Piſa* could not fall into his hands at this time, and therfore beginning with ſmall proportions to furniſh things which the *Piſans* demanded of him, he gaue them occaſion to be more inclined to the *Venetians*, in whom they found a plentifull reliefe in all their neceſſities, without any ſparing: from whence proceeded, that a few moneths after the *French* had redeliuered the Citadell, the Senate of *Venice*, required by the generall and importunate ſuites of the *Piſans*, determined to take the Citie into their protection, the Duke of *Millan* rather perſwading them to it, then making any ſhew of miſliking. This was done without the priuitie of the other Confederates; although from the beginning the *Venetians* had ſolicited them to ſend bands of men thither: but now they alledged, that they were no more bound to their promiſes, for that without their conſent they had particularly couenanted with the *Venetians*. But it is moſt certaine, that neither the deſire to preſerue the libertie of their neighbours, (which in their owne countrey they loue much) nor any regard to the common benefite and ſafetie, (as they did alwayes publiſh with maieſticall words) but the onely deſire to get the iuriſdiction of *Piſa*, was the cauſe that the *Venetians* made this reſolution: by the meanes whereof they doubted not in ſhort time to be able to accompliſh their deſire, euen with the wil of the *Piſans* themſelues, in whom was a willing election to liue vnder the rule of *Venice*, the

The Pope encourageth the Piſans in their rebellion.

Lodowicle inclined to ſpite.

The Venetians in mind to take vpon them the defence of Piſa.

Piſa denied ſuccours by the Confederates.

better to be alwayes assured, not to returne eftsoones into the seruice of the *Florentines*. And yet notwithstanding this matter was oftentimes debated at large in the Senate, the generall disposition being hindered by the authoritie of some of the most ancient and best reputed Senators, who impugned it with mightie reasons, assuring the residue, That to vndertake the defence of *Pisa*, was a matter full of great difficulties, for that by land it was a State farre from their confines, and much more by sea, hauing no meanes to go thither, but by the dwellings and hauens of others, fetching a compasse about both the seas that enuiron *Italy*; for which reasons they could not defend it from the continuall vexations of the *Florentines*, but with intollerable expences. That it was indeed true, that such an enlargement would be very conuenient for the State of *Venice*, but first there should be consideration had of the difficulties to keepe it, and much more of the conditions of the time present, together with that which might happen by such a deliberation: for that all *Italy* being suspitious of their greatnesse, such an increase of Lordship could not but be extremely iealous and displeasing to all, wherin would be bred easily more great & dangerous accidents then haply were looked into of many: and such were greatly deceiued in whose perswasions was this suretie, that the other Potentates would suffer without gainsaying, that to their Lordship and Imperie, so redoubted through all *Italie*, should be ioyned so great oportunities by the demeane of *Pisa*: wherein if they were not (as they haue bene) so mightie to withstand it of their proper strength, they were not (seeing the way was taught to them on the other side the Mounts to passe into *Italy*) without great occasiō to oppose against them forraine force, to the which (no doubt) they would haue ready recourse, as well for hate as for feare (this being a vice common to all men, to seeke rather to serue strangers, then to giue place to their owne.) And touching the Duke of *Millan*, how can it be beleeued, that he accustomed to be carried sometimes by ambition and hope, and sometimes by suspition and feare; and now being stirred no lesse with disdaine then iealousie, to see transferred to the *Venetians*, that prey which he had sought by so many meanes and studies for himselfe, will not rather be readie to bring new troubles vpon *Italy*, then endure that *Pisa* should be occupied by others then himselfe? And albeit with words and counsels he declared the contrarie, yet it is easie to discerne, that it is farre from the intention and truth of his heart, containing no other thing then ambushes and counsels full of art tending to an ill end: in fellowship and company of whom, it were a necessarie wisedome to support that Citie; if for no other respect, yet at least to let that the inhabitants should not transferre it to him: but to make it a cause proper or particular, drawing after it so great enuie and no lesse charges, were a counsell neither wise nor well ruled: That they ought to consider how contrary would be those thoughts, to the workes and actions wherein for so many moneths they were so much trauelled and yet vexed continually; for that no other occasions did moue the Senate to take armes with so great expence and danger, then the desire to deliuer and reassure as wel themselues as the other regions of *Italy* from the rule of strangers. Wherein hauing giuen a beginning with a successe so glorious, and yet the *French* King scarcely repassed the Mounts, and the most part of the kingdome of *Naples* following his faction with a strong armie; what indiscretion, what infamie would it be (at a time needfull to confirme the libertie and suretie of *Italy*) to sow againe the seeds of new calamities: which might make easie the returne of the *French* King, or else the descending of the King of *Romanes*, to whom (pretending, as euery one knoweth, against their estate) could happen no greater occasion nor more strong desire then this: That the commonweale of *Venice* was not brought to those termes, to embrace counsels dangerous, nor to go before occasions, and much lesse to take them whilest they were greene: nay rather, no Estate in all *Italy* stood vpon better termes to expect the oportunitie of times, and with lesse perill could tarie till occasions were ripe: forasmuch as deliberations rash or doubtfull, did best befit those that suffered hard or sinister conditions; or such as being pushed forward with ambition and desire to make their name famous, feared to haue want of time; and not this Commonweale, which being raised into so great power, dignitie and authoritie, stands redoubted and enuied of all the residue of the principalities in *Italy*: and who in regard of other Kings and Princes, being almost immortall and perpetuall (retaining alwayes one selfe and setled name of a Senate of *Venice*) hath no cause to hasten their deliberations: And that it appertained better to the wisedome and grauitie of that Senate (considering according to the propertie of men truly wise, the dangers that lie hidden vnder those hopes and ambitions, and looking more into the ends then beginnings of things)

The Senate of Venice debateth vpon the action of Pisa.

Lodowike feared of the Venetians.

things) to reiect rash counsels, and to abstaine as well in the occasion of *Pisa*, as others offering to astonish or kindle the spirits of others, at least vntill *Italy* were better assured of the suspitions and dangers of those on the other side the Mounts, forbearing in any wise to giue them new occasion eftsoones to reenter: for that experience had shewed in very few moneths, how *Italy* when she was not oppressed by strange nations, followed almost alwayes the authoritie of the Senate of *Venice*; but when forreine forces occupied place in this Empire, in stead of being followed and redoubted of others, they with the others had reason to feare the power of strangers. *All Italy followed the authoritie of the Venetians.* These and the like reasons, besides the contrary desires of the greatest number, were surmounted and ouercome by the perswasions of *Augustin Barbarin* Duke of the same Citie, whose reputation was become so great, that exceeding the reuerence of the former Dukes, he aspired rather to a power absolute, then authoritie limited or regulated: for that, besides that he had many yeares managed that dignitie with happie successe; and besides his many excellent gifts and graces of the mind, he had so preuailed with singularitie of cunning dealing, that many Senators (who willingly opposed against such, as for the fame of their wisedome, and for that they had obtained supreme dignities, were of greatest reputation in that Commonweale) linked to him, and followed commonly his opinions, rather in maner of partakers, then with that grauitie and integritie which is requisite in a Senator. He then desirous to leaue with the increase of the State, a worthy memory of his name, putting no end to his appetite after glorie, and much lesse contented that during his rule, the Ile of *Cyprus* (the Kings of the house of *Lusignian* failing) had bene annexed to the Empire of *Venice*; was importunate to embrace euery occasion to make great their Estate. And for this cause, opposing himselfe against those who for the regard of *Pisa*, counselled the contrary, he shewed with round discourse of words and reasons, how much it imported the Senate in vtilitie and conueniencie to haue *Pisa*, and how much it concerned them to represse by this meanes the arrogancie of the *Florentines*, who in the death of *Philip Maria Viscount*, had made them lose the occasion to be Lords of the Duchie of *Millan*, and of late in their action of loanes of mony during the warres of *Ferrara* and other enterprises, had done more harme then any one of the other Potentates. He declared, that seldome are offered so faire occasions; what infamie to lose them, and afterwards what repentance would follow for not embracing them: That the conditions of *Italy* were not such, that in the other Potentates was power of themselues to oppose against the enterprise, and much lesse was there doubt, that for this indignation or feare, they would haue recourse to the *French* King: for that neither the Duke of *Millan* hauing so highly offended him, durst eftsoones trust him, neither did such thoughts moue the Pope: and the King of *Naples*, when he shall haue recouered his kingdome, will not endure to heare speake of the *French*. Besides, that their entrie into *Pisa* (albeit grieuous to others) was not an accident so furious, nor a perill so neare, as in regard of that, the other Potentates should run rashly into those remedies which are vsed in the last despaire, no more then the Physition makes haste to giue strong medicines in sleight diseases, esteeming that the patient hath time enough to take them. That if in this weakenesse and separation of the other *Italians*, being fearfull, they made no reckoning of so goodly an occasion, it were an expectation vaine, to tary to be able to do it with more suretie, when the other Potentates were returned into their former strengths, and assured frō the feare of them on the other side the Mounts: That for a remedie of too great a feare, they had to consider, that all worldly actions were exposed to many perils; but that wise men knew, that all the ils that may happen, do not always come to passe: for that either by the benefite of fortune many dangers are dissolued, and many auoided with industrie and prudence: and therefore men ought not to confound (as many affirme, considering litle the propertie of names and substance of things) feare with discretion, nor repute those wise, who making certaine all perils that are doubtfull, (and therefore fearing all) do rule their deliberation as if they should all happen; seeing that in no maner can merite the name of wise or discreete, such men as feare things to come more then they ought. That this title and this praise was fare more conuenient for men valiant and couragious, for that looking into the state and nature of dangers (and in that regard different from the rash sort, in whom is no impression of sence or iudgement of perils) they do notwithstanding discouer how often men, sometime by aduenture, and sometimes by vertue, are deliuered from many difficulties. Those men then that in deliberating call into councell as well hope as feare, and do not iudge for certaine the euents that are vncertaine, do not so easily as others reiect occasions profitable and ho-

The Duke of Venice reasoneth in fauour of the Pisans, and preuaileth

The Florentines by loane of money, hindered the affaires of Italy.

cc honorable. In imitation of whom, and withall ſetting afore our eyes the weakneſſe and ſepara-
cc tion of the other *Italians*, the great power and fortune of the Commonweale of *Venice*, the
cc magnanimitie and glorious examples of our elders, we may embrace with a franke reſolu-
cc tion the protection of the *Piſans*, by whoſe meanes we may in ſhort time ſee our ſelues abſo-
cc lute Lords of that Citie; a ladder, without doubt, moſt conuenient to raiſe vs to the Monarchie
cc of all *Italy*.

Piſa in the protection of Venice.

Thus the Senate receiued the *Piſans* into protection by decree publicke, with ſpeciall promiſe to defend their libertie: which deliberation was not in the beginning conſidered by the Duke of *Millan*, as was conuenient. For he by this meanes being excluded to entertaine any bands there, held it very acceptable to be deliuered of ſuch expences; and eſteemed it not againſt his profite, that *Piſa* at one time ſhould be the occaſion of great charges both to the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*: perſwading himſelfe further, that the *Piſans*, for the greatneſſe and neighbourhood of his Eſtate, and for the memorie of things done by him for their deliuerie, would be ſo affected to him, that they would alwayes preferre him before all others. But that which increaſed theſe deuices and deceitfull hopes, was the perſwaſion wherewith (litle remembring the inconſtancie of humane things) he nouriſhed himſelfe, to haue as it were vnder his feete, Fortune, whoſe ſonne he would not ſticke with publicke vanting to ſay he was: ſo much was he puffed vp with vainglory, by the proſperous ſucceeding of his affaires, and ſwolne with ſingular weening, for that by his meanes and by his counſels, the *French* King paſſed into *Italy*; appropriating to himſelfe the chaſe giuen to *Peter de Medicis* by the *Florentines*, with the loſſe of his Eſtate for not beleeuing him, the rebellion of the *Piſans*, and the flying of the *Arragons* from the Realme of *Naples*: and that afterwards with a counſell changed, he was the cauſe (by his deuices and authoritie) of the confederation of ſo many Potentates againſt the *French* king: of the returne of *Ferdinand* into the kingdome of *Naples*, of the departing of the *French* out of *Italy* with conditions vnworthy ſuch a greatneſſe: and laſtly, in the action of the Captaine, who had in charge the Citadell of *Piſa*, wherein his induſtrie or his authoritie had more power then the will and commandements of his King. With which rules meaſuring things to come, and iudging the wiſedome and policie of all others to be farre inferiour to the excellencie of his ſpirit, he flattered himſelfe to be alwayes able to addreſſe and gouerne the affaires of *Italy* as he would, and with his induſtrie to turne and wind the minds of euery one. This fond perſwaſion he could not diſſemble neither in himſelfe nor in his peoples, and no more in words and geſtures then in demonſtrations and actions, making it a thing acceptable to him, that euery one beleeued and ſpake ſo by him: in ſo much that *Millan* day and night was repleniſhed with voices vaine and glorious, celebrating with verſes Latine and vulgar, and with publicke orations full of flatterie, the wonderfull wiſedome of *Lodowike Sforce*, of the which they made to depend the peace and warre of *Italy*; exalting his name euen to the third heauen, and the ſurname of *More* (impoſed vpon him from his youth, for that he was of complexion browne, and for the opinion of his crafts which now were manifeſt) he was contented to retaine willingly ſo long as he remained Duke of *Millan*. And no leſſe was the authoritie of this *More* in the other Caſtles of the *Florentines*, then it had bene in the Citadell of *Piſa*; ſo that in *Italy* it ſeemed that as well enemies as friends, were ruled by the meaſure of his will. For albeit the *French* King hearing the grieuous complaints made to him by the Embaſſadours of *Florence*, was not a litle diſcontented, and to the end at leaſtwiſe that their owne places might be rendred, had diſpatched *Robert de Veſte* his Chamberlaine with new commiſſions, and letters ſpeciall from *Monſieur de Ligni*; yet his authoritie bearing no more power with others then with himſelfe, the audacitie of *Monſieur de Ligni* was ſo great (aſſuring many that he proceeded not but by the Kings will) that his Maieſties commandements bare ſmall reputation, by meanes of his new commiſſions ioyned to the froward will of the caſtle-keepers: in ſo much that the baſtard of *Bienne* Lieutenant to *Ligni* in *Serezana*, after he had drawne his companies thither with the commiſſioners of the *Florentines*, to receiue poſſeſſion of them, he gaue them to the *Genoways* for the price of fiue and twentie thouſand duckats: and afterwards the Captaine of *Serezanella* did the like for a certain ſumme of money, of which the author and onely meanes was the *More*; who hauing oppoſed againſt the *Florentines* (but vnder the name of the *Genoways*) *Fracaſſe*, with an hundred horſe and foure hundred footmen, gaue hinderance that the *Florentines*, who by meanes of their bands ſent to receiue *Serezana*, had recouered certaine peeces in the countrey *Lunigiane*, ſhould not recouer

Lodowike vaunts himſelfe to be the ſon of Fortune.

The wiſedome of Lodowike celebrated in verſes.

all

all the other places they had loſt. And a litle after, *Entragues* late Captaine of the Citadell of *Piſa*, vnder whoſe guard alſo remained yet the Caſtles of *Pietraſanta* and *Mutron*, together with that of *Librafatta*, which not many moneths after he gaue to the *Piſans*, ſold the reſidue to the *Lucqueys* for ſixe and twentie thouſands duckats, as preciſely he was directed by the Duke of *Millan*; who firſt wiſhed they might fall to the *Genoways*, but afterwards changing aduice, he thought it better to gratifie them of *Lucques*, to the end they might haue occaſion to miniſter ready aides to the *Piſans*, and to reduce them more to his deuotion by this benefite. All which things being related in *France*, albeit the King ſhewed himſelfe much diſcontented with *Monſieur de Ligni*, and pronounced *Entragues* baniſhed out of all his Realmes, yet at the returne of *Bonne* (who beſides his participation with the money of the *Piſans*, had treated at *Genes* the ſale of *Serezana*) his iuſtifications were accepted, and graciouſly entertained an Embaſſadour of the *Piſans*, ſent with him to perſwade the King that the *Piſans* would remaine faithfull ſubiects to the Crowne of *France*, and to proteſt their fidelitie by oath, albeit a litle after, his commiſſion not being liked, he had franke leaue to depart; and on *Monſieur de Ligni* was impoſed no other paine, then that (to ſhew that he had no more the Kings fauour) the grace to lie in his Maieſties chamber as he was wont, was taken from him, to the which he was immediatly reſtored: and *Entragues* remained onely in contumacie, but no long time: to which things gaue good aide (beſides the Kings nature with other meanes and fauours) a true perſwaſion, that ſuch were the neceſſities of the *Florentines*, that they could not endure ſeparation from him; for that the ambition of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan* being manifeſt, it was holden for certaine, that if they were not repoſſeſſed of *Piſa*, they would neuer accord to be confederate with them for the defence of *Italy*; whereunto they ſought to induce them by threatnings and meanes rigorous; and did not for the preſent, aſſay any other thing againſt them, but reſted ſatisfied (with the bands they had put into *Piſa*) to ſupport that Citie, and not ſuffer her wholly to loſe her iuriſdiction, the danger of the kingdome of *Naples* drawing them from all other care. For *Virginio*, who had gathered at *Bagno de Rapolano*, and after at *Peruſin* (where he remained certaine dayes) many companies of ſouldiers, marched with the other *Vrſins* towards *Abruzze*; holding alſo the ſame way with their bands, *Camilla* and *Paul Vitelli*, to whom the borough of *Montlion* refuſing to giue victuals, was by them put to the ſacke: which ſo amazed the other places of the Church by the which they ſhould paſſe, that notwithſtanding the expreſſe inhibitions of the Pope, they were euery where lodged & furniſhed with victuals. By reaſon whereof, but much more for the bruite of an aſſured ſuccour comming by ſea out of *France*, whereby the *French* affaires ſeemed to ſtand vpon good termes in the kingdome of *Naples*; *Ferdinand* who was deſtitute of money, and wrapped in ſo many difficulties, that he was not able to ſuſtaine ſo great a burthen, without greater ſuccours, was conſtrained to ſtudie for new remedies, to his preſent defence.

Now ſo it is, that in the beginning the other Potentates had not comprehended *Ferdinand* in their league: and albeit ſince he had recouered *Naples*, the King of *Spaine* made inſtance to haue him admitted to the confederation, yet the *Venetians* would neuer agree thereto, perſwading themſelues that his neceſſities would be a readie meanes to aduance their plot, which was, that one part of that Realme might fall into their obedience. *Ferdinand* then being deſtitute of all other hopes, (for he expected no new ſuccours from *Spaine*, and the other Confederates would not intangle themſelues with ſo great expences) agreed with the Senate of *Venice*, the Pope, and the Ambaſſadours of the Kings of *Spaine*: That the *Venetians* ſhould ſend to his ſuccours into the Realme of *Naples*, the Marquis of *Mantua* their Captaine with ſeuen hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and three thouſand footmen, maintaining ſtill their armie by ſea, which was there alreadie; with condition notwithſtanding, that they might reuoke thoſe aides at all times when they ſhould haue need to imploy them in their owne defence: That they ſhould lend to him fifteene thouſand duckats to ſerue his preſent neceſſities: That for the ſecuritie of theſe expences, *Ferdinand* ſhould deliuer in pawne vnto them *Otrante*, *Brunduſa*, and *Thrane*, and conſent that they might ſtill retaine *Monopoli* and *Puligniana*, which were then in their hands; vnder this couenant, to render them when their expences ſhould be ſatisfied: prouided alwayes, that neither by reaſon of the warre, nor for the guarding or fortifications which they ſhould make, they ſhould not redemand of him aboue two hundred thouſand duckats. Thoſe ports being in the ſuperiour ſea, and therefore of great oportunitie to *Venice*,

Couenants betweene Ferdinand king of Naples, and the Venetians.

niee, augmented much their greatneſſe: the which (no man now oppoſing againſt them, and ſince they embraced the protection of *Piſa*, hearing no more of the counſels of ſuch as wiſhed that to winds ſo fauourable they had giuen leſſe ſailes) began to be ſtretched through all the parts of *Italy*. For beſides the affaires of the kingdom of *Naples* and of *Tuſcane*, they had of new taken to their pay *Aſtor* Lord of *Faenza*, and accepted the protection of his Eſtates: a meane very conuenient to keepe in feare the *Florentines*, the Citie of *Bologna*, with all the reſidue of *Romagnia*. To theſe particular aides of the *Venetians*, were added other ſuccours of the Confederates; the Pope, the Duke of *Millan*, and they, ſending to *Ferdinand* a ioynt ſupply of bands of men at armes entertained at their common pay: for albeit the Duke of *Millan*, in whom remained as yet many ſemblances to keepe the accord at *Verceil*, (notwithſtanding the moſt part of thoſe things were directed by his counſels) would not either in the leuies of men or money, or other demonſtrations, that his name were vſed; yet he agreed ſecretly to contribute euery moneth ten thouſand duckats for the ſuccours of the kingdome of *Naples*. The marching of the *Vrſins* and the *Vitellies* aſſured greatly the affaires of *Abruzze*, which were in no ſmall confuſion againſt the *French* men: ſeeing *Terame* and the Citie of *Chieta* were drawne into rebellion, with great doubt that *Aquileia* the principall towne of that region, would do the like: which they at their comming hauing reconfirmed at the deuotion of the *French*, and recouered *Terame* by compoſition, and ſacked *Iulianoue*, almoſt all *Abruzze* followed the name of the *French*; ſo that the affaires of *Ferdinand* began to go ill through the whole kingdome: for that almoſt all *Calabria* was in the power of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*; notwithſtanding his long ſickneſſe, for the which he ſtayed in *Terace*, gaue oportunitie to *Gonſaluo* to keepe the warre kindled in that Prouince, with the *Spaniſh* bands, and ſtrength of ſome Lords of the countrey. Beſides, *Caietta* with many places aſſiſting, followed the obedience of the *French*. The Prefect of *Rome*, with his companie, and the forces of his Eſtate, after he had recouered the peeces of *Montcaſin*, inuaded the land of *Lauora* on that ſide: and *Monſieur Montpenſier*, albeit by the want of money he was much reſtrained to vſe his forces, yet he compelled *Ferdinand* to incloſe himſelfe in ſtrong places, being vexed with the ſame neceſſitie of money, and many other wants, but wholly repoſed vpon the hope of the ſuccours of *Venice*, which, for that the contract betweene them was made not long before, could not be ſo ſoone readie as had bene fit. *Montpenſier* laboured to betray *Beneuent* by intelligence; but *Ferdinand* hauing doubt of the practiſe, ſuddenly entred the towne with his bands. The *French* came neare to *Beneuent*, and lodging vpon the bridge of *Finoeche*, they tooke *Fenezana*, *Apice*, and many other bordering townes: but theſe places bearing no fauour to their armie for victuals, they diſcamped, hauing alſo regard to the time drawing on to gather the tribute of the cattell of *Powilla*, one of the greateſt reuenues of the kingdome of *Naples*, for that it was wont to amount euery yeare to foureſcore thouſand duckats, which were all gathered almoſt in the ſpace of a moneth. *Monſieur Montpenſier* to deprriue them of this commoditie, and no leſſe for the extreme neceſſities of his people, turned his way to *Powilla*, whereof one part was holden by him, and the other at the deuotion of *Ferdinand*, who ſoone after marched after him by the ſame way, with intention rather to hinder by art and diligence the actions of the enemie vntill his ſuccours were arriued, then to fight with them in plaine battell.

The arriuall of the French army at Caietta, and their exploits.

About this time arriued at *Caietta* an armie by ſea of the *French*, of fifteene great veſſels, and ſeuen other of leſſer burden, in which were imbarked at *Sauone* eight hundred Lance-knights, leuied in the countreys of the Duke of *Gueldres*, and thoſe *Swiſſers* and *Gaſcoines* appointed before by the King to be ſent with thoſe great ſhips which were to be armed at *Genes*: to which nauie the armie of *Ferdinand*, which was aboue *Caietta* to ſtop the paſſage of victuals, (being indeed for want of money ill appointed) gaue ſuch way, that they entred the hauen without any impediment, ſet their footmen on land, and tooke *Itrie* with other places adioyning; and after they had made a great prey through the countrey, they hoped to haue *Seſſe* by the meanes of *Dom Baptiſta Caracciol*, by whom they had promiſe to be put ſecretly therein. But *Dom Federike* (who with the bands that followed him being withdrawne from the borders of *Tarenta*, was afterwards ſent by *Ferdinand* to the gouernment of *Naples*) being aduertiſed of the conſpiracie, marched thither with ſpeed, and made priſoner the Biſhop with certaine others conſenting to the treaſon.

In *Powilla*, where was the ſtrength of the warre, things ſucceeded diuerſly to both the one and the other armie, which were diſperſed into the townes, as well for the ſharpneſſe of the ſeaſon, as for

for the ſtraitneſſe of the place, not ſufficing to receiue one of the armies wholly: and their exerciſes were to make incurſions and roads on horſebacke to pill and prey the cattell, vſing rather induſtrie and agilitie, then vertue or force of armes. *Ferdinand* was lodged in *Fogge* with a part of his people, and had beſtowed the reſidue, partly in *Troy*, and partly in *Nocere*: where vnderſtanding that betweene *S. Seuera* (within which towne was lodged *Virginio Vrſin* with three hundred men at armes, come to be vnited with the armie of *Montpenſier*) and the towne of *Porcina* (where was *Marian Sauella* with an hundred men at armes) was brought almoſt an infinite quantitie of Muttons and other natures of cattell: he marcheth thither with ſixe hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, and fifteene hundred footmen; and comming by the breake of day afore *S. Seuera*, he planted himſelfe there with his men at armes to giue reſiſtance to *Virginio*, if he made any eruption; and making his light horſemen to ſcoure abroad, they ouerſpred forthwith the whole countrey, and led away almoſt threeſcore thouſand head of cattell: whereto *Marian Sauella* offering to make reſiſtance, and iſſuing forth of *Porcina*, they conſtrained him to retire with the loſſe of thirtie men at armes. This loſſe and ſhame procured *Monſieur Montpenſier* (reaſſembling all his forces) to march towards *Fogge*, for the recouerie of the prey and honour loſt: where, with a ſucceſſe beyond his expectation, he met betweene *Nocere* and *Troy*, eight hundred Lanceknights newly arriued by ſea, and entred into the pay of *Ferdinand*: theſe Lanceknights departing from *Troy* where they were incamped, went to *Fogge* to ioyne with *Ferdinand*; a iourney more vpon their owne braine and raſhneſſe, then by the Kings commandement, and altogether againſt the counſell of *Fabrice Colonne*, who was likewiſe lodged in *Troy*. And albeit they ſaw that they could not ſaue themſelues either by flying or fighting, yet would they not yeeld, but were ſlaine in fight euery man of them, exchanging their liues with the ſlaughter of many of their enemies. After this, *Montpenſier* preſented himſelfe before *Fogge* in array of battell; but *Ferdinand* not ſuffering others to go out then light horſemen, the *French* men went to incampe in the wood of *Incoronato*, where after they had remained two dayes with no ſmall difficultie for victuals, and hauing recouered the moſt part of the cattell, they came againe afore *Fogge*, and abiding there a whole night, they returned the day following to *S. Seuera*, but not with all the prey they had recouered, for that in their retrait, the light horſemen of *Ferdinand* tooke a part from them; in ſo much as the cattell being harried by the one and the other, neither part drew any great profite of the reuenues of that tribute. Not many dayes after, the *French* men made wearie with want of victuals, went to *Campobaſſo* which was holden by them, and tooke by force *Coglioneſſa* or *Grigoneſſa*, a towne faſt by, where the *Swiſſers* againſt the will of the Captaines, vſed ſuch crueltie, that (albeit the countrey were filled with aſtoniſhment) it eſtranged from them the affections of many: and *Ferdinand* looking to defend his eſtate as well as he could, whileſt he expected the Marquis of *Mantua*, he refurniſhed his bands, by the meanes of ſixteene thouſand duckats which the Pope had ſent him, and with ſuch other proportions as he could leuie of himſelfe.

About this time did ioyne with *Montpenſier* the *Swiſſers*, and other foot-bands which were come by ſea to *Caietta*; and on the other part, the Marquis of *Mantua* now entred into the kingdome of *Naples*, and come to *Capua* by the way of *S. Germin*, hauing taken in his way, partly by force, partly by compoſition, many places, (albeit of ſmall importance) about the beginning of Iune he vnited his forces with the King at *Nocere*, whither *Ceſar* of *Aragon* led the bands that had lyen vpon the borders of *Tarenta*. Thus being brought into neighbouring places, almoſt all the forces of the *French* and of *Ferdinand*; the *French* more ſtrong in footmen, and the *Italians* more mightie in horſemen, the euent of things ſeemed very doubtfull, being not poſſible to diſcerne to whether of the parties the victory ſhould incline.

The Marquis of Mantua for the Venetians in the kingdom of Naples.

In this meane while, the *French* King tooke care for prouiſions to ſuccor his people; for when he had vnderſtanding of the loſſe of the Caſtles of *Naples*, and that his bands were not ſuccoured by the *Florentines*, neither with men nor money, for that they had not reſtitution of their fortreſſes; awaking out of that ſlumber of negligence wherewith he ſeemed to haue returned into *France*, he began eſtſoones to turne his thoughts to the actions of *Italy*; and to the end to be more free from all things that might retaine him, and (ſhewing himſelfe mindfull of the benefites receiued in his dangers) that he might with more confidence haue recourſe againe to the aides celeſtiall, he takes a iourney in poſt to *Tours*, and after to *Paris*, to ſatisfie the vowes he made to *S. Martin* and *S. Denis* the day of the battell of *Furnoua*; and returning with the ſame

The French king makes a poſting pilgrimage to Tours and S. Denis.

diligence to *Lyons*, this deſire ſeemed daily to increaſe in him, whereunto of his owne nature he was moſt inclined. For he interpreted it as an action of great glorie, to haue made a conqueſt of ſuch a kingdome, being the firſt of all the *French* Kings, in whoſe perſon hath bene renewed in *Italy*, after many ages, the memory of the armes and victories of the *French*: and he perſwaded himſelfe, that the difficulties which he encountred in his returne from *Naples*, proceeded more by the diſorders of his owne people, then by the power or vertue of the *Italians*, whoſe name (concerning the action of warre) carried no reputation with the *French*. To this inclination, were not a litle furthering the inticements of the Ambaſſadours of *Florence*, of the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula*, and of *Triuulce*, who was come to the Court for the ſame occaſion, with whom were aſſiſtant in that inſtance *Vitellozze* and *Charles Vrſin*; and beſides theſe, the Count *Montoire*, ſent to his Maieſtie for that purpoſe by the Barons of *Naples* holding part with the *French*: as alſo there came to him at laſt by ſea from *Caietta*, the Seneſhall of *Beucaire*, by whom were declared many hopes of the victory, in caſe his Maieſtie did not deferre to ſend a ſufficient ſuccour: as on the contrary, that the affaires being abandoned, it could not long be ſuſtained. To theſe were ioyned the fauourable perſwaſions of many the great Lords of *France*, euen ſuch as afore had giuen counſell againſt the enterpriſe of *Italy*; they aduiſed the King to giue a new life to that expedition, to auoide the diſhonour that would fall vpon the Crowne of *France*, to loſe ſo cowardly that which they had conquered, but much more to preuent the ſpoile of ſo great a part of the Nobilitie, as lay open to deſtruction in the Realme of *Naples*. Theſe counſels were not hindered by the emotions which the King of *Spaine* made on the frontier of *Parpignian*; for that the preparations being greater in bruite then in effect, and the forces of that King more mightie to defend his proper Realmes, then meete for the inuaſion of another, it was iudged ſufficient to ſend to *Narbonne* and other townes vpon the frontiers of *Spaine*, bands of men at armes with conuenient companies of *Swiſſers*. Then the Lords and men of marke, which were found at the Court, being aſſembled in councell by the King, it was determined, That *Triuulce* ſhould returne to *Aſt* with as much diligence as he could, vnder the title of the Kings Lieutenant, leading with him eight hundred lances, two thouſand *Swiſſers*, and two thouſand *Gaſcoines*: That after him the Duke of *Orleans* ſhould paſſe the Mounts with other bands: And laſtly ſhould march the Kings perſon with all other prouiſions; and paſſing with a power royall, there was no doubt but the States of the Duke of *Sauoy*, of the Marquis of *Montferrat* and *Saluce*, (very fit inſtruments to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Millan*) would be for him: and alſo it was beleeued, that except the Canton of *Berne*, who had promiſed the Duke of *Millan* not to moue againſt him, all the other *Swiſſers* would reſort to the Kings pay with great readineſſe. Theſe reſolutions were made with conſents ſo much the more general, by how much was great the deſire of his Maieſtie, who afore they entred into councell, had much coniured the Duke of *Bourbon* to ſet forth with vehement and liuely ſpeeches, how reaſonable and neceſſary it were to make a ſtrong warre: and of himſelfe in open councell, with the ſame affection he refuted the Admirall, who (not ſo much in impugning directly, as propounding many difficulties) aſſayed to qualifie indirectly the wils of the Councell, hauing but a few fauourers of his opinion: and ſo the King aſſured them publickly that it was not in his power to make other reſolution, for that ſuch was the will of God that he ſhould in perſon march eſtſoones into *Italy*. It was decreed in the ſame Councell, that a nauie of thirtie ſhips (whereof was one moſt huge carricke called the *Norman*, and another great carricke of the region of the *Rhodes*) ſhould paſſe along the coaſt of the Ocean into the hauens of *Prouence*, where ſhould be armed thirtie galleys and gallions with a mightie ſuccour of men, money, munition and victuals for the ſeruice of *Naples*; and neuertheleſſe that without ſtaying vntill this nauie could be digeſted into order, there ſhould be ſent forthwith certaine veſſels charged with victuals and ſouldiers. Beſides all theſe things, it was ordained that *Rigault* the Kings Steward ſhould go to *Millan*, for that the Duke (notwithſtanding he had not deliuered the two carricks, nor ſuffered to rig a nauie for the King at *Genes*, but onely reſtored the veſſels taken at *Rapale*, and not the twelue galleys reſtrained in the port of *Genes*) laboured to excuſe himſelfe vpon the diſobedience of the *Genoways*, and had alwayes with ſundry practiſes entertained ſome of his people about the King, to whom he had newly ſent *Anthonie Maria Paluoiſin*, both to aſſure his Maieſtie that he was diſpoſed to obſerue the accord paſt, and to demaund prolongation of terme to pay to the Duke of *Orleans* the fiftie thouſand duckats promiſed in the ſame accord. Of which deceits and ſubtilties albeit

The French king determineth to ſend Triuulce into Italy as his Lieutenant.

albeit he reaped but a very litle fruite, the King being well informed of his intention, as well by the examples of his actions paſt, as for that by his letters and inſtructions which were ſurpriſed, it came to light that he ſtirred vp with continuall ſolicitation the Emperour and the King of *Spaine* to make warre in *France*; yet hoping that feare perhaps would induce him to things whereunto his will was eſtranged, *Rigault* was charged, that (without ſpeaking of the diſobedience paſt) he ſhould ſignifie to him that it was in his power to deface the memory of offences, in beginning to obſerue, as to reſtore the galleys, to deliuer the carricks, and by giuing ſufferance to arme a nauie at *Genes*: and that he ſhould adde to theſe aduertiſements, that the King was determined to returne into *Italy* in perſon, which ſhould be to his great harmes, if whileſt he was offered the meanes, he would not reenter into that amitie, whereof his Maieſtie was perſwaded that he had vndiſcreetly made ſmall account, rather by vaine ſuſpitions, then for any other reaſon.

Now the bruite of theſe great prouiſions being come into *Italy*, much troubled the minds of the Confederates; but aboue all *Lodowike Sforce*, ſtanding in the mouth of the danger, and to be the firſt oppoſed to the fury of the enemy, ſuffered no leſſe perplexities then the conſideration of his perill required, ſpecially vnderſtanding that ſince the departure of *Rigault*, the King had diſmiſſed all his agents with rough words and auſtere countenance. By reaſon whereof, conſidering well the greatneſſe of the danger, and that the whole force of the warre would fall vpon his Eſtate, he had eaſily accorded to the Kings demands, had it not bene for the guilt of conſcience for the offences he had made him, the ſame cauſing on all ſides ſuch a diſtruſt, that it ſeemed more hard to find a meanes to aſſure both the one and the other, then not to accord to the articles: for taking from the ſuretie of the one, that which was conſented to aſſure the other, none would referre to the faith of another, that which the other refuſed to referre to his owne. So that neceſſitie compelling *Lodowike* to take the counſell that to him was moſt grieuous, he thought (at leaſt to make ſlow his dangers) to entertaine *Rigault* with the ſame cunnings which he had vſed to that preſent; aſſuring him with great firmneſſe, that he would bring the *Genoways* to obey, whenſoeuer the King would giue in the Citie of *Auignion* ſufficient ſecuritie for the reſtitution of the ſhips, and that both parties would promiſe (giuing mutually hoſtages for all obſeruation) not to enterpriſe any thing preiudiciall one to the other: which practiſe continuing many dayes, had laſtly for many cauillations and difficulties which hapned on the ſudden, the ſame effect which others had had before. But *Lodowike*, not to waſte time vnprofitably, diſpatched during theſe reaſonings Ambaſſadors to the Emperor, to induce him to paſſe into *Italy* with the aide of him and the *Venetians*, to whom alſo he ſent meſſengers, to require that Senate (to the end to prouide for the common perill) to contribute to that charge, and to ſend into *Alexandria* a ſufficient proportion of forces to make head againſt the *French*; which they offered very readily to do: but they ſhewed not ſuch facilitie to aſſiſt the paſſage of the Emperour, bearing litle friendſhip to their commonweale in reſpect of thoſe peeces which they poſſeſſed in the firme land appertaining to the Empire and houſe of *Auſtrich*: neither were they content, that at a common expence, ſhould paſſe into *Italy* an army, which ſhould wholly depend vpon *Lodowike*. Notwithſtanding *Lodowike* continuing ſtill to ſolicite and make inſtance, for that beſides the other reaſons that moued him, the onely forces of the *Venetians* in the ſtate of *Millan* were ſuſpected to him: the Senate alſo fearing leſt he, in whom they knew was no litle feare, would ſuddenly draw to reconcilement with the *French* King, gaue in the end their conſents, and for the ſame occaſion ſent Ambaſſadours to the Emperour. Beſides theſe coniectures, the *Venetians* and the Duke feared leſt the *Florentines*, as ſoone as the King were paſſed the Mounts, would make ſome inſurrection in the riuer of *Genes*; and for this cauſe they ſent to *Iohn Bentiuole*, to the end that with three hundred men at armes (with whom he was entertained in the pay of the Confederates) he ſhould make warre vpon the *Florentines* in the frontier of the countrey of *Bologna*, promiſing that at the ſame time they ſhould be vexed by the *Siennoys*, and by the men that were in *Piſa*, and offered him to be bound, that if he tooke the towne of *Piſtoya*, to keepe it for him: wherein albeit *Bentiuole* gaue them hope, yet his mind was farre remoued from that ſeruice; and fearing the coming of the *French*, he ſent ſecretly to the King, to excuſe himſelfe for matters paſt, vpon the neceſſitie of the place wherein *Bologna* was ſeated, and to offer a good will to depend vpon his Maieſtie hereafter, and for his ſake to abſtaine from vexing the *Florentines*. But the will of the King (albeit very forward) was not ſuf-

ficient to put in execution the things reſolued on, although as well for his honour, as for the dangers of the kingdome of *Naples*, there needed a moſt ready expedition. For the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, in whoſe direction (beſides the managing of the treaſure) reſted the ſubſtance of the whole gouernment, albeit he impugned not theſe doings apparently, yet he made ſo ſlow all expeditions, by delaying the neceſſary paiments, that not one prouiſion was aduanced in due time: and it was thought that he did thus, either for that he iudged it was a better meanes to perpetuate his greatneſſe, (making no expence but ſuch as appertained either to the preſent profite or to the pleaſures of the King) not to haue occaſion to propound euery day the difficulties of the affaires and neceſſities of money; or elſe for that (as many doubted) being corrupted with preſents and promiſes, he had ſecret intelligence with the Pope, or with the Duke of *Millan*: To which dilatory and iealous dealings, the expreſſe commandements of the King full of diſdaine and reprochfull words, could giue no remedy; for that according to the experience he had of his nature, he ſatisfied him alwayes with promiſes contrary to the effects. In ſo much as the execution of things determined, hauing bene begun to be lingred by his meanes, there hapned an accident, whereby they became more ſubiect to delayes, and almoſt deſperate altogether. For the King in the end of May, and when was generall expectation of his ſpeedie paſſage into *Italy*, determined to go to *Paris*, alledging theſe reaſons, that following the cuſtome of the ancient Kings of *France*, it was neceſſary afore he parted out of *France*, to take leaue of *S. Denis* with all the ceremonies vſuall, and likewiſe of *S. Martin* in paſſing by *Tours*: and that being determined to march into *Italy* with a great prouiſion of money, it was needfull (to auoide the neceſſities wherein he had fallen the yeare before) that he induced the other Cities of *France* to contribution by the example of *Paris*, by whom he ſhould not obtaine that he deſired, vnleſſe he went thither in perſon: alſo that being in thoſe quarters, he ſhould cauſe to march in greater diligence the men at armes that came from *Normandie* and *Picardie*: and he aſſured them, that afore he departed from *Lyons*, he would diſpatch the Duke of *Orleans*, and that he would returne thither againe within one moneth. But it was ſuppoſed, that the moſt true and principall cauſe of his going, was for that he was amorous of one of the Ladies of the Queenes chamber, the Queene being gone a litle before to *Tours* with her Court: wherein he was ſo reſolute, that neither the counſels of his people, nor the importunate prayers and almoſt teares of the *Italians*, could withdraw him from this determination: who ſhewed him, how hurtfull it would be to waſte time proper for the warre, ſpecially in ſo great a neceſſitie of his people in the kingdome of *Naples*; and to what ſlander he ſhould be ſubiect throughout all *Italy*, to haue drawne backe when he ought to haue gone forward: That the reputation of enterpriſes changed for euery litle accident and light bruite: and that it was very hard to recouer it, after it began once to decline, yea though he ſhould happen afterwards to do greater things then afore men did promiſe themſelues. Theſe perſwaſions by him litle regarded, after he had yet taried a moneth longer at *Lyons*, he tooke his way to go to *Tours*, not hauing otherwaies diſpatched the Duke of *Orleans*, then only ſending *Triuulce* into *Aſt* with a very ſlender companie, not ſo much prouided for the warres, as inſtructed to confirme in his friendſhip and deuotion, *Philip* newly ſucceeded to the Duchie of *Sauoy* by the death of the Duke his Nephew. And thus all that was done afore his departure, touching the prouiſion for *Naples*, was the diſpatch of ſixe ſhips loaden with victuals to *Caietta*, carrying many hopes that the maine army ſhould follow with ſpeed: and to take order with the Merchants (but very late) to aduance fortie thouſand duckats to *Montpenſier*, to whom the *Swiſſers* and Lanceknights had proteſted, that if they were not payed before the end of Iune, they would paſſe to the campe of the enemy. The Duke of *Orleans*, the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, and all the Councell, remained at *Lyons*, with commiſſion to haſten the prouiſions; wherein if the Cardinall proceeded ſlowly in the preſence of the King, it was nothing to the lingring he vſed in his abſence.

But the affaires of *Naples* could no more attend ſuch ſlow remedies, the warre being drawne into ſuch termes (both for the aſſembly of armed bands on each ſide, and many difficulties diſcloſed by both the parties) that of neceſſitie, without longer delayes, the warre muſt determine. Vnderſtand then that *Ferdinand* after he had ioyned to him the bands of the *Venetians*, he tooke the towne of *Caſtelfranke*; and that there arriued at his campe accompanied with two hundred men at armes, *Iohn Sforce* Lord of *Peſere*, and *Iohn Gonſague* brother to the Marquis of *Mantua*, Captaines of the Confederates; in ſo much as the whole number of his campe amounted

ted to twelue hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen: and at the ſame time the *French* men were incamped at *Circelle* ten miles from *Beneuent*, towards whom *Ferdinand* marched, and approching them within foure miles, he pitched his campe before *Frangette de Montfort*, a place of ſo good prouiſion, that it was not taken at the firſt aſſault. The *French* raiſed their campe from *Circelle* to reſcue it, but they came not in time, for that the Lanceknights which were within yeelded themſelues for feare of the ſecond aſſault, and left the place to diſcretion: which occaſion knowne to the *French*, had bene the cauſe of their felicitie, if either by indiſcretion or ill fortune they had not ſuffered it to be loſt: for (as was confeſſed generally) they might that day haue eaſily broke the whole army of the enemy, ſo vniuerſally confuſed in the ſack of *Frangette*, that they gaue no regard to the directions of the Captaines, who ſeeing no other diſtance betweene the *French* and them then a valley, laboured with all diligence to reaſſemble them. *Montpenſier* ſaw well enough into the occaſion, and *Theſeus* was not ignorant in the oportunitie offered, the one commanding, and the other perſwading the victory to be certaine, deſired with teares in their eyes, to march ouer the valley, whileſt in the campe of the *Italians* all things were in tumult, ſome of the ſouldiers buſie in the pillage, and ſome labouring to packe away the things they had pilled, none hearkening to the command of his Captaine. But *Monſieur de Perſie* one of the chiefe of the army next to *Monſieur Montpenſier*, ouer-ruled either with the naturall lightneſſe of a yong man, or elſe (as it was rather thought) enuying the glory of the Duke *Montpenſier*, perſwaded vehemently againſt the paſſage ouer the valley, alledging that they ſhould riſe euen vnder the feete of the enemy; which weighed with the ſtrong ſituation of their campe, he made an argument to the ſouldiers of no ſmall danger, and therefore wiſhing openly that they ſhould not fight, he was the onely hinderer of ſo good a counſell: and likewiſe it was beleeued that the *Swiſſers* and Lanceknights receiuing courage by him, drew into mutinie, and demanded money. For this cauſe *Montpenſier* being compelled to retire, returned to *Circelle*, where, as they gaue the aſſault the day following, *Camilla Vitelli* (whileſt about the walls he did the office of an excellent Captaine) was ſtriken in the head with a quarrell, whereof he died: for which accident the *French* men leauing the inuaſion of the place, brake vp from thence, and marched towards *Arriana*, diſpoſed neuertheleſſe to aſſay the hazard of battell if occaſion were offered: to which reſolution was flat contrary the counſell of the army of the *Aragons*, with whom ſpecially the Commiſſioners of the *Venetians* conſented in opinion; for that ſeeing the enemies began to want victuals, and that they were without money, and perceiuing that the ſuccours out of *France* came forward very ſlowly, they hoped that their miſaduentures and neceſſities would dayly grow and increaſe, and that they would be ſubiect to as great diſpleaſures in other parts of the kingdome: for that in *Abruzze*, *Annibal* naturall ſonne to the Lord of *Camerin*, being voluntarily gone to the ſuccours of *Ferdinand*, with foure hundred horſemen leuied at his proper charges, had newly broken the army of the Marquis of *Bitonte*: beſides there was expectation of the coming of the Duke of *Vrbin* with three hundred men at armes lately entred into the pay of the Confederates, whoſe fortune and greater conditions hauing determined to follow, he had abandoned the alliance of the *Florentines* (to whom he was yet bound for more then a yeare) vnder this excuſe, that being feodary of the Church, he might not diſobey the commandements of the Pope: And *Gratiano d'Aguerre*, who had taken the field to encounter him, was charged in the plaine of *Sermone* by the Count of *Selane* and the Count *de Popoli*, with three hundred horſemen and three thouſand footmen, whom he put to flight. But with the loſſe of the occaſion of the victory about *Frangette*, the fortune alſo of the *French* began manifeſtly to decline, concurring againſt them at one time almoſt infinite difficulties, as extreme want of money, ſcarcitie of victuals, hate of the people, diſagreement of the Captaines, diſobedience of ſouldiers, and the ſtealing away of many from the campe, partly by neceſſitie, and partly by will. Alſo they had no meanes to draw out of the kingdome any great proportion of money, neither had they receiued from *France* any ſumme notable, ſeeing that the fortie thouſand ducats leuied for their reliefe, were too late ſent from *Florence*: in ſo much as no leſſe for that cauſe, then for the neighbourhood of many townes ſupported by the army of the enemy, they could not raiſe prouiſions neceſſary for their food and ſuſtenance: and in their army was nothing but diſorder, as well for that the courages of the ſouldiers were abated, as for that the *Swiſſers* and Lanceknights drawing into tumult, demanded importunately their payes: and touching the diſcord of the Captaines, that which

Camilla Vitelli ſlaine.

The French begin to decline in Naples.

moſt hurt all their deliberations, was the continuall contradiction of *Perſie* againſt *Montpenſier*. To be ſhort, ſuch were their neceſſities and diſorders, that the Prince of *Biſignian* was compelled to depart with his people to go to the guard of his owne eſtate, for feare of the bands of *Gonſalue*, by whoſe example the particular ſouldiers of the countrey abandoned the campe by troupes, wherein they had reaſon; for beſides that they neuer receiued pay, the *French* and *Swiſſers* vſed them very ill, as well in the diuiſion of booties, as in diſtribution of victuals. Theſe difficulties, but chiefly the extreme want of victuals, conſtrained the *French* army by litle and litle to retire and wander from one place to another, which diminiſhed greatly their reputation with the people: And albeit the enemies followed them continually, yet they had no hope to be able to fight, as was ſpecially deſired by *Montpenſier* and *Virginio*: for that not to be enforced to battell, they incamped alwayes in places of ſtrength, and where no impediment could be giuen to their commodities, with whom *Philip Roſſe* a Captaine of the *Venetians*, going to ioyne himſelfe with a company of an hundred men at armes, was defeated by the ſouldiers of the Preſect of *Rome*. At laſt, the *French* being lodged vnder *Montcaluole* and *Caſalarbore* neare to *Arriana*, *Ferdinand* approching them within the ſhot of a croſſebow (but alwayes keeping him in ſtrong places) brought them into great neceſſitie of victuals, taking from them in like ſort the vſe of freſh water. For which cauſe they thought it beſt to draw towards *Powilla*, where they hoped to find commoditie of victuals; and fearing, by reaſon of the nearneſſe of the enemies, the difficulties that ordinarily do follow armies that retire, they raiſed their campe in the beginning of the night, not making any bruite to bewray their going, and marched fiue and twentie miles afore they reſted. *Ferdinand* followed them in the morning, but deſpairing to be able to ouertake them, he incamped before *Geſualdo*, which towne hauing heretofore ſuſtained a ſiege of fourteene moneths, was now taken by him in one day, a thing which greatly deceiued the *French*; for that determining to put themſelues within *Venouſa*, a towne ſtrong by ſituation, and moſt plentifull with victuals, the opinion they had that *Ferdinand* could not ſo eaſily take *Geſualdo*, was the cauſe that they amuſed themſelues about the ſacke of *Atella* which they had taken; and for the time they loſt there, afore their departure they found the army of *Ferdinand* at their backes, who as ſoone as he had taken *Geſualdo*, came forward apace: and albeit they repulſed diuers ſcouts and fore-riders, yet ſeeing the maine army march after with ſuch ſpeed, as they had no meanes to recouer *Venouſa* which was eight miles diſtant, they remained in the towne of *Atella*, with intention to expect if ſuccours would come from ſome part, hoping for the nearneſſe of *Venouſa* and many other peeces thereabout holding yet for them, to receiue the commoditie of victuals. *Ferdinand* with ſpeed incamped before *Atella*, labouring onely (for the hope he had to obtaine the victory without perill and bloud) to cut them from victuals: for the better aduancement whereof, he caſt many trenches about *Atella*, and loſt no oportunitie to make himſelfe maiſter of the places adioyning, forgetting no diligence, trauell, or action of a Captaine politicke and valiant: and the difficulties of the *French* made euery day all things more eaſie to him, for that the Lance-knights hauing receiued but two moneths pay ſince they departed from their houſes, and ſeeing all the dayes and termes appointed for their pay paſt with vaine expectation, they went to the campe of *Ferdinand*: inſomuch that hauing meanes ſo much the more to grieue the enemy, and to enlarge his army with more ſcope, he ſuffered a more hard paſſage of victuals which came from *Venouſa* and other places about *Atella*, wherein was not refreſhing ſufficient to feed the *French* numbers a very few dayes: for the corne bare a very ſcant proportion, and alſo the *Aragons* had pluckt downe a mill ſtanding vpon the riuer which runneth neare to the wals, whereby they wanted meanes to turne their litle ſtore of corne into meale: neither were their diſcommodities preſent, recomforted by hoping in any good to come, ſeeing that from no part appeared ſo much as any ſigne of ſuccours.

Mercenarie ſouldiers for the moſt part vnfaithfull.

But the cauſe of their full ruine, was the misfortune that fell in *Calabria*. For by occaſion of the ſickneſſe of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, (for which cauſe many of his people went to the armie of *Montpenſier*) *Gonſalue* hauing taken many peeces in that Prouince, incamping at laſt with his *Spaniſh* bands and many ſouldiers of the countrey, at *Caſtrouillare*; where hauing aduertiſement that the Count *Melete*, and *Albert de S. Seuerin*, with many other Barons were at *Laine* with bands of ſouldiers almoſt equall to his, and that increaſing their numbers dayly, they purpoſed to aſſaile him when their whole ſtrength was aſſembled; he determined to preuent them, hoping to ſurpriſe them vnprouided, by the confidence they had in the ſituation of the place, the

The declination of the French in the kingdom of Naples.

the Caſtle of *Laine* ſtanding vpon the riuer *Sapry*, which diuideth *Calabria* from the principalitie: and the borough is on the other ſide of the riuer, wherein being intrenched, they were guarded by the Caſtle againſt all inuaſions by the high way: and betweene *Laine* and *Caſtrouillare*, was *Murana*, with certaine other peeces of the Prince of *Biſignian* which held for them. But *Gonſaluo* with a counſell all contrary, departed a litle before night from *Caſtrouillare*, accompanied with all his bands, and leauing the high way, he tooke the large way, notwithſtanding it was both more long and hard, for that he was to march by certaine mountaines; and being arriued neare the riuer, he commanded the footmen to take the way to the bridge, which is betweene the Caſtell of *Laine* and the borough, which bridge was but negligently guarded for the opinion of the ſuretie of the place: and himſelfe with his horſemen paſſing the riuer at a foord two miles higher, was at the borough before day, where finding the enemies without watch and guard, he brake them in a moment, ſleeping in the ſecuritie of the place; and made priſoners eleuen Barons, and almoſt all the ſouldiers, for that flying to the Caſtle, they fell amongſt the footmen, which now were poſſeſt of the paſſage of the bridge. By this honorable victory, being the firſt which *Gonſaluo* had got in the kingdome of *Naples*, his ſtrength was ſo increaſed, that when he had recouered certaine other places in *Calabria*, he determined with ſixe thouſand men to go and ioyne with the campe of *Ferdinand*, which was before *Atella*: and in that campe was arriued a litle before, an hundred men at armes of the Duke of *Candia*, Captaine of the Confederates, but himſelfe with the reſidue of his bands remained in the Citie of *Rome*. Thus by the coming of *Gonſaluo* (cauſed by the ſurpriſe of thoſe which were for the *French* in *Calabria*) they that were beſieged were brought into hard ſtraights, their towne being enuironed on three ſides, the *Aragons* occupying one, the *Venetians* another, and the *Spaniards* the third; in ſo much that there was almoſt left no entry for victuals, ſpecially the *Venetian* ſtradiots running ouer the whole countrey, and taking many *French* men which brought reliefe from *Venouſa*: and they alſo that were within, had no meanes to go on foraging, but at houres extraordinary, and that with a ſtrong guard. Furthermore, *Paul Vitelli* making a ſalley at midday, with an hundred men at armes, was drawne by the Marquis of *Mantua* into an ambuſh, where he loſt part of his company. And being thus depriued of all commodities without, they were at laſt reduced to that extremitie, that they could not with guard and ſtrength ſerue their vſe of the riuer to water their horſes: and within the towne their neceſſities were no leſſe for freſh water, for the refreſhing of their perſons: ſo that being oppreſſed with ſo many aduerſities, and abandoned of all hopes, after they had endured the ſiege two and thirtie dayes, and being now left to the laſt remedy in warre, they demanded a ſafe conduct, which was granted; vnder the protection whereof, they ſent to capitulate with *Ferdinand*, *Monſieur de Perſie*, *Bartholomew d'Alniano*, and one of the *Swiſſer* Captaines; amongſt whom were agreed theſe couenants following: That there ſhould be no enterpriſe attempted by either part one vpon another for thirtie dayes: That during that time, not one of the beſieged (to whom ſhould be miniſtred day by day by the *Aragons* neceſſary victuals) ſhould depart out of *Atella*: That *Montpenſier* ſhould be ſuffered to aduertiſe his King of the accord: That if he were not reſcued within the ſaid terme of thirtie dayes, he ſhould leaue *Atella*, and all that he had in his power in the kingdome of *Naples*, together with all the artilleries that were there: That the ſouldiers ſhould be in ſafetie for their perſons and iewels, and with them it ſhould be lawfull to euery one to go into *France*, either by land or ſea; and to the *Vrſins* and other *Italian* Captaines, to returne with their bands whither they would out of the kingdome: That to the Barons and others, which had followed the faction of the *French*, (in caſe they would returne to *Ferdinand* within fifteene dayes) all puniſhments ſhould be remitted, and reſtitution of all the goods they poſſeſſed when the warre began. The terme of this abſtinence expired, *Monſieur Montpenſier* with all the *French*, and many *Swiſſers*, together with the *Vrſins*, were conducted to the ſea caſtle of *Stabby*, where they began to diſpute, if *Montpenſier* as Lieutenant generall vnder his King, and by that meanes aboue all others, were bound (as *Ferdinand* ſaid) to cauſe to be rendred all that was poſſeſſed in the kingdome of *Naples*, in the name of the *French* King; for that *Monſieur Montpenſier* pretended, that he was bound to no more then was in his owne power to render, and that his authoritie ſtretched not to command other Captaines and Caſtle-keepers which were in *Calabria*, *Abruzze*, *Caietta*, and many other townes and peeces which the King had giuen them in charge, and not him. The argument being trauerſed by many reaſons on both ſides for certaine dayes, they were at laſt conducted

Gonſaluo ſurpriſeth the French.

The French ſend to capitulate with Ferdinand.

ducted to *Baia*, *Ferdinand* making ſemblance that he would let them go: and there (vnder colour that the veſſels wherein they ſhould be embarked, were not yet ready) they were ſo long retained, that being diſperſed betweene *Baia* and *Puzzola*, they fell into ſuch diſeaſes by the ill aire and many other diſcommodities, that both *Monſieur Montpenſier* died, and of the reſidue of his company which were more then fiue thouſand bodies, there ſcarce returned into *France* ſafe and ſound, fiue hundred. *Virginio* and *Paul Vrſin* (at the requeſt of the Pope, who was now determined to take from that family their Eſtates) were ſent priſoners to the Egge caſtle, and their companies conducted by *Iohn Iordan* ſonne to *Virginio*, and *Bartholomew d'Aluiano*, were alſo by the appointment of the Pope, ſtripped in *Abruzze* by the Duke of *Vrbin*: *Iohn Iordan* alſo and *Aluiano*, leauing their people in the way, and returning to *Naples* by the commandement of *Ferdinand*, were made priſoners: but *Aluiano*, either by his induſtry, or by the ſecret ſufferance of *Ferdinand*, (who loued him much) had meanes to eſcape. Now after *Ferdinand* had taken *Atella*, he made diuiſion of his army into many parts, for the more eaſie recouering of the reſidue of the kingdome: he ſent before *Caietta*, *Federike* of *Aragon*, and *Proſper Colonne*: and to *Abruzze*, where the towne of *Aquila* was already reuolted to his deuotion, he diſpatched *Fabrice Colonne*: and himſelfe hauing taken by force the rocke of Saint *Seuerin*, and cut off the heads of the Caſtle-keeper and his ſonne, the more to terrifie others, went to encampe before *Salerna*, where the Prince of *Biſignian* had parley with him, and compounded for himſelfe, for the Prince of *Salerne*, for the Count of *Cappacie*, and for certaine other Barons, with condition that they ſhould remaine poſſeſſed of their Eſtates, but that *Ferdinand* for his ſuretie ſhould keepe in his hands the fortreſſes for a certaine time; which accord being made, they went to *Naples*. In *Abruzze* was not made any great reſiſtance, for that *Graciano*, who was there with eight hundred horſemen, hauing no more meanes of defence, retired to *Caietta*. Into *Calabria*, of which the greateſt quantitie held yet for the *French*, returned *Gonſaluo*, againſt whom, albeit *Monſieur d'Aubigny* made ſome reſiſtance, yet being in the end driuen to take *Groppoly*, after he had loſt *Manfredonie* and *Coſenſa*, which had bene ſacked before by the *French*: and laſtly, ſeeing himſelfe naked of all hopes, he conſented to deliuer vp all *Calabria*, and was permitted to returne by land into *France*.

Montpenſier dieth.

Virginio Vrſin priſoner.

The Prince of Biſignian compoundeth for himſelfe and others.

Monſieur d'Aubigny conſents to depart the kingdome of Naples.

It is certaine, that many of theſe things happened by the negligence and indiſcretion of the *French*: for albeit *Manfredonia* was ſtrong, and ſeated in a fertile countrey, full of plentifull meanes for prouiſion of victuals, and that the King had left for the guard of it *Gabriel Monſalcon*, eſteemed a Captaine valiant; yet after it had endured ſiege for certaine dayes, he was conſtrained to render it for famine: and there were alſo other peeces, of good abilitie to defend themſelues, which either for feare, or for impatience of the incommodities which ſuch muſt ſuffer that are beſieged, yeelded themſelues: and ſome Caſtle-keepers finding their rocks well prouided for, ſold the victuals at their firſt entry; ſo that as ſoone as the enemy appeared, they were conſtrained to yeeld at the firſt ſummons. By theſe diſorders, the *French* loſt in the kingdome of *Naples* that reputation which the vertue of that man had wonne vnto them, who holding many yeares after the victory of *Ferdinand*, the Caſtle of the Egge, which *Iohn* of *Anion* had left in his charge, could neuer be brought to render it, but by compulſion of victuals altogether conſumed. Thus no more remaining for the recouery of the whole Realme, then *Tarenta* and *Caietta*, with other peeces holden by *Charles de Sanguin*: and *Mont ſaint Ange* kept by *Dom Iulian de Lorraine*, who with great merite and praiſe, made his vertue knowne in all the places thereabouts: it happened that *Ferdinand*, raiſed into great glory and great hopes to be equall in greatneſſe with his predeceſſors, went to *Somme*, a towne ſeated at the foote of the hill *Veſuue*, to ſee the Queene his wife, where he became very ſicke, either for his trauels paſt, or by new exceſſiue diſorders: and feeling by his diſpoſition no hope of recouery, he cauſed himſelfe to be carried to *Naples*, where he died not many dayes after, ſomewhat before the end of the yeare after the death of his father King *Alphonſo*. He left behind him, not onely in all his kingdome, but alſo through all *Italy*, a ſingular opinion of his valour, as well for the victory obtained, as for his noble ſpirit, and many other royal vertues, which did not meanly ſhine in him. He died without iſſue, and therefore his vnkle *Dom Federike* ſucceeded him, being the fift King that ſucceeded in that kingdome within the ſpace of three yeares.

Ferdinand dieth.

As ſoone as *Federike* was aduertiſed of the death of his Nephew, he raiſed his ſiege from before *Caietta*, and went to *Naples*, where was the old Queene his mother in law, who put into his hands

hands New caſtle, albeit many were of opinion that ſhe would retaine it for her brother *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*. In this accident were moſt ſingular towards *Federike*, not onely the wils of the people of *Naples*, but alſo of the Princes of *Salerne* and of *Biſignian*, and of the Count *Cappacie*, who were the firſt that proclaimed his name within *Naples*, and going to meete him, ſaluted him as King at his deſcending from the ſhip: as farre better content with him then with the laſt King, for the mildneſſe of his ſpirit, and for that they were already entred into great iealouſie, that *Ferdinand* (as ſoone as his affaires were better ſetled) had intention to purſue with all extremitie thoſe that in any ſort had bene fauourers of the *French*; and therefore *Federike* to reconcile them fully to himſelfe, gaue to euery one their Caſtles freely, with great commendations. But theſe confuſions and diſorders hapning with ſo great diſhonour and ſo great detriment, had no power to ſtirre vp the Kings ſpirits, nor to haſten his prouiſions; who ſtanding intangled with the delights and pleaſures of the Court, made it foure moneths afore he returned to *Lyons*. And albeit in the meane while he oftentimes recommended to ſuch as he had left there, the ſolicitation and diſparch of all prouiſions as well for ſea as land, and that the Duke of *Orleans* was prepared to depart; yet by the cunnings of the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, the men at armes which were ſlenderly paid, marched ſlowly towards *Italy*; and the nauie by ſea which was to be aſſembled at *Marſeilles*, aduanced ſo ſlackly, that the Confederates had leiſure enough to ſend firſt to *Ville Franche* a large hauen-neare to *Nice*, and afterwards euen to the roads of *Marſeilles*, an army by ſea leuied at their common charges at *Genes*, to giue impediments to the veſſels of *France* that were to go to the Realme of *Naples*. And to theſe great delayes, cauſed principally by the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, wiſe men doubted that there was ioyned ſome other cauſe more ſecret, entertained and nouriſhed in the Kings mind with ſingular art and diligence, by ſuch as with many reaſons laboured to turne him from the enterpriſes of *Italy*, for that they thought, that for his proper regard and intereſt, he ought to be iealous ouer the greatneſſe of the Duke of *Orleans*, on whom (if the victory ſucceeded) the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould fall. And they perſwaded him further, that it was not ſafe for him to go out of *France*, afore he had made ſome contract with the King and Queene of *Spaine*; who expreſſing a deſire to be reconciled, had ſent by Embaſſadours to his Maieſtie to make an offer of truce and other meanes of agreement. Many alſo counſelled him to tarry till the Queene was brought to bed, for that it agreed not with his wiſedome, nor with the loue he ought to beare to his peoples, to expoſe his perſon to ſo many perils, afore he had a ſonne and heire to ſo great a ſucceſſion: which was a reaſon that made the deliuery of the Queene more painfull, ſeeing that not many dayes after, the maſculine iſſue which God had giuen him, died. So that partly by the negligence and ſimple counſell of the King, and partly by the difficulties which others cunningly ſuggeſted, the prouiſions were ſo long delayed, that the ruine of his people followed, with the abſolute loſſe of the kingdome of *Naples*: and the like had hapned to his friends and confederates in *Italy*, if of themſelues they had not conſtantly defended their proper eſtates.

Federike made king of Naples

Negligence in the French king.

It hath bene ſhewed before, how for feare of the *French* prouiſions, and more for the contentment of *Lodowike Sforce*, then any thing agreeable to the *Venetians*, there was a plot laid to make paſſe into *Italy Maximilian Ceſar*, with whom whileſt that feare endured, it was agreed: That the *Venetians* ſhould giue *Lodowike* for three whole moneths twentie thouſand duckats for euery moneth, to the end he ſhould bring with him a certaine proportion of horſemen and footmen. Vpon the paſſing of which accord, *Lodowike* accompanied with the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, went to *Manza* (a place on the other ſide the Alpes, vpon the confines of *Almaine*) to communicate with his Maieſtie: where, after they had vſed great conference, *Lodowike* came backe againe the ſame day to *Bormy*, a towne of the Duchie of *Millan* on this ſide the Alpes; whither came *Maximilian* the day following, vnder colour of going on hunting: and after in that enterview of two dayes, they had ſet downe the time and maner of his marching into *Italy*, *Maximilian* returned into *Germanie* to ſolicite the execution of things that were contracted. But the bruite of the prouiſions of *France*, growing now ſo cold, that for that regard it ſeemed not neceſſary that the Emperour ſhould march: *Lodowike* determined to ſerue his ambition of that which afore he had procured for his proper ſuretie. He continued then to ſolicite him to deſcend into *Italy*; and foraſmuch as the *Venetians* would not be concurrant in the promiſe of thirtie thouſand duckats which he demanded ouer and aboue the threeſcore thouſand that were accorded to him, he bound himſelfe to that demand. Inſomuch that in the end *Maximilian*

Lodowike will as well ſerue his turne of the Emperour for his ambition, as he had done of the French king in his neceſſitie.

milian paſſed into *Italy*, a litle afore the death of *Ferdinand*: of the which when he was aduertiſed, being neare to *Millan*, he entred into thoughts ſo to handle things, as by his meane the kingdome of *Naples* might come to *Iohn* the onely ſonne of the King of *Spaine*, and his ſonne in law. But being told by *Lodowike*, that in ſo doing he ſhould diſcontent all *Italy*, and be the cauſe to diſſolue the vnitie of the Confederates, and conſequently to make eaſie the purpoſes of the King of *France*, he did not onely giue ouer his firſt cogitation, but alſo fauoured, and ratified by letters the ſucceſſion of *Federike*. His deſcent into *Italy* was with a ſmall company of men, but he cauſed a bruite to runne, that there marched after the full number which he had promiſed. And being come to *Vigeuena*, where he ſoiourned, *Lodowike* and the Cardinall of *Santa Croce* (ſent vnto him as Legate by the Pope) together with the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, aſſembled with him in councell, to reſolue what were beſt to be done: and there it was thought moſt neceſſary that he ſhould march into *Piemont* to take the towne of *Aſt*, and ſeparate from the *French* King the Duke of *Sauoy* and the Marquis of *Montferrat*, as members depending of the Empire: to whom he addreſſed aduertiſements to come and ſpeake with him in ſome towne of *Piemont*. But his forces being contemptible, and by that occaſion the effects not anſwering the authoritie of the name Imperiall, not one of them conſented to go to him: and touching the enterpriſe of *Aſt*, there was no apparence that it ſhould happily ſucceed. He made the like inſtance to come to ſpeake with him, to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who vnder the name of Feodary of the Empire, poſſeſſed the townes of *Modena* and *Regge*; offering him for ſuretie, the faith of *Lodowike*, his ſonne in law; but he refuſed alſo to go to him, alledging that it ſtood not with his honour ſo to do, for that he held as yet in deputation the Caſtle of *Genes*. Finally, *Lodowike* (led ſtill with humors of his ancient couetouſneſſe, and no leſſe diſcontented that *Piſa* ſo ambitiouſly deſired of him, ſhould fall, with the danger of all *Italy*, into the power of the *Venetians*) ſought wonderfully to hinder ſuch a matter, and counſelled the Emperour to go to *Piſa*, perſwading him with diſcourſes full of deceits, that the *Florentines* being not ſtrong enough to reſiſt him and the ſtrength of the Confederates, would depart by neceſſitie from the alliance of the *French* King, and could not refuſe to referre the accord and arbitration of all their controuerſies to the perſon of *Maximilian*, to the end that if not by reconcilement, at leaſt by way of iuſtice, might be determined the differences betweene them and the *Piſans*; and that by this meanes *Piſa* ſhould be put into the hands of *Ceſar*, and all the appurtenances appertaining to it: whereunto he hoped by his authoritie to make the *Piſans* conſent; and that the *Venetians* (all the other Confederates agreeing thereto) would not oppoſe themſelues againſt a concluſion ſo conducible to the common benefite, and no leſſe iuſt and honeſt of it ſelfe. For *Piſa* being anciently a towne of the Empire, the reknowledging of the rights of ſuch as aſpired to it, appertained to no other then to *Ceſar*: and ſo being committed of truſt into the hands of *Ceſar*, *Lodowike* hoped that he ſhould eaſily come by it, either by money, or for the grace and authoritie which he had with him. This deuice was propounded in the Councell, vnder colour, that ſeeing for the preſent, the feare of the *French* warres ceaſſed, the comming of *Ceſar* might be vſed to induce the *Florentines* to knit with the other Confederates againſt the *French* King; a deuice pleaſing to *Maximilian*, who was not a litle diſcontented that his deſcending into *Italy* bred no effect; hoping withall, that where by reaſon of his infinite plots and inuentions, and no leſſe for his diſorders and vnbridled prodigalities, he had alwayes want of money, *Piſa* would be an inſtrument to gather ſome great quantitie, either of the *Florentines*, or others. The deuice alſo was approued by all the Confederates, as a thing very profitable for the ſuretie of *Italy*: and the Embaſſadour of *Venice* impugned it not, for that that Senate perceiuing well enough to what ends tended the thoughts of *Lodowike*, doubted not to beguile him eaſily, and hoped that by meanes of the preſence of *Ceſar*, might be gotten the hauen of *Liuorne*, which being vnited once to *Piſa*, the *Florentines* had no further hope euer to recouer that Citie.

Lodowike perſwades Ceſar to go to Piſa.

But you muſt vnderſtand, that the Confederates had afore many times made requeſt to the *Florentines* to vnite with them; and that at the times when moſt they feared the deſcending of the *French*, they gaue them hopes that they would be bound ſo to order things, that *Piſa* ſhould eſtſoones returne vnder their iuriſdiction: but the couetouſneſſe of the *Venetians* and *Lodowike* being ſuſpected to the *Florentines*, who would not lightly deuide themſelues from the amitie of the *French* King, they made no haſte to hearken to ſuch motions: and that which yet held them backe, was a hope to recouer by the coming of the *French* King, *Pietraſanta* and *Serezana*, which

which they could not expect by any working of the Confederates. But that which drew them quite away, was, that they weighing rather their owne merits, and that which they endured for the King, then his nature or his customes, promised to themselues by the meanes of his victory, not onely the Citie of *Pisa*, but almost all the residue of *Tuscane*: in which perswasion they were norished by the words of *Ierome Sauonarola*, who in his Sermons did continually foretel of many felicities and augmentation of impery appointed to that Commonweale after so many trauels and afflictions, together with most grieuous calamities to happen to the Court of *Rome*, & all the other Potentates of *Italy*: and albeit *Sauonarola* was not without his gainsayers, yet there was no litle faith giuen to his words; and many of the principall citizens, wherof, some of sinceritie, some by ambition, and some for feare adhered vnto him in such sort, that the *Florentines* being disposed to continue in the *French* amitie, the Confederates thought it not vnreasonable to labour to reduce them by force to that whereunto their wils were so estranged. They supposed the enterprise to inuade them, could not containe many difficulties, for that they were hated of all their neighbours, and had no expectation or hope of succours from the *French* King, who hauing abandoned the safetie of his owne people, it was very likely that he would faile others. Besides, their great expences for these three yeares, with so generall diminution of their reuenues, had so drained them, that it was not credible that they were able to sustaine so long trauels; seeing withall they had for this yeare past continually followed the warres against *Pisa*, wherein the accidents had bene diuers and notable, more for the resolution of courage shewed in many valiant acts and enterprises of warre by either part, and by the desperate obstinacie wherewith such things were done, then for any greatnesse of armies, and much lesse for the qualitie of places for the which they fought, being but villages and boroughs of small regard, and of themselues of no great consequence. For (to vse more large discourse) a litle after the Citadell was giuen to the *Pisans*, and afore the succours of *Venice* arriued there, the bands of *Florence* hauing taken the borough of *Butie*, and from thence incamped at *Calcy*, and before they tooke it, beginning (for their better suretie of victuals) to build a Bastillion vpon the mount of *Doloroſa*; the bands of footmen that were there for the guard of the place, were broken by their owne negligence, by the companies of the *Pisans*: and a litle after, as *Francisco Secco* was incamped with a great troupe of horsemen in the borough of *Butie* to see to the safe conuoy of victuals to *Hercules Bentiuole*, incamped with the footbands of the *Florentines* about the litle Castle of the hill *Verrucole*: he was so charged at vnawares by the footmen that came out of *Pisa*, that by the inconueniencie of the place to apply the seruice of his horsemen, he lost a great part of them. For which successe the affaires of *Pisa* seeming to rise increasing in fortune, and that with hope of greater prosperitie, for that the succours of the *Venetians* began to arriue; *Hercules Bentiuole* lodging in the borough of *Bientina*, hearing that *John Paul Manfron* Captaine of the *Venetians*, was with the first part of their companies come to *Vicopisan* which is two miles distant from *Bientina*, fained to haue feare, insomuch that presently he raised his companies and went into the field, and immediatly as soone as the *Venetian* bands were discouered, he retired againe into *Bientina*. But after he saw his enemy full of boldnesse and securitie, he trained him one day with great policie into an ambush, where he put him to the worst, with the losse of the most part of his companies, giuing him the chase euen to the wals of *Vicopisan*: and yet the victory was not in all points happie, for that *Francisco Secco*, come to the campe that morning to ioyne with *Hercules*, as they retired, was slaine with the shot of an Harquebuze. After these followed the other bands of the *Venetians*, amongst whom were eight hundred stradiots led by *Iustinian Morosin*: by whose coming the *Pisans* being now far superior, *Hercules Bentiuole* to whom the parts of the countrey were well knowne, neither willing to put himselfe in danger, nor altogether disposed to abandon the field, incamped in a very strong place, betweene the borough of *Pontadere* and the riuer of *Ere*: with the oportunitie of which place, he restrained much the violence of the enemy, who in all that time tooke no other place or peece then the borough of *Butie*, which yeelded to their discretion: and as they sent out their stradiots to make pillage of the countrey, three hundred of them running vp euen to *Valdere*, were charged and broken by certaine bands which *Hercules* sent after them. The *Florentines* were also in the same season vexed by them of *Sienna*, who by the occasion of the harmes they suffered in the countrey of *Pisa*, and at the incensing of the Confederates, sent to incampe afore the Bastillion of the bridge of *Valiane*, the Lord of *Plombin* and *John Sauelle*: but hearing that *Rainuce de Marciano* arriued with succours,

A wise Captaine looketh alwayes round about him.

they

they retired in great haſte from before the Baſtillion, leauing behind them one part of their artillery: by reaſon whereof the *Florentines* ſeeing themſelues aſſured on that ſide, cauſed *Rainuce* to turne his force to the quarter of *Piſa*: in ſo much that their ſtrength being almoſt equall, the warre was now brought to the boroughs of the hils; but for that they ſtood affected to the *Piſans*, things fell out more to the diſaduantage of the *Florentines*; for that the *Piſans* entring by intelligence into the borough of *Pont de Sat*, ſtripped a whole company of men at armes, and tooke priſoner *Lodowike Marciana*; yet they abandoned forthwith the ſaid borough for feare of the *Florentine* bands which were not farre off. And the better to command and gouerne the hils, which were of great importance to them, as well for the victuals brought from thence to *Piſa*, as for that they gaue impediments to the *Florentines* in the traffick of the hauen of *Liuorne*; they fortified the moſt part of thoſe boroughs, amongſt the which *Solana* was made noble by a caſuall accident. For the campe of the *Florentines* being marched thither with intention to take it the ſame day, and for that cauſe hauing ſpoiled all the paſſages of the riuer of *Caſcina*, and put their men at armes in battell vpon the banke, to cut off the ſuccours of the enemy; it happened that *Peter Capponi* a chiefe commander amongſt the *Florentines*, as he was about to plant the artilleries, was ſtriken in the head by a bullet out of the towne, whereof he died preſently: an end vnworthy of his vertue, as well for the ignobilitie of the place, as for the litle importance of ſuch an enterpriſe; and for this accident they raiſed the campe without attempting any further action. Beſides, the *Florentines* at that time were compelled to ſend bands of men into *Lunigiana* to ſuccor the Caſtle of *Verrucola*, which the Marquis of *Maleſpina* held beſieged by the aide of the *Genoways*; from whence he eaſily gaue them the chaſe: ſo the ſtrength of the *Piſans* was mightie for certaine moneths, for that beſides the townesmen and people of the countrey become warlike by long experience, the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan* had there many bands of horſemen and footmen, the *Venetian* numbers being greateſt: and it came to paſſe that the Dukes companies began to diminiſh becauſe they were not paid as appertained, therefore the *Venetians* ſent thither a new ſupply of an hundred men at armes, and ſixe gallies laden with proniſion of victuals, wherein they ſpared no neceſſary expences for the ſuretie of that Citie, the ſame hapning in good ſeaſon to winne and draw to them the affections of the *Piſans*, who euery day more and more eſtranged their minds from the Duke of *Millan*, as not content with his niggardize in the expence and prouiſion of things neceſſary, nor with his incertainties and variations, which were ſuch, as ſometimes he would be forward in the ſuccour of their affaires, and eſtſoones careleſſe and cold: in ſo much as beginning almoſt to doubt of his will, they layed this to his charge, that *Iohn Bentiuole* did not aduance to endomage the *Florentines* according to the commiſſion he had of the Confederates, the rather for that they knew he had failed him in a great part of his paiments, either through his couetouſneſſe, or elſe that the harmes of the *Florentines* were acceptable to him, but not their whole ruine. By meanes of which operations, he had layed of himſelfe (touching the ſtate of *Piſa*) foundations contrary to his chiefeſt ends and intentions, for the aduancement whereof he onely induced the Councell of the Confederates to determine that *Maximilian Ceſar* ſhould go to *Piſa*.

Peter Cappoui ſlaine.

The Piſans begin to diſclaim the Duke of Millan.

But now returning from whence we came: after it was reſolued that *Ceſar* ſhould march to *Piſa*, he diſpatched two Embaſſadours to *Florence*, to aduertiſe them, that by reaſon of an enterpriſe which he intended with a mightie army againſt the Infidels, he had iudged it an action chiefe and neceſſary, firſt to paſſe into *Italy*, to the end to pacifie and aſſure the controuerſies there, for which cauſe he exhorted the *Florentines* that they would communicate together with the other Confederates in the common defence of *Italy*, or at leaſt if they had another inclination, that they would make manifeſt their intention: That for the ſame occaſion, and for that it appertained to the authoritie Imperiall, he would know the controuerſies that were betweene them and the *Piſans*, requiring them, till he had taken knowledge of the reaſons of both the one and the other, that they would ſurceaſſe the warre, which he aſſured would not be refuſed by the *Piſans*, to whom he had imparted the like ſignifications: and he aſſured them with courteous and milde words, that he would be ready to adminiſter iuſtice indifferently. To which meſſage (receiuing the offers of the Emperour with reuerence and recommendation, and expreſſing no leſſe ſhewes of ſingular confidence in his iuſtice and pietie) was anſwered by the *Florentines*, that they would giue him particularly to vnderſtand of their intention by ſpeciall Embaſſadours to be addreſſed to his Maieſtie with ſpeed. But in the meane while the *Venetians* (not to leaue to

Ceſar ſends Embaſſadours to Florence.

Maximilian

Maximilian or the Duke of *Millan* any meanes to be maisters ouer *Pisa*) sent thither with consent of the *Pisans* a new supply of an hundred and fiftie men at armes, some stradiots, and a thousand footmen vnder the leading of *Annibal Bentiuole*, signifying to the Duke that they had sent those succours thither, for that their Commonweale, which loued to cherish free Cities, was vniuersally inclined to aide the *Pisans* to recouer their countrey, as indeed by the succour of those bands they went through with the recouery of almost all the boroughs of the hils. By reason of which benefites, and for the franke readinesse of the *Venetians* to gratifie their demands which were in great number, sometimes wanting men, sometimes lacking money, and most commonly suffering necessities of victuals and munitions, the will of the *Pisans* was become so conformable to the desires of the *Venetians*, that all that office of deuotion and confidence which they were wont to owe to the Duke of *Millan*, being now transported into them, they greatly desired that that Senate would continue their protectors and defenders: and yet they solicited the coming of *Cæsar*, in hope that what with the strength they had already within *Pisa*, and the bands which his Maiestie would leade with him, they should with more facilitie get *Liuorne*. On the other side the *Florentines*, who besides other incumbrances, were at that time pressed with a great scarcitie of victuals, were occupied with no small feares, being left alone to resist the power of so many Princes: for that in *Italy*, there would not rise one in their aide and fauour, and from their Embassadours in *France* they were certified by letters, that they could hope for no rescue from the King, to whom they had with great instance recommended their suite to be relieued in their great dangers, at least with some proportion of money. *Peter de Medicis* alone did not molest them, because it was an article in the councell of the Confederates, not to vse in this action either his name or his fauour, knowing by experience, that the *Florentines* for that feare, did the more increase their vnitie for the preseruation of their libertie. And *Ludowike Sforce*, vnder colour to be iealous of their safetie, but more discontented with the greatnesse of the *Venetians*, ceassed not to apply all his discourse of wit and perswasion, to induce them to referre all things to the arbitration of *Cæsar*, wherein he alledged many great and sensible dangers, and insinuated with arguments and reasons, that this was the only meanes to draw the *Venetians* from *Pisa*, and so consequently to accomplish their full reintegration; a thing very necessary for the peace of *Italy*, and for that cause desired by the King of *Spaine*, and all the other Confederates. But the *Florentines* not suffering themselues to be moued with these faire and deceitfull apparences, and much lesse amazed with the contemplation of so many dangers and difficulties, determined to make no declaration with *Cæsar*, neither to referre their rights to his arbitrement, if first they were not restored to the possession of *Pisa*, for that they were not assured either of his will or of his authoritie, being manifest that hauing not of himselfe any forces or money, he proceeded as it best seemed to the Duke of *Millan*: neither did they discerne in the *Venetians* any disposition or need to leaue *Pisa*. Therefore they prepared with a franke and liberall resolution of courage, to fortifie and refurnish *Liuorne* as well as they could, and to draw all their strength into the countrey of *Pisa*: and yet for that they would not appeare estranged from the peace, and labouring withall to appease *Cæsar*, they sent Embassadours, who found him at *Genes*, where he was then arriued. Their commission was (for answer of the things propounded by his Embassadours at *Florence*) to aduertise him and perswade him, that it was not necessary to proceed to any declaration, because for the reuerence they bare to his name, he might promise to himselfe of the Commonweale of *Florence*, euen as much as he would desire: and to beseech him to thinke, that for his most holy resolution to reduce *Italy* to peace, there was nothing more conuenient then immediatly to restore *Pisa* to the *Florentines*; for that it was the roote from whence sprong all their deliberations so discontenting to his Maiestie and the Confederates; and *Pisa* also being in that regard the cause that made some to aspire to the Empire of *Italy*, who to that end laboured to keepe it in continuall trauels of warre; by which words (although it was no otherwise expressed) was meant the *Venetians*. Also that it was not agreeable to his iustice, that such as had bene dispoiled by force, should be constrained contrary to the disposition of the lawes Imperiall, to referre their rights to compromise, if first they were not restored to their possession: concluding that the Commonweale of *Florence* obtaining this of him, and by that meanes no cause remaining to desire any thing but peace with euery one, they would make all such declarations as he should thinke conuenient, and trusting wholly in his iustice, would readily recommend vnto him the knowledge of their rights. This

The Florentins haue small hope to be succoured by the French king.

The Florentins send answer to the Emperour.

anſwer ſatisfied not *Maximilian*, who deſired aboue all other things, that they ſhould enter into the league vnder faith and promiſe to be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of *Piſa* within a terme conuenient: notwithſtanding after many diſcourſes and debatings, they could draw no other anſwer from him, ſauing that (vpon the platforme of *Genes* as he entred the ſea) he told them they ſhould vnderſtand further of his will by the Popes Legate which was at *Genes*; by whom being ſent backe againe to the Duke, who, from *Tortone*, whither he had accompanied *Maximilian*, was returned to *Millan*, they went into the ſame Citie; where, as they were demanding audience, they receiued commiſſions from *Florence*, (where they vnderſtood already the fruite of their legation) commanding them without ſeeking other anſwer, to returne home. So that being come to the houre appointed for their audience, they turned their demand of anſwer, into a ſignification of their dutie, that returning to *Florence* they were bold to lengthen their way to come to do him reuerence afore they parted out of his countrey, as well appertained to the friendſhip which their Commonweale had with him. But the Duke thinking they would demand an anſwer, had aſſembled all the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, and all his owne Councell, to make ſhew (according to his maner) of his eloquence and his cunning, and to ſport himſelfe with the calamities of others: but being not a litle confuſed with the nature of their propoſition, he asked them what anſwer they had of *Maximilian*. To which demand they anſwering, that according to the lawes of their Commonweale, they might not communicate nor treate of their commiſſion with any other Prince then with him to whom they were aſſigned Embaſſadours: he replied ſomewhat troubled, Then if we giue you anſwer, for the which we know that *Cæſar* hath referred you to vs, would you not heare it? It is not forbidden vs to heare (ſay they) neither can we let another to ſpeake. He anſwered, We are content to giue you the anſwer, but that cannot well be done, if you pronounce not that which you haue ſaid to him. And the Embaſſadours eftſoones anſwering, that they might not for the ſame reaſons, and that it was ſuperfluous, for that it was neceſſary that *Cæſar* had imparted their propoſition with thoſe to whom he had giuen the immediate charge to make the anſwer in his name: he could not neither in words nor in geſtures diſſemble his indignation, ſo that he diſmiſſed the Embaſſadours, with all the reſidue which he had aſſembled, receiuing in himſelfe part of that mockery which he meant to haue giuen to others.

Maximilian is come to Piſa.

In the meane while *Maximilian* departed from the hauen of *Genes* with ſixe galleys which the *Venetians* had in the ſea of *Piſa*, and with many other veſſels of the *Genoways* very well furniſhed with artillery, but not with fighting men, for that he had no other men of warre then a thouſand Lanceknights; with whom he ſailed to the hauen of *Spetia*, and frõ thence went by land to *Piſa*; and there hauing ioyned to his army fiue hundred horſmen, and a thouſand other Lanceknights which had marched by land, he determined to incampe before *Liuorne*, hauing for his backe the companies of the Duke of *Millan*, and part of the *Venetian* bands. His intention was to charge it both by ſea and land, ſending the other *Venetian* companies to *Pont de Sac*, to the end the *Florentine* campe which was not very ſtrong, ſhould not be able to moleſt the *Piſans*, nor giue ſuccours to *Liuorne*. But there was no enterpriſe which leſſe aſtoniſhed the *Florentines* then that of *Liuorne*, ſufficiently furniſhed with men and artillery, with dayly expectation of ſuccours from *Prouence*: for that a litle before, to augment their forces with the reputation wherein were at that time in *Italy* the armies of the *French*, they had with the conſent of the *French* king, entertained to their pay, *Monſieur d'Albigois* one of his Captaines with an hundred lances and a thouſand footmen, as well *Swiſſers* as *Gaſcoines*, which were come by ſea to *Liuorne* in certaine ſhips, which by their directions were loden with graine, to relieue the generall want of victuals reigning in all the lands of their obedience. This deliberation made, with other thoughts and for other ends, then for their defence againſt *Maximilian*, albeit it was full of difficulties, for that *Monſieur d'Albigois* with his company already conducted to the ſhips, refuſed to take the ſea, and onely ſixe hundred footmen being imbarked, yet it found ſuch plentifull fauours of fortune, that they could not haue deſired a prouiſion more great or more conuenient; ſeeing that the ſame day that a Commiſſioner of *Piſa* (ſent before by *Maximilian* with a great ſtrength of horſemen and footmen to make bridges and plankes for the army which was to follow) arriued before *Liuorne*, the nauie of *Prouence* containing fiue ſhips and certaine gallions, together with a great ſhip of *Normandie* which the King appointed to relieue *Caietta* with men and victuals, were diſcouered aboue *Liuorne* with ſo fauourable gales, that without any reſiſtance of the fleet

of

of the Emperour (for they were conſtrained by the time to ſpred abroad aboue *Melorie*, a rocke very famous; for that in a ſea battell made there in times paſt betweene the *Genowayes* and the *Piſans*, the *Piſans* were ouerthrowne) they entred the port without other loſſe then of one gallion loden with corne, which was taken by the enemy, as being ſtrayed from the other veſſels. This ſuccour gaue life and courage to thoſe that were within *Liuorne*, and much aſſured the minds of the *Florentines*, who interpreted this ſo ſeaſonable coming of the ſhips, to a ſigne, that though humane forces ſhould faile them, yet God would not forſake them, according to the aſſurance which oftentimes *Sauonarola* had preached to the people, euen when euery one was moſt aſtoniſhed. But for this the Emperour ceaſſed not to match with his campe to *Liuorne*, whither hauing ſent by land fiue hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, he paſſed vpon galleys euen to the mouth of the poole which is betweene *Piſa* and *Liuorne*: and hauing appointed one part of the place to be inuaded by the Count *Caiazze*, whom the Duke of *Millan* had ſent with him, he preſented himſelfe afore the other: and albeit the firſt day he had no ſmall ado to ſettle his campe there for the great impediments which the artilleries of *Liuorne* gaue to him; yet after he had approched his army before day on that ſide to the fountaine, and hauing a chiefe deſire to be firſt maiſter of the hauen, he began to batter with the cannon *Magnane*, which was well fortified by them within; who ſeeing the campe drawne on that ſide, had on the other ſide ruined *Polazzotte* and the tower ſtanding on that ſide to the ſea, as a thing not only not guardable, but alſo conuenient to make them loſe the new tower. He cauſed alſo at the ſame time to come neare the hauen, his army by ſea, to beate the parts on the ſea ſide: for the *French* ſhips, after they had landed their men, and vnladen one part of their corne, as they were bound, returned into *Prouence*, and the *Norman* ſet ſaile to *Caietta*, notwithſtanding many importunities and requeſts to haue them tarry. The battery that thundred againſt *Magnane*, nouriſhing an intention to aſſault the towne afterwards by ſea, profited very litle: for that it was fortified in ſuch ſort, that the artillery did not much offend them; the defendants alſo very often making ſallies to skirmiſh with the enemy. But as the hopes of the *Florentines* began by the fauour of the winds, ſo it was a deſtiny that by the benefit of the winds ſhould be wrought their whole perfection. For by a great ſtorme riſing vpon the ſudden, the nauie of *Ceſar* was in ſuch ſort cruſhed, that the great ſhip *Grimauld* a *Genoway*, which had carried his Maieſties perſon, after ſhe had long wrought againſt the rage of the ſtorme, was drowned right againſt the new tower of *Liuorne*, with all the men and artillery that ſhe bare: and the like hapned at the point towards *S. Iaques*, to two galleys of the *Venetians*; and all the other veſſels were ſo diſperſed and bruiſed, that they became vnprofitable for the preſent enterpriſe; by meanes of which accident, the defendants recouered the gallion which before was fallen into the powet of the enemies. This ſhipwracke procured the Emperour to returne to *Piſa*; where after many counſels, euery one diſtruſting the poſſibilitie of the enterpriſe of *Liuorne*, it was agreed to raiſe the campe from thence, and transferre the warre to another part. And therefore the Emperour went to *Vicopiſan*, and cauſed to be built a bridge vpon *Arne*, betweene *Caſſine* and *Vico*, and another vpon *Cilecchio*: but whileſt it was expected that he would paſſe ouer, he departed vpon the ſudden, and returned by land the right way to *Millan*, hauing brought forth no other action in *Tuſcane*, ſauing that foure hundred of his horſemen ſackt *Bolgheri*, a towne almoſt vnknowne in the plaine of *Piſa*. He excuſed his ſudden departure vpon the difficulties that increaſed vpon him euery day, as well for that they ſupplied him not with money as often as he demanded, as for that the *Venetian* commiſſioners would not conſent that the greateſt part of their bands ſhould iſſue out of *Piſa*, for the ſuſpition they had of him; beſides that they had not fully ſatisfied him of their portion of the threeſcore thouſand duckats: for which iniuries (extolling greatly the Duke of *Millan*) he made many grieuous complaints againſt them. He paſſed by *Pauie*, where was taken a new counſell: and albeit he had publiſhed that he would returne into *Almaine*, yet he agreed to ſtay in *Italy* all the winter with a thouſand horſemen and two thouſand footmen, ſo that they would pay to him for euery moneth two and twentie thouſand florins of *Rhein*: and whileſt the anſwer from *Venice* was expected, he went from thence to *Lomelline*, at the time when there was looking to receiue him at *Millan*; it being a thing fatall vnto him (as was well approued by the experiences following) not to enter into that Citie. From *Lomelline* with a mind changed, he turned his way to *Cuſague*, ſixe miles from *Millan*; from whence contrary to all opinions, and vnwitting to the Duke and the Embaſſadours

Ceſar marcheth to Liuorne.

Ceſar leuieth his campe from Liuorne.

Ceſar excuſeth his ſudden departure.

which were there, he went to *Coma*: where vnderſtanding as he ſate at dinner, that the Popes Legat, to whom he had ſent that he ſhould not follow him, was arriued; he aroſe from the table, and embarked with ſo great haſte, that there was ſcarce leiſure to the Legat to deliuer to him a few words within the barke: to whom he anſwered in ſhort, that he was conſtrained to go into *Almaine*, but that he would returne with ſpeed. And albeit, after he was brought by the lake of *Coma* to *Vellaſte*, he was aduertiſed that the *Venetians* would condeſcend to all things that were agreed vpon at *Pauie*; yet he continued his voyage, and gaue them new hopes to returne to *Millan*: but a very few dayes after, according to the inconſtancie of his nature, he left part of his horſemen and footbands, and ſailed directly into *Almaine*, hauing ſhewed (with a very litle honor to the name Imperiall) his weakneſſe in *Italy*, wherein long time before had not bene ſeene any Emperour armed. And *Lodowike* deſpairing for the going away of the Emperour (if there happened not new accidents) to be able any more to draw *Piſa* to himſelfe, and much leſſe to keepe it out of the hands of the *Venetians*, withdrew from thence all his people, making it ſome conſolation to his diſpleaſures, that the *Venetians* onely ſhould remaine intangled with the warre againſt the *Florentines*; perſwading himſelfe, that the long trauels and perplexities of both the one and the other part, might with time raiſe vp ſome occaſions fauourable to his deſires. Now by the departure of the bands of *Lodowike*, the *Florentines*, whoſe power was ſtrongeſt in the countrey of *Piſa*, recouered againe all the boroughs about the hils: by reaſon whereof the *Venetians* being conſtrained to leuie new prouiſions to hinder their further proceedings, adioyned ſo many bands more to the companies they entertained already within *Piſa*, that in all, their armie contained foure hundred men at armes, ſeuen hundred light horſemen, and more then two thouſand footmen.

Ceſar ſtealeth in haſte into Germanie.

The computation of the Venetian armie within Piſa.

In this meane while in the kingdome of *Naples* there was almoſt an end put to all the reſidue of the warre againſt the *French*; for that the towne of *Tarente*, preſſed with famine, was rendred with her Caſtles to the *Venetians*, who had beſieged it by ſea; and after they had kept it certaine dayes, there growing a ſuſpition that they would appropriate it to themſelues, at the great inſtance of the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, they rendred it to *Federike*. And as it was vnderſtood at *Caietta*, that the great *Norman* ſhip hauing fought aboue the port *Hercules* with certaine *Genoway* ſhips which ſhe encountred, and ſailing afterwards in her courſe, was ſo beaten with ſtormes, that ſhe was drowned; the *French* men that defended *Caietta*, whither the new King was eftſoones marched with his campe, (albeit the brute went that there were victuals and munitions enough to beare out the ſiege certaine moneths) iudging that in the end their King would be as ſlow to miniſter to their ſuccours, as he was careleſſe of ſo great a part of his Nobilitie, and to reſcue ſo many places holding for him: they accorded with *Federike*, by the ſolicitation of *Monſieur d'Aubigny* (who for ſome difficulties hapning in the aſſignement of the fortreſſes in *Calabria*, was not yet departed from *Naples*) to leaue the towne and caſtle, and returne by ſea into *France* with ſafetie and protection of their liues and goods. By reaſon of which agreement, the *French* King ſeeing himſelfe deliuered of ſo many cares and thoughts to miniſter ſuccours to the kingdome of *Naples*; and on the other ſide, being inraged for the harmes and infamies of thoſe warres, he determined to ſet vpon *Genes*; wherein he hoped much in the faction of *Baptiſtin Fregoſa* (aforetimes Duke of that Citie) and in the traine and followers which the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula* had in the towne of *Sauona*, and in thoſe riuers: ſuppoſing withall that a good occaſion was offered; for that in thoſe ſeaſons *Iohn Lewis de Fieſco*, and the family of the *Adornes*, were in diſcord, and all the *Genowayes* generally ill contented with the Duke of *Millan*, both for that in the ſale of *Pietraſanta*, he had preferred the *Lucquoys* before them, and alſo, hauing promiſed to reduce it eftſoones into their hands, vſing in that action (the better to appeaſe the indignation conceiued againſt him) the authoritie of the *Venetians*, he had nouriſhed them many moneths with vaine hopes. For feare of this determination of the King, *Lodowike* (who for the occaſion of *Piſa* was almoſt eſtranged from the *Venetians*) was compelled to knit of new with them, and to ſend to *Genes* the horſemen and footmen of the *Almaines* which *Maximilian* had left in *Italy*, for whom (if this neceſſitie had not happened) there would haue bene neither emploiment, nor prouiſion made.

Tarente and Caietta are rendred to Federike the new king of Naples

The French King determineth to ſet vpon Genes.

Whileſt theſe things were in ſolicitation, the Pope (finding now a great oportunitie to occupie the eſtates of the *Vrſins*, for that the principals of that family were reſtrained in *Naples*) pronounced rebels in the Conſiſtorie, *Virginio* and the reſidue of that race, and confiſked their eſtates,

eſtates, for that contrary to his commandement they had taken pay of the *French*; and hauing ſo done, he aſſailed their lands in the beginning of the yeare 1497, hauing ordered that the *Colonnoys* ſhould do the like in all thoſe places where they confined with the *Vrſins*. This enterpriſe was much furthered by the Cardinall *Aſcanius*, no leſſe for the ancient amitie he had with the *Colonnoys*, then for a ſetled diſſention and diſagreement entertained of long againſt the *Vrſins*; and was alſo conſented vnto by the Duke of *Millan*. But it was diſpleaſing to the *Venetians*, who deſired to winne that family, and to draw them to their deuotion: neuertheleſſe not being able with any iuſtifications to hinder the Pope from purſuing his rights, and withall holding it nothing profitable in that time to alienate him from them; they conſented that the Duke of *Vrbin*, mercenary in common to the Pope and to them, ſhould march to ioyne with the bands of the Church, ouer whom was Captaine generall the Duke of *Candie*; and in the office of Legat, the Cardinall *la Luna* borne at *Pauie*; a Cardinall wholly depending vpon *Aſcanius*: and King *Federike* of *Naples* ſent alſo *Fabricius Colonne*. This armie, after many peeces had rendred, marched to incampe at *Triuignian*, which towne maintaining a valiant defence for certaine dayes, yeelded at laſt to diſcretion. But during the defence of that towne, *Bartlemew d'Aluiano* iſſuing out of *Bracciana*, put to flight within eight miles of *Rome*, foure hundred horſemen that guided the artilleries to the campe Eccleſiaſticke: and another day running with the ſame fortune euen to the croſſe of *Montmarie*, he lacked not much of taking the Cardinall of *Valence*, who coming out of *Rome* to the chaſe, found his beſt ſafetie in the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe. After the rendring of *Triuignian*, the campe drew to the Ile, where after they had battered one part of the rocke with the artillery, they obtained it by compoſition. At length all the warre was reduced to *Bracciana*, where the *Vrſins* had layed vp all the hope of their defence; for that the place which was ſtrong before, was of new refortified with munitions and rampiers, and the ſuburbes reenforced, hauing at the entrie thereof erected a baſtillion, and beſtowed within it a ſufficient ſtrength of men vnder the gouernment of *Aluiano*, whoſe youth gaue him a bodie diſpoſed, and his wit no leſſe quick and reſolute, then his diligence incredible, increaſed in him (with exerciſe in armes) thoſe hopes and expectations, to the which in times ſucceeding, his actions were nothing inferior. The Pope ceaſſed not to increaſe daily his army, which he had of new refurniſhed with 800 Lanceknights of thoſe that had bene employed in the warres of *Naples*. There were dayly skirmiſhes on both parts, and that with great contention; thoſe without planting their artillery in many ſeuerall places; and they within, not forgetting to repaire and fortifie with preſent diligence and aſſurance. And yet within few dayes, the defendants were conſtrained to abandon the ſuburbes; which being taken, the Eccleſiaſticks gaue a furious aſſault to the towne, wherein albeit their fortune made them able to aduance their enſignes vpon the walls, yet by the vertue of the defendants they were eſtſoones forced to retire, ſuffering a great loſſe, in which action was hurt *Antonel Sauelle*. The defendants expreſſed the like valour in another aſſault, repulſing the enemie with a furie more reſolute and a loſſe more generall, for that two hundred of them were either ſlaine or very ſore wounded, not without the great praiſe of *Aluiano*, to whom was iuſtly giuen the principall glorie of that defence; for that within, he was of a liuely readineſſe to all offices neceſſary; and without, with continuall eruptions and ſallies, he kept the armie of the enemie day and night in alarums. And he added much to his reputation, in that by his direction, certaine light horſemen iſſuing out of *Ceruetre* (which the *Vrſins* held) and making incurſions euen to the campe, he himſelfe taking the occaſion of this tumult, charged them out of the towne, and put to flight the footbands that guarded the artilleries, of which he carried into *Bracciana* certaine ſmall peeces: and yet at length he and his companies hauing no reſpite neither day nor night, began to ſupport themſelues chiefly with hope of ſuccours, for that *Charles Vrſin*, and *Vitellozze*, who was knit to the *Vrſins* by a bond of the faction of *Guelffes*, (and being paſſed into *Italy* in the veſſels that came from *Prouence* to *Liuorne*, with money from the *French* King to redreſſe their bands diſperſed in the kingdome of *Naples*) prepared to ſuccour them in ſo great a danger: and for this cauſe *Charles* went to *Soriana*, to reaſſemble the old ſouldiers, friends and followers of the *Vrſins*: and *Vitellozze* at *Citta de Caſtello* made the like leuie of the ſouldiers and footmen of the countrey, adioyning with great diligence his whole ſtrength to *Charles* at *Soriana*, hauing in his regiment two hundred men at armes, and eighteene hundred footmen of his owne, with artillerie vpon wheeles, after the maner of *France*. By reaſon whereof the Captaines Eccleſiaſticke, foreſeeing that (if they marched forward) it would be dan-

1497.

The Duke of Candie Generall of the Popes army.

dangerous to be incloſed in the midſt betweene the new ſuccours, and the old enemies within *Bracciana*; and to the end not to leaue them in prey all the countrey thereabouts, wherein they had already ſackt diuers boroughs, they leuied their campe from before *Bracciana*, and when they had put all their great artilleries within *Anguillare*, they marched directly to that quarter where the enemies were; and encountring them betweene *Soriana* and *Baſſan*, they fought together with great furie for certaine houres. But in the end (though at the firſt meeting they tooke priſoner *Franciot Vrſin*) were put to flight, with the loſſe of their baggage and artilleries: and they loſt, what in the ſlaughter, and by taking priſoners, more then fiue hundred men, among which priſoners, were the Duke of *Vrbin*, *Iohn Peter* of *Gonſague* Count of *Nugolare*, with many other bodies of marke: but the Duke of *Candie* lightly hurt in the face, and with him the Popes Legat, and *Fabrice Colonne*, found ſafetie by flying into *Roncillon*. Aboue all the reſidue, *Vitellozze* carried the honor and merit of this victorie, for that the bands of footmen of *Citta de Caſtello*, who had bene afore trained and managed by him and his brethren, with the orders and diſciplines of the *French*, were that day greatly aided by his induſtrie; and hauing armed them with pikes longer by an arme length then thoſe which were cuſtomably vſed, they had ſo much aduantage when they came to the ſhock with the footmen of the enemies, that wounding them with the oddes of length in their pikes, they put them eaſily to the chaſe; ſo much the more to their greater honor, by how much in the contrary battell, there were eight hundred footmen of the *Almaines*, of which nation the infanterie of *Italy* haue had a continuall feare euer ſince the deſcending of King *Charles*. After this victorie, the victors began to run without reſiſtance ouer all the countrey on this ſide *Tyber*; and afterward hauing paſſed part of their companies ouer the riuer beneath the hill *Rotonde*, they ſtill inuaded thoſe wayes where they ſuppoſed was any retrait for the enemie. In regard of which dangers, the Pope making a new leuie of men of warre, called to his ſuccours from the kingdome of *Naples*, *Gonſaluo* and *Proſper Colonne*. And yet not many dayes after (the Ambaſſadours of *Venice* interpoſing diligently to do pleaſure to the *Vrſins*, and alſo the Ambaſſadour of the King of *Spaine* fearing leſt theſe beginnings would draw ſome ill conſequence to the league) a peace was made, with a moſt readie inclination, as well of the Pope, who naturally hated expences, as of the *Vrſins*; who being no leſſe poore in money, then naked in friends, knew that their neceſſitie in the end would compell them to yeeld to the power of the Pope: the articles of this peace were theſe; That it ſhould be ſuffered to the *Vrſins* to continue in the pay of the *French* till the end of the time for which they were hired by the King, with expreſſe mention that they ſhould not be bound to take armes againſt the Church: That all the places which they had loſt in this warre ſhould be reſtored, paying to the Pope fiftie thouſand duckats, of the which, thirtie thouſand to be paid as ſoone as *Iohn Iordan* and *Paul Vrſin* ſhould be ſet at liberty, (for *Virginio* not many daies before died within the caſtle of the Egge, either of an ague, or as ſome thought, by poiſon) and the other twentie thouſand duckats within eight moneths: and that for aſſurance of the paiment, *Anguillare* and *Ceruetre* ſhould be committed of truſt into the keeping of the Cardinals *Aſcanius* and *S. Seuerin*: That all the priſoners taken in the iourney of *Soriana* ſhould be redeliuered, except the Duke of *Vrbin*, for whoſe libertie (albeit the Ambaſſadours of the Confederates made great ſute) the Pope would ſolicite nothing: for that he knew the *Vrſins* had no meanes to raiſe the money they were to pay to him, but by the ranſome of the ſaid Duke, for whom a litle after, was agreement made for fortie thouſand duckats, but with this addition, that he ſhould not be deliuered afore *Paul Vitelli* (who remained priſoner to the Marquis of *Mantua* at the rendring of *Atella*) had obtained his libertie without paying any ranſome.

The encounter of Soriana.

Capitulations betweene the Pope and the Vrſins.

The Pope hauing thus to his litle honour rid his hands of the warre againſt the *Vrſins*, made diſtribution of the money to the companies which *Gonſaluo* brought with him, and as well theſe companies as his owne ioyned together, he ſent to take *Oſtia*, as yet holden in the name of the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula*: before which the artillerie was no ſooner planted, but the caſtle-keeper rendred all to diſcretion. *Oſtia* recouered, *Gonſaluo* made his entrie into *Rome* almoſt in maner triumphant, with an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſe, and fifteene hundred footmen, all ſouldiers of the *Spaniſh*, leading before him as priſoner the caſtle-keeper, whom a litle after he ſet at libertie. There came to meete him many Prelates, the Popes houſhold, and all the Cardinals, followed with much people, and almoſt all the Court, running with great deſire to ſee a Captaine whoſe name bare ſo great fame through all *Italy*. He was brought

Gonſaluo entreth Rome.

brought to the Pope ſitting in the Conſiſtorie, who receiuing him with great honour, gaue him in teſtimonie of his valour, the Roſe which the Popes are wont to beſtow euery yeare. After this *Gonſaluo* returned to ioyne himſelfe with King *Federike*, who had inuaded the eſtate of the Preſect of *Rome*, and reſumed all thoſe places, which taken from the Marquis of *Peſcaire* in the conqueſt of the kingdome, were beſtowed vpon him by the *French* king; and hauing taken *Sora* and *Arci* (but not the Caſtles) he lay incamped before the rocke *Guillaume*, hauing had by accord the eſtate of the Count *d'Oliuet*, before he ſold his Duchie of *Sora* to the Prefect of *Rome*. Howbeit in theſe proſperities *Federike* was not without his perplexities, not onely by his friends, (for *Gonſaluo* kept one part of *Calabria* in the name of the King of *Spaine*) but alſo of his reconciled enemies: for that the Prince of *Biſignian*, being one euening ſore hurt by a certaine *Greeke*, as he went out of the new Caſtle of *Naples*, the Prince of *Salerne* was in ſuch feare that the blow was giuen by the Kings commandement in reuenge of offences paſſed, that immediatly (not diſſembling the cauſe of his ſuſpition) he went from *Naples* to *Salerne*. And albeit the King ſent to vſe at his will the *Greeke* detained in priſon, to iuſtifie (as the truth was) that he had giuen the blow for an iniury to him done long before by the Prince of *Biſignian* in the perſon of his wife: yet (as in ancient and great grudges it is hard to eſtabliſh a faithfull reconciliation, for that it hath his proper impediments either of ſuſpition or deſire of reuenge) the Prince of *Salerne* could neuer after diſpoſe himſelfe to truſt him: which giuing hope to the *French* (who kept ſtill the mount *S. Ange*, and ſome other ſtrong places) of ſome new innouation or inſurrection in the kingdome of *Naples*, procured them with more conſtancie to ſtand to their defence.

The French prepare new enterpriſes againſt Italy.

In theſe ſeaſons farre greater dangers appeared in *Lombardie*, by the emotions of the *French*, aſſured for the preſent by the threatnings of the *Spaniſh*: for that paſſing betweene them, rather light incurſions and apparences of warre, then any thing of notable action, ſauing that the *French* burned the towne of *Sauſſes*: they had begun a parly of accord, and for the more eaſie negotiation of it, had made a ſurceaſing of armes for two moneths: by meanes whereof the *French* King hauing more libertie to hearken after the affaires of *Genes* and *Sauona*, diſpatched to *Aſt* an armie of a thouſand lances, three thouſand *Swiſſers*, and a like number of *Gaſcoines*, commanding *Triuulce* his Lieutenant in *Italy*, to apply aides to *Baptiſtin* and the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula*: his intention was to ſend after the Duke of *Orleans* with a ſtrong armie, to execute in his proper name the enterpriſe of the Duchie of *Millan*. And to make more eaſie the action of *Genes*, he ſent *Octauian Fregoſe* to require the *Florentines* to inuade at the ſame time *Lunigiana* and the riuer of the Eaſt, ordaining alſo that the Southerne riuers ſhould be troubled by *Paul Baptiſta Fregoſe* with ſeuen galleys. This enterpriſe was begun with ſuch aſtoniſhment to the Duke of *Millan*, not prepared ſufficiently of himſelfe, and hauing leſſe ſuretie of the aides promiſed by the *Venetians*; that if it had proceeded as it ought, it could not but haue brought forth ſome effect of importance, and more eaſily in the Duchie of *Millan*, then in *Genes*. For at *Genes Iohn Lewis de Fieſque*, and the *Adornes*, who were reconciled by the meanes of *Lodowike*, had leuied many bands of footmen, and rigged at the charges of the *Venetians* and *Lodowike* an armie at ſea, to the which were ioyned ſixe galleys ſent by *Federike*: but the Pope entertaining the name of a Confederate, more in counſels and demonſtrations, then in workes and meanings, would not in thoſe dangers contribute to any expences, neither by ſea nor land. The proceedings of this expedition were, that *Baptiſtin*, and with him *Triuulce*, ſhould march to *Nony*, of which towne *Baptiſtin* had bene deſpoiled afore by the Duke of *Millan*, but not of the Caſtle, which he had alwayes kept, and yet held. But by reaſon of their coming in ſuch ſtrong order, the Count *Caiazze*, which was there in garriſon with threeſcore men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, and fiue hundred footmen, diſtruſting much to be able to defend it, retired to *Seranall*. The conqueſt of this towne augmented greatly the reputation of the baniſhed: for beſides that the towne is capable of many people, it ſtops the paſſage from *Millan* to *Genes*; and by reaſon of the oportunitie and ſeate of the place, it is very conuenient to endomage the countrey adioyning. After this, *Baptiſtin* made himſelfe Lord of certain other peeces neare to *Nony*, and at the ſame time the Cardinall with two hundred lances and three thouſand footmen, hauing taken *Vintemille*, coaſted ouer to *Sauona*, where finding no inſurrection by the inhabitants, and hauing eſpiall that *Iohn Adorne* approched with a ſtrong band of footmen, he retired to *Altare*, a place of the Marquis of *Montferrat* diſtant eight miles from *Sauona*. But *Triuulce* in the beginning did an action of greater importance, for that hauing a

deſire to giue occaſion to kindle the warre in the Duchie of *Millan*, notwithſtanding the Kings commiſſion was to execute firſt the affaires of *Genes* and *Sauona*, he tooke *Boſco*, a borough of great importance in the countrey of *Alexandria*: wherein this was his pretext and colour, that for the ſuretie of the bands which were gone to the Eaſt riuers, it was neceſſarie to take from thoſe of the Duke, the meanes to go into *Alexandria* vpon the lands of the *Genowayes*. But tempring his deſire, with regard to the Kings commandement, which he thought not reaſonable to impugne manifeſtly, he forbare to paſſe further, loſing a moſt faire occaſion, for that all the countrey thereabout drew into great ſtirre and tumult for the taking of the place, ſome for feare, ſome for deſire of innouation. And of that ſide, there was no greater ſtrength for the Duke, then fiue hundred men at armes, and ſixe thouſand footmen: beſides, *Galeas de Saint Seuerin*, who being within *Alexandria*, began to diſtruſt his defence without greater forces: and *Lodowike* himſelfe, who ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe timorous in this aduerſitie, then by the propertie of his nature he expreſſed in all other accidents, ſolicited the Duke of *Ferrara* to worke ſome accord betweene the *French* King and him. But the ſoiourning of *Triuulce* betweene *Boſco* and *Nouy*, gaue ſufficient time to *Lodowike* to furniſh himſelfe, and good reſpite to the *Venetians* (who ſeeming moſt readie and prepared for his defence, had ſent afore to *Genes* fifteene hundred footmen) to ſend into *Alexandria*, bands of men at armes, and light horſemen: yea the *Venetians* appointed the Count *Petillane* Generall of their regiments, (for the Marquis of *Mantua* was withdrawne from their pay) to march with the moſt part of their companies to the ſuccours of that State. Thus things begun with ſo great hope, now growing cold, *Baptiſtin* hauing nothing profited at *Genes* (for the Citie was quiet for the prouiſions that were made) returned to ioyne with *Triuulce*, publiſhing that his exploits brought forth no ſucceſſe of ſeruice, for that the riuer of the Leuant was not aſſailed by the *Florentines*, who iudged it not a counſell wiſe to enter into warre, if firſt the things of *France* appeared not more proſperous and more puiſſant. In like ſort came and ioyned with *Triuulce*, the Cardinall *ad Vincula*, by whom was done no other thing, then that he had taken certaine places of the Marquis of *Finale*, for that he declared himſelfe for the defence of *Sauona*. The *French* companies drawing now all into one ſtrength, made certaine offers to *Caſtellat*, a place neare to *Boſco*, which had bene aforetime fortified by the Captaines of the Duke. But the armie of the Confederates which reaſſembled in *Alexandria*, increaſing dayly in qualitie of ſouldiers, and quantitie of prouiſions: and on the contrary, both money and victuals beginning to faile among the *French*, and their Captaines not a litle impatient to obey *Triuulce*, it was neceſſary for him to leaue *Nouy* and *Boſco* in garriſon, and retire neare the towne of *Aſt*.

It was beleeued that the diſtribution of the bands into ſeuerall places, brought great harme to the enterpriſe, as oftentimes hapneth in the like examples: and that if they all ioyned into one ſtrength, had bene at the beginning addreſſed to *Genes*, the expedition perhaps had drawne ſome better ſucceſſe: ſeeing that beſides the inclination of factions, and indignation conceiued for *Pietraſanta*, one part of the horſemen and footmen of the *Almaines*, which the Duke ſent thither, reuolted from the ſeruice, and returned vpon the ſudden into their countrey: it might be alſo, that euen thoſe who the yeare before had hindred the Kings deſcending into *Italy*, and the ſuccours of the kingdome of *Naples*, applying now the ſame meanes, did giue impediments to the preſent enterpriſe by the difficultie of prouiſions. This likelihood of truth was iuſtified by a bruite that ranne, that the Duke of *Millan* (to the oppreſſion of his ſubiects) made great preſents to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and others that had great fauour with the King; in which infamie the Cardinall of *S. Malo* had not the leaſt intereſt. But whatſoeuer it was, it is moſt certaine that the Duke of *Orleans* appointed to paſſe to *Aſt*, and called vpon by the vehement ſolicitation of the King, made all his preparations neceſſary for the expedition: but he lingred, either for that he diſtruſted the continuation of the prouiſions, or (as ſome interprete) he had no forwardneſſe to depart out of *France*, the King being continually ill diſpoſed of his health, and (in caſe of ſterilitie) the ſucceſſion of the Crowne appertaining to him.

But the King reaping no fruite of his hope for the mutation of *Genes* and *Sauona*, continued with more diligence his practiſes begun with the King and Queene of *Spaine*, which hitherto had bene lingred for this onely difficultie, that the *French* King deſiring that he might be in libertie to proſecute his enterpriſes on this ſide the Mounts, would not that in the Truce then in negotiation, ſhould be comprehended the things of *Italy*. And the Kings of *Spaine* ſhewing that

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they made no difficultie to conſent to his will for other reſpect then in regard of their honour, ſolicited much that the *Italian* actions might be comprehended, alledging that the common intention of them both being to make a Truce, to the end a peace might more eaſily ſucceed, they might afterwards with greater honeſty, depart from the confederation which they had with the *Italians*. In ſo much that after many meetings and diſcourſes of the Ambaſſadours of both ſides, (the *Spaniſh* ſubtilties in the end carrying it) they made a Truce for them, their ſubiects, and dependants, and alſo for ſuch as either of them ſhould name: which Truce beginning betweene them the fift day of March, (but betweene ſuch as ſhould be nominated, fiftie dayes after) ſhould laſt vnto the end of the next October. Euery one of them named thoſe Eſtates and Potentates of *Italy* which were their confederates and adherents; but the Kings of *Spaine* named moreouer King *Federike* and the *Piſans*. After this they agreed to ſend men to *Montpellier* to ſolicite a peace, where they ſhould find the Embaſſadours of the Confederates. In this practiſe, the Kings of *Spaine* gaue hope to vnite themſelues with the *French* King againſt the *Italians*, vnder a certaine occaſion iuſtifiable, and from that time they communed of conditions and meanes to deuide the kingdome of *Naples*. Which Truce, albeit it was made without the participation of the Confederates of *Italy*, yet it was agreeable to them all, but ſpecially to the Duke of *Millan*, who deſired greatly that the warre might ceaſſe in his quarter. But power remaining free to offend one another in *Italy*, vntil the xxv. of Aprill, *Triuulce*, *Baptiſtin*, and *Serenon*, taking the aduantage of that article, returned with fiue thouſand men to the riuer of the Weſt, where they aſſaulted the towne of *Albinge*: which albeit they had almoſt caried at the firſt aſſault, yet they ſuffered repulſe by a very ſmall ſtrength of the enemie, for that their entrie was in diſorder. Afterwards they fell vpon the Marquiſdome of *Finale*, giuing occaſion to the *Italian* armie to make to their ſuccours, hoping by that meanes to draw them to battell: which not ſucceeding according to their expectation, they did no further action of importance, the diſcord of their Captaines increaſing, and their paiments failing dayly more and more by reaſon of the truce. In which times the Confederates had recouered all their places loſt before (except *Nouy*) which alſo they obtained at laſt by compoſition, although the Count *Caiazze* which had beſieged it, had bene repulſed, and there remained in the power of the *French* no other thing of the places conquered, then certaine litle townes in the Marquiſdome of *Finale*. During all which emotions and ſtirres, the Duke of *Sauoy*, who had bene ſolicited on all parts with no ſmall promiſes, and the Marquis of *Montferrat* (whoſe gouernment had bene confirmed by the Emperour to *Conſtantine* of *Macedonia*) ſtood neuters, declaring neither for the King nor for the Confederates.

In this yeare was nothing done of importance betweene the *Florentines* and the *Piſans*, notwithſtanding the warre continued without intermiſſion; ſauing that the *Piſans* led, vnder the direction of *Iohn Paul Manfron*, foure hundred light horſemen, and fifteene hundred footmen, to recouer their Baſtillion vnder the bridge of the poole, which they loſt when the Emperour went to *Liuorne*. The Count *Rainuce* hauing aduertiſement of this enterpriſe, put himſelfe vpon the way of *Liuorne*, to reſcue the Baſtillion with a good troupe of horſemen: the *Piſans* not looking to be charged but by the way of *Pontadere*, and being ſet vpon as they began to aſſault the Baſtillion, were eaſily put to flight, many of them being made priſoners. But at laſt, armes and actions of warre ceaſſed alſo betweene them, by reaſon of the Truce; notwithſtanding it was with an ill will accepted of the *Florentines*, who iudged it very vnexpedient for their affaires to giue leiſure to the *Piſans* to take breath, ſeeing withall, that notwithſtanding the truce, neceſſitie compelled them to continue the ſame expences, both for doubt of *Peter de Medicis*, alwayes conſpiring againſt them, and for feare of the *Venetian* bands within *Piſa*. Thus armes being laid aſide on all parts, or at leaſt at point to ceaſſe, the Duke of *Millan*, albeit in his lateſt dangers he had expreſſed his great contentment with the Senate of *Venice*, for the ready and full ſuccours he had receiued from them; exalting with publicke and heroicke words the vertue and power of the *Venetians*, and greatly commending the prouidence of *Iohn Galeas* the firſt Duke of *Millan*, for that he had committed to the faith of the ſame Senate the execution of his Teſtament: yet hauing no patience to endure that the prey of *Piſa*, followed by him with ſo many paines and practiſes, ſhould be transferred to them, as manifeſtly appeared it would, he aſſayed to obtaine with induſtrie and policie, that which he could not by force; and ſo wrought, that the Pope and the Spaniſh Embaſſadour (to both which ſuch a greatneſſe of the *Venetians* was

The Duke of Millan practiſeth againſt the Venetians touching Piſa.

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displeasing) should set downe, that to leaue to the *French* no foundation in *Italy*, as also to reduce all into one accord, it were necessary to induce the *Florentines* to enter into the common league; causing *Pisa* to be restored to them, seeing otherwayes they could not be brought to it: for that so long as they were separated from the residue, they would not cease to stirre vp the *French* King to descend into *Italy*, to whom in such an action, they might (hauing their situation in the midst of *Italy*) with their money, and with their forces, do things of great importance. But this proposition was impugned by the Embassadours of *Venice*, as very preiudiciall to their common safetie; alledging withall the inclination of the *Florentines* to be such to the *French* King, that euen with this benefite, it was no reason to trust them, if they deliuered not sufficient securitie to obserue the things they should promise: and that in a matter of such weight, there was no other suretie, then to put *Liuorne* into the hands of the Confederates: and this was very cunningly alledged by him, to the end to haue alwayes the greater meanes to gainsay this proposition; knowing well they would neuer consent to commit to deputation a place of such respect for their Estate: wherein, the matter drawing afterwards such successe as he looked for, he still opposed against it with such vehemencie, that the Pope and the Duke of *Millans* Embassadour, not daring to obiect against him for feare to estrange the *Venetians* from their friendship, the deuice rested there: and there began betweene the Pope and the *Venetians* a new plot, to turne away with violence the *Florentines* from the amitie of the *French*: the ill conditions of that Citie giuing courage to whomsoeuer would offend it. For since the time that the authoritie popular was established, there was not introduced such moderation, as assuring the libertie with due and reasonable meanes, might haue bene the let, that the Common-weale should not haue bene disordered by the ignorance and licence of the multitude: so as the Citizens of greatest qualitie and condition, being lesse esteemed then seemed conuenient; and on the other side, their ambition being suspected to the people, and many oftentimes intruding into deliberations weightie, who were but litle capable; and the soueraigne Magistrate, to whom was referred the issue of the most weightie affaires, being changed from two moneths to two moneths, the Common-weale was gouerned with a great confusion: To which was added the great authoritie of *Sauonarola*, whose auditors were almost entred into secret intelligence: and as there were amongst them many honorable Citizens, and they surpassing in number such as were of the contrary opinion; so it seemed that magistracies and publicke honours were distributed rather to those that followed him, then to others. And therefore the Citie being manifestly deuided, in the assemblies and counsels publicke, one faction quarelled another, no man making conscience (which hapneth in States fallen into diuision) to hinder the benefite publicke, to imbase the reputation of his aduersaries. These disorders were so much the more dangerous, by how much, for the long trauels and great expences suffered by that Citie, there was that yeare a generall dearth and want of all kind of victuals; by reason whereof it might be presumed, that the people vexed with hunger, would be desirous of new things.

Disorders in Florence for the gouernment.

This ill disposition of the ciuill affaires of *Florence*, gaue hope to *Peter de Medicis* (who besides these occasions was pushed on by certaine Citizens) to be able with ease to obtaine his desire: and therefore after he had communicated his intention with the Cardinall of *Saint Seuerin* his ancient friend, and with *Aluiano*; and being also secretly encouraged by the *Venetians*, to whom it seemed, that by the trauels of the *Florentines* the affaires of *Pisa* would be assured: he determined to surprise the towne of *Florence*, the rather being aduertised that they had created their supreme Magistrate (which they call *Gonfalonnier* of iustice) *Bernardin de Nero*, a man of great grauitie and authoritie, who had bene of continued friendship with his father and him: and that they had ioyned to him in assistance of that Magistracie certaine others, in whom, for old kindnesses and benefites, he supposed was no small inclination for his greatnesse. The Pope fauoured this plot, desiring to deuide the *Florentines* from the *French* King by iniuries, seeing he could not separate them by benefites: and the Duke of *Millan* was not against it, to whom it seemed, that he could not make a foundation or intelligence stable with that Citie, because of the disorders of the present gouernment: although on the other side, he tooke no delight in the returne of *Peter*, as well for the wrongs he had done him, as for doubt lest he should depend too much on the authoritie of the *Venetians*. Then as soone as *Peter* had leuied, what by his owne meanes, and with the aide of his friends and fauourers, as much treasure as he could possible, hauing receiued (as was beleeued) some small quantitie in prest of the *Venetians*, he went to *Si-*

Pet. de Medicis determineth once againe to returne to Florence.

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enna, and after him *Aluiano* with the horſemen and footmen, marching alwayes by night, and by wayes particular, to the end his coming might be concealed from the *Florentines*. At *Sienna*, by the fauor of *Iohn Iaques* and *Pandolph Petrucci*, principals in that gouernment, and friends to his houſe, he was alſo ſecretly refurniſhed with other bands of ſouldiers: ſo that with ſixe hundred horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen of choiſe, two dayes after the truce was begun (wherein they of *Sienna* were comprehended) he put himſelfe on the way to *Florence*, hoping that arriuing there by the breake of day, and at vnwares, he ſhould find his entrie eaſie, either for the generall diſorder, or ſpeciall tumult, which he expected would riſe in his fauour: a plot which haply had drawne ſome good iſſue for him, if fortune had not ſupplied the negligence of his aduerſaries. For, as in the beginning of the night he was lodged in the victualling houſes (certaine ſmall houſes vpon the high way) with intention to march the reſidue of the night, he was ſo hindred by great raines that fell, that he could not preſent himſelfe before *Florence* vntill long time after Sunne riſing: a chance which gaue leiſure to ſuch as made profeſſion to be his particular enemies (for the commonaltie and all the reſt of the citizens ſtirred not, expecting quietly what would be the iſſue of things) to take armes with their friends and followers, and to prouide that the citizens ſuſpected ſhould be called and reſtrained in the publick Pallace by the Magiſtrates: and to make themſelues ſtrong at the gate which leades to *Sienna*; whither at their requeſt went *Paul Vitelli*, who returning from *Mantua*, was by chance arriued the night before at *Florence*: in ſo much as no commotion appearing in the Citie, and *Peter* not ſtrong enough to force the gate (which he had approched within a bow ſhoote:) after he had remained there foure houres, fearing with his danger the ſudden comming of their men at armes, whom he thought (and his conceit was true) the *Florentines* had ſent for from the ſeruice of *Piſa*, he returned to *Sienna*; from whence *Aluiano* being departed, and let into *Tody* by the *Guelffes*, he ſacked almoſt all the houſes of the *Gibelins*, and put to ſlaughter three and fiftie of the principall bodies of that faction. According to which example, *Anthonie Saulle* being entred into *Terny*, and the *Gatteſquies* by the fauour of the *Colonnoys* being let into *Viterbe*, did the like executions againſt the *Guelffes* in both the one and the other place, and all the peeces thereabouts: without that the Pope prouided for ſo great diſorders in the ſtate Eccleſiaſticke, becauſe he abhorred all expences in like caſes; and bearing by the propertie of his nature no compaſſion to the calamities of others, he was nothing troubled with thoſe things that offended his honour, ſo that his owne profits or pleaſures were nothing hindred. Yet could he not auoide the domeſticall miſeries, which troubled his houſe with tragicall examples, and with luſt and crueltie horrible aboue all the barbarous nations. For he hauing determined from his firſt entrance into the Papacie, to appropriate all temporall greatneſſe to the Duke of *Candie* his eldeſt ſonne, the Cardinall of *Valence* (who caried a mind altogether eſtranged from the profeſſion of prieſthood, and aſpired to the exerciſe of armes) hauing no patience to ſuffer that place to be enioyed by his brother; and enuying withall that he had better part then he in the loue of the Ladie *Lucretia* their common ſiſter; inflamed with luſt and ambition (mightie miniſters to all miſchiefe) cauſed him to be killed in a night as he rode alone in the ſtreetes of *Rome*, and then ſecretly to be caſt into the riuer of *Tiber*. Likewiſe the brute was (if ſuch an enormitie may be beleeued) that in the loue of the Ladie *Lucretia* were concurrant, not onely the two brethren, but alſo the father, who as ſoone as he was made Pope, taking her from her firſt husband, (as one farre inferiour to her in degree) afterward he married her to *Iohn Sforce* Lord of *Peſere*: but not being able to ſuffer her husband to be his corriuall, he alſo diſſolued the ſecond marriage already conſummated, hauing formerly made proofe, before Iudges delegate and of his owne chuſing, by falſe witneſſes ſuborned, and afterwards confirmed by ſentence, that *Iohn* was cold by nature, and altogether vnable to cohabitation. The death of the Duke of *Candie* afflicted not a litle the Pope, paſſionate, as much as euer father was, in the loue of his children, and as not accuſtomed to feele the blowes of fortune; foraſmuch as it is manifeſt that from his infancie to that age all things had moſt happily ſucceeded to him: and he was ſo much grieued, that in the Conſiſtorie, after he had with a great compaſſion of mind, and publicke teares, grieuouſly bewailed his miſerie, and accuſed many of his proper actions, and the maner of liuing which he had vſed till that day; he aſſured, with words full of efficacie, that hereafter he would gouerne his life otherwiſe then he had done, and liue altogether after another faſhion: and aſſigned preſently certaine of the number of Cardinals, to ioyne with him in the reformation of manners and orders of the Court: wherein

Pet. de Medicis aided by them of Sienna.

Pet. de Medicis faileth of his enterpriſe.

The Cardinall of Valence killeth his brother the Duke of Candie, being both the Popes ſonnes.

The Pope abhominable in the luſt of his daughter.

wherein after he had employed certaine dayes, at what time began to be manifeſt the author of the death of his ſonne, (for the which at the firſt he had the Cardinall *Aſcanius* and the *Vrſins* in ſtrong ſuſpition) he left off his former holy intention and his teares, and returned more diſorderly then euer, to thoſe thoughts and actions wherein he had conſumed his age till that day.

The factiõ & intelligence which Peter de Medicis had in Florence, is diſcouered.

There hapned in thoſe ſeaſons new trauels within *Florence*, by reaſon of the enterpriſe of *Peter de Medicis*. For ſhortly after the intelligence which he had with certaine particulars in the citie, was diſcloſed; by reaſon whereof many noble citizens were impriſoned, and ſome fled. And after the Magiſtrates had vſed meanes iudiciall to proue the maner of the conſpiracie, they not onely condemned to death *Nicholas Ridolphi*, *Laurence Tornaboni*, *Ianot Pucci*, and *Iohn Cambi*, who had ſolicited *Peter* to come, and receiued of him money for that end: but alſo *Bernardine de Nero*, to whom was imputed no other thing, then that knowing the practiſe, he had not reuealed it; which fault (of it ſelfe puniſhable by the head, by the ſtatutes of the *Florentines*, and by the interpretation which moſt part of lawyers giue to the common lawes) was found ſo much the more hainous in him, by how much he was chiefe Magiſtrate when *Peter* came to *Florence*, as if he had bene more greatly bound to do the office rather of a publicke perſon, then priuate. But the kindred of the condemned appealing from the ſentence to the great councel of the people, by vertue of a law made when the popular gouernment was eſtabliſhed; thoſe that had bene authors of the condemnation, fearing leſt the compaſſion of the age, of the nobilitie, and of the multitude of kinſmen, would moderate in the minds of the people the ſtraitneſſe of the iudgement, wrought ſo much, that they obtained, that to the leſſer number of the Citizens ſhould be referred the reſolution, whether the appeale ſhould be ſuffered to be proſecuted or reſtrained: wherein, being more ſtrong the authoritie and number of them which held it a thing dangerous, and no leſſe drawing to ſedition, ſeeing that the lawes themſelues ſuffered, that to auoide tumults, the ſtatutes in like caſes might be diſpenſed withall: ſome of thoſe that held the chiefe offices, were with great importunities, and almoſt by force, and with threatnings, conſtrained to conſent, that notwithſtanding the appeale interpoſed, execution ſhould be done the ſame night: and to this extreme iuſtice, were more affectioned then others, the followers of *Sauonarola*, not without his proper infamie, forbearing to diſſwade (euen his auditors) the violation of a law publiſhed a few yeares before by himſelfe, as very conuenient and almoſt neceſſary for the preſeruation of the common libertie.

The Pope inueſteth Federike in the kingdome of Naples.

In this yeare, *Federike* King of *Naples* hauing obtained of the Pope the inueſtiture of the kingdome, and making his coronation perfect with all ſolemnities, he recouered by accord the mount *Saint Ange*, which had bene valiantly defended by *Dom Iulian de Lorraine*, whom the *French* King left there: he reconquered alſo *Ciuita*, with other peeces holden by *Charles de Sanguin*: and (as ſoone as the truce was ended) he chaſed out of the Realme the Prefect of *Rome*, conuerting his forces to execute the like action vpon the Prince of *Salerne*, who being at laſt beſieged in the rocke of *Diana*, and abandoned of all ſuccours, had permiſſion to go his way in ſafetie with his goods, leauing that part of his eſtate which he had not yet loſt, in the hands of the Prince of *Biſignian*, with condition to paſſe it ouer to *Federike*, as ſoone as he vnderſtood that he was conducted in ſafetie to *Sinigale*.

New practiſes betweene the kings of France and Spaine.

About the end of this yeare (the Diet which had bene transferred from *Montpellier* to *Narbonne*, being afore interrupted by the immoderate demands of the King and Queene of *Spaine*) the *French* King and the ſaid King of *Spaine* returned eſtſoones into new practiſes, wherein were found the ſame difficulties: for that the *French* King had determined not to conſent to any accord wherein *Italy* ſhould be comprehended: and it was a thing diſpleaſing to the King and Queene of *Spaine* to leaue him free libertie, and a way open to ſubdue it. And yet it was farre from the deſires of the *Spaniſh* to entertaine warres with him on the other ſide the Mounts, becauſe it was a warre full of troubles and expenſes, and no hope of honour or profite. At laſt the truce was concluded betweene them, to endure till it were reuoked, and two moneths after: and there was no Potentate of *Italy* comprehended in it, to whom the King of *Spaine* gaue ſignification of the truce, alledging that in him was no leſſe power to make a contract without the knowledge of the other Confederates, then in the Duke of *Millan* (without their conſent or priuitie) to conclude the peace of *Verceil*: and that (when the league was made) he hauing begun the warre in *France*, and continued it many moneths without receiuing any of the money promiſed by the Confederates, although he had iuſt occaſion not to take care of them that had ſo diſ-

appointed

appointed him; yet had he many times aduertiſed them, that if they would make paiment of the hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats which they ought to him for the expences of the warre he had made, he was contented to accept that paiment, in reckoning of all other actions and enterpriſes hereafter (hauing determined to enter *France* with a ſtrong armie,) but that the Confederates would not agree to theſe demands, and much leſſe keepe faith, or be carefull ouer the common ſafetie: and therefore perceiuing that the league made for the libertie of *Italy*, was turned into an vſurpation and oppreſſion of the regions of the ſame (for that the *Venetians* not contented with ſo many ports falne to their ſhare in the kingdome of *Naples*, had made themſelues Lords ouer *Piſa* without any right) it hath ſeemed to him reaſonable and iuſt, ſeeing by others the common affaires were diſordered, to prouide for his owne particular with a truce, made notwithſtanding in ſuch ſort, that it may rather be called an admonition, then a will to ſeparate from the league, for that it was alwayes in his power to diſſolue or reuoke it; which he would do, when he ſhould diſcerne another intention, and other prouiſions in the Potentates of *Italy*, for the common benefite. About this time died *Iohn* Prince of *Spaine*, onely ſonne to the King and Queene, to whom the accident brought no ſmall ſorrow and heauineſſe, for that, beſides diſappointing of the ſucceſſion, his death gaue no litle impediments to the ſweete delights and pleaſures which they reckoned to reape in their new tranquillitie and reſt. To this was alſo ioyned the death of *Philip* Duke of *Sauoy*, leauing onely one ſonne of litle age. This late Duke, after he had wauered long time in ſuſpence, ſeemed at laſt to fauour the faction of the Confederates, who had promiſed to pay him euery yeare twentie thouſand duckats: and yet euery one of them had ſo great doubt of his faith, that they could aſſure nothing of his promiſes, if the *French* King ſhould deſcend to make any ſtrong enterpriſe.

Philip Duke of Sauoy dieth.

With this yeare, ended the two yeares touching the deputation of the Caſtle of *Genes*, which the Duke of *Ferrara* (receiuing it in truſt) did eftſoones render to *Lodowike* his ſonne in law: and firſt demanded of the *French* King, that according to the capitulations of *Verceil*, he would ſee him ſatisfied of the halfe of the expences employed in the guard of it; whereof the King conſented to make paiment, ſo that the Duke would put into his hands the Caſtle, as he ſaid he was bound for the diſobedience of the Duke of *Millan*: but the Duke of *Ferrara* anſwered, that that was not approued; and that to put the Duke of *Millan* in contumacie, it were neceſſary to haue interpellation. The King offered to commit the money into a third mans hand, to the end that afore paiment were made, there might be conſtruction in iuſtice and law, whether he ought not to render to him the Caſtle. But the inſtance made to the contrary by the *Venetians* and his ſon in law, carried more force in the fancie of the Duke of *Ferrara*; wherein he was not onely moued by the prayers and ſolicitations of *Lodowike*, who not many dayes before had indued the Cardinall *Hippolito* his ſonne with the Archbiſhopricke of *Millan*; but much more by the dangers that threatned him, if he ſhould prouoke the malice of ſo mightie enemies, in a time wherein was continuall diminution of the hope that the *French* men would deſcend. So then hauing firſt called home from the Court of *France* his ſon *Ferrand*, he ſurrendred the Caſtle to *Lodowike*, who ſatisfied all charges for keeping it, together with the portion which appertained to the King to pay. By reaſon whereof, the *Venetians*, to expreſſe how much they congratulated his doings, tooke his ſaid ſonne into their pay, with an hundred men at armes. This reſtitution made with no iuſtice, albeit it was of great importance againſt the Kings reputation in *Italy*, yet he diſſembled the wrong, and made no ſuch apparence of diſliking as had bene conuenient. And that which more is, the Duke of *Ferrara* excuſing the action by an Embaſſadour ſent to his Maieſtie, for that by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the *Venetians* and Duke of *Millan* (both prepared to denounce warre againſt him) he was conſtrained to obey neceſſitie; the King gaue as negligent eare, as if the nature of the matter had bene light and trifling; as one who beſides that he proceeded almoſt at aduenture in all his actions, was troubled with continuall care and trauell of mind, ioyned to his ancient deuotion to repaſſe into *Italy*, hauing now greater occaſions then euer, for that he had made truce with the King of *Spaine*, renewed the alliance with the *Swiſſers*, and withall many cauſes of diſagreement were lately hapned amongſt the Confederates. But he was hindred by the perſwaſions of the moſt part of ſuch as were neareſt about him: for ſome ſet afore him his pleaſures, others encouraged him to embrace the enterpriſe, but with ſo mightie preparations both by ſea and land, & with ſo great prouiſions of money, as could not be furniſhed but with a long ſpace of time; others propoſed many difficulties

The caſtle of Genes rendred to the Duke of Millan.

and occaſions; and the Cardinall of *S. Malo* forgat not his accuſtomed delayes in the expedition of money: in ſo much, that not onely the time to paſſe into *Italy* was more vncertaine then euer; but alſo many things were ſuffered to miſcarry, which were now almoſt brought to their perfection. For the *Florentines* (continually incenſing the King to march) had contracted with him, to take armes on their ſide, as ſoone as the warre ſhould be begun by him, and for that effect, they did agree that *Monſieur d'Aubigny* with an hundred and fiftie *French* lances (the hundred to be payed by the King, and the fiftie by them) ſhould paſſe by ſea into *Tuſcane*, to be Generall of their armie: and the Marquis of *Mantua*, who when he returned victorious from the kingdome of *Naples*, had bene diſhonorably diſappointed of the pay of the *Venetians*, for ſuſpition that he ſolicited to be mercenary to the *French* King, did now in good earneſt negotiate with him to that end; and the new Duke of *Sauoy* was confirmed in his amitie: beſides whom, *Bentiuole* promiſed to follow his authoritie, as ſoone as he was come into *Italy*: and the Pope doubting whether he ſhould ioyne with him, (as he was continually laboured) determined at the leaſt not to be againſt him.

But now began the ſpirits and minds of all men to grow cold, for the detraction and negligence which the King vſed: for that, neither his men of warre (as he had promiſed) paſſed into *Italy* to reaſſemble at *Aſt*; neither was *Monſieur d'Aubigny* diſpatched, and much leſſe money ſent to pay the *Vrſins* and the *Vitellies* his ſouldiers; a thing of no litle importance for the warre he meant to make. By reaſon whereof the *Vitellies* inclining to enter pay with the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* who feared they ſhould not haue ſufficient reſpite to giue aduertiſement to the King, kept them entertained for one yeare in common, for the ſeruice of the King and themſelues. The King commended much theſe actions in them, but he made no ratification nor prouiſion of paiment for his part: onely he ſent *Gemel* to them, to intreate them to lend him for the furniture of his enterpriſe, an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats. Laſtly, the King (as he did at other times) meaſuring the wils of others by his owne, left all things to confuſion, and departed almoſt vpon the ſudden from *Lions* to go to *Tours*, and then to *Amboyſe*, with his accuſtomed promiſes to returne immediatly to *Lions*. For which reſpects, hope failing in all thoſe that followed his faction in *Italy*, *Baptiſta Fregoſe* was the firſt that reconciled himſelfe with the Duke of *Millan*, who taking courage by theſe ſucceſſes, diſcouered euery day more and more the ill diſpoſition he bare towards the *Venetians* for the regard of *Piſa*, ſoliciting the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, eſtſoones to produce (but with more efficacie) a Parliament, for the reſtoring of the ſame Citie. And the better to aduance the practiſe, the *Florentines*, receiuing counſell and direction from him, diſpatched in the beginning of the yeare 1498, an Embaſſadour to *Rome*, but with a commiſſion qualified to proceed ſo aduiſedly, that the Pope and the reſidue might perceiue, that if *Piſa* were rendred to them, they would ioyne in vnitie with the others for the defence of *Italy*, againſt the *French*: and that in caſe the reſtitution of that Citie ſucceeded not, the *French* King ſhould haue no cauſe to hold them ſuſpected. This conference continued many dayes at *Rome*, wherein was omitted nothing by the Pope, the Embaſſadours of the *Spaniſh*, of the Duke of *Millan*, and of the King of *Naples*, that might reaſonably induce the *Venetian* Embaſſadour to hold it neceſſarie for the common ſuretie of *Italy*, that by the redeliuerie of that citie, the *Florentines* might participate in the generall league againſt the *French*. They told him, that the Senate of *Venice* ought to conſent thereunto together with others, to the end, that the rootes of all emotions and troubles being ſupplanted, there ſhould remaine to no eſtate or degree in *Italy*, any occaſion to call eſtſoones forreine armes ouer the Mounts: and that if in that regard the vnitie of *Italy* ſuffered impediment, there would perhaps be giuen occaſion to others to take new counſels, by the which, to the common preiudice, might happen ſome alteration of importance. But to this, was quite contrary the deliberation of the Senate of *Venice*, who couering their couetouſneſſe with many colours, and perceiuing from whom proceeded principally ſo great an inſtance, made anſwer by the ſame Embaſſadour, complaining not a litle that ſuch a motion proceeded not of a reſpectiue care to the vniuerſall benefite, but of an euill affection which ſome of the Confederates bare to them: for that the *Florentines* hauing with the *French* men a great affinitie and coniunction of mind, and being perſwaded that by their returning into *Italy*, the moſt part of *Tuſcane* would diuolue to their rule and iuriſdiction; doubtleſſe the reſtitution of *Piſa* would not ſuffiſe to draw them from this inclination. But of the contrary, the ſurrender was a thing moſt dangerous, for that by how much they ſhould be mightie and ſtrong,

The Duke of Millan proſecutes his practiſe againſt the Venetians. 1498.

ſtrong, by ſo much the more would they be hurtfull to the ſuretie and quiet of *Italy*: That in this reſtitution, ſtood the honour and faith of euery one, but principally of their Commonweale; ſeeing that the Confederates hauing promiſed the *Piſans* with one conſent to protect their libertie, and afterwards (euery one in particular putting an vnwilling hand to furniſh the expences of the common buſineſſe) impoſed the whole burden vpon them alone, who (for that cauſe) had refuſed no charges nor trauels, it could not but turne to their ſpeciall diſhonour to leaue them abandoned, and to faile in their faith promiſed, which though others eſteemed litle, yet they hauing alwayes accuſtomed to keepe it, would not violate it in any ſort: That it was a thing moſt grieuous to the Senate of *Venice*, that (without reſpect) others ſought to impute vnto them, that which they had begun with one common conſent, and continued for the benefite of euery one; and that with ſo great an ingratitude, they were puniſhed for their good workes: That the intollerable expences which they had defrayed in this enterpriſe and in many others, ioyned to ſo many perils and trauels ſuſtained ſince the league was made, deſerued not ſuch recompence, ſpecially the trauels and expences which they had bene at, being of that nature, that they might boldly ſay, that *Italy* had bene preſerued by their meanes: for that neither the battell of *Taro* was fought with other armes then theirs, nor the kingdome of *Naples* recouered with other forces then of their Commonweale: That no other armie conſtrained *Nouaro* to render, and cauſed the *French* King to returne beyond the Mounts: That no other ſtrength then theirs was oppoſed againſt him in *Piemont*, as often as he aſſayed to returne: And that it could not be denied, that thoſe actions proceeded principally of the deſire they had of the ſafetie of *Italy*, ſeeing as their eſtates were alwayes furtheſt remoued from perils, ſo, by their occaſion, there were no diſorders hapned which they ought to redreſſe. For they had not called the *French* King into *Italy*, nor accompanied him when he was come ouer the Mounts, and much leſſe for ſparing their proper treaſures, haue they ſuffered to fall into perill the common affaires: but it hath bene often needfull, that the Senate of *Venice* ſhould giue remedie to the diſorders hapned by the faults of others, to the common harmes of the whole. The which actions, albeit they were not knowne, or though they were ſo ſoone committed to forgetfulneſſe, yet they would not, for all that (after the ill excuſable example of others) blemiſh neither the faith nor dignitie of their Commonweale; the rather, for that to the preſeruation of the libertie of the *Piſans*, was ioyned the ſuretie and welfare of all *Italy*.

Whileſt theſe things were debated amongſt the Confederates, with a manifeſt diſagreement, there hapned a new accident, which ingendred effects diuers and much different from the thoughts of men. The night before the eight day of Aprill, King *Charles* died at *Amboyſe*, of a Catarre, which the Phyſitians call *Apoplexie*, the ſame riſing in him with ſuch abundance as he beheld a match plaid at tenniſe, that within few houres he ended at the ſame place his life, during the which, he had with greater importunitie then vertue, troubled the whole world, with great apparence of danger to kindle new troubles: for that it was beleeued of many, that being puſhed forwards with a vehement deſire to returne into *Italy*, he had in the end, either of his owne motion, or by the incitation of ſuch as bare enuie to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, remoued all the difficulties that had withholden him. In ſo much, that albeit in *Italy* (according to his variations) ſometimes he increaſed, and ſometimes he diminiſhed the opinion that men had that he would march; yet he kept them in continuall ſuſpition: and for this cauſe the Pope ſtirred vp with a deſire to raiſe his ſonnes, had already begun to ſolicite with him ſecretly touching ſome innouation: and it was bruted afterward that the Duke of *Millan* had done the like, to the end not to liue in continuall feare. King *Charles* dying without iſſue, the Realme of *France* deſcended to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, as nearer in bloud then any other of the maſculine line; to whom (remaining then at *Bloys*) came to do reuerence, the Kings guard, and all the generall traine of the Court, together with the Nobilitie of the kingdome, by whom he was ſaluted as King, and ſo acknowledged; notwithſtanding ſome did ſecretly murmure, that (according to the ancient lawes of the land) he was diſabled to aſpire to the Crowne, againſt the which he had taken armes in the warres of *Brittaine*. The day after the death of King *Charles* (a day obſerued in many places with great ſolemnitie) tooke end the authoritie of *Sauonarola*; who hauing bene long time afore accuſed to the Pope, that he preached ſlanderouſly againſt the manners of the Cleargie and Court of *Rome*, that he nouriſhed diſcords in *Florence*, and that his doctrine was not fully Catholicke; and for theſe reaſons called to *Rome* by many writs, he refuſed to appeare there,

The death of King Charles the eight.

Lewis Duke of Orleans ſucceedeth to the Crowne.

The death of Sauonarola.

alledging many excuſes: and therefore had bene (the yeare before) ſeparated by the Pope, with cenſures, from the fellowſhip of the Church. Of which ſentence (hauing abſtained from preaching certaine moneths) he had eaſily obtained abſolution, if he had longer continued; for that the Pope, who made ſmall reckoning of *Sauonarola*, had proceeded againſt him more by the incenſing and perſwaſion of his aduerſaries, then any other occaſion. But he iudging that it was for his ſilence, that his reputation came ſo to be diminiſhed, or at leaſt, that it brake the purpoſe for the which he ſtirred, (for he was principally aduanced for his vehemencie in preaching) he fell eftſoones to deſpiſe the Popes commandements, and returned publickly to his old office, wherein affirming that the cenſures publiſhed againſt him were vniuſt, and of no force, as contrary to the will of God, and hindering the common good, he opened his mouth eftſoones to reuile the Pope and the whole Court of *Rome* with great vehemencie. Of this aroſe no ſmall emotion, for that his aduerſaries (whoſe authoritie increaſed daily in greatneſſe with the people) deteſted ſuch inobedience, rebuking the action, for that by his raſhneſſe, the Popes mind was drawne into alteration, in a time ſpecially, wherein the reſtitution of *Piſa* being negotiated by him and the other Confederates, it was neceſſary to do all things to confirme him in that inclination: and on the other ſide, his partakers defended him, alledging that men ought not for the regard of humane things, to trouble the operations diuine, nor conſent that vnder ſuch colours, the Popes of *Rome* ſhould begin to intrude into the affaires of their Commonweale. But after there were certaine dayes ſpent in this contention, and the Pope wonderfully inflamed, ſending out new thunderbolts, with threats of cenſures againſt the whole citie, he was at laſt commanded by the magiſtrates of the citie to forbeare to preach; to whom though he obeyed, yet diuers of his brethren did the like in ſundry Churches. But the diuiſion being no leſſe among the ſpiritualtie then the laitie, the Friers of other Orders ceaſſed not to preach feruently againſt him. And at laſt they fell into ſuch a heate, that one of the diſciples of *Sauonarola*, and one of the Frier Minors, agreed to enter into the fire in the preſence of the whole people, to the end that the diſciple of *Sauonarola* being either burned or preſerued, the people might be left ſatisfied whether *Sauonarola* were a Prophet or an abuſer: ſeeing that formerly he had affirmed in his ſermons, that for the iuſtification of the truth of his prophecies, he could in all neceſſities obtaine of God the grace, to paſſe without hurt through the middeſt of a flaming fire: and yet notwithſtanding being angrie becauſe they had agreed without his priuitie to make preſent experience, he laboured to breake it with all diligence: but the matter being ſo farre proceeded of it ſelfe, and earneſtly ſolicited by certaine citizens deſiring to haue the towne deliuered of ſo great troubles, it was neceſſary at laſt to paſſe further. And therefore the two religious brethren, accompanied with all their brotherhoods and Couent, being come at the day appointed to the place afore the publicke Pallace, where was not onely a generall concourſe of the people of *Florence*, but alſo many of the cities adioyning; the Frier Minors were aduertiſed that *Sauonarola* had ordained, that his diſciple and brother entring the fire, ſhould beare in his hand the Sacrament: which deuice they impugned greatly, alledging that there was ſought by that meanes to put in danger the authoritie of the Chriſtian faith, which in the minds of the ignorant would not a litle decline if that holy hoaſt ſhould burne: and *Sauonarola* being there preſent, and perſeuering in his reſolution, there aroſe among them ſuch a diſagreement, that the action of experience proceeded no further. For which cauſe he loſt ſo much of his credite, that the day following, in a tumult then hapning, his aduerſaries tooke armes, whereunto being ioyned the authoritie of the ſoueraigne Magiſtrate, they entred the Monaſterie of *S. Marke* where he was, and drawing him out of the place, they led him with two of his brethren to the common priſons. In this tumult, the kinſmen of thoſe that had bene executed the yeare before, killed *Franciſque Valori* a citizen of great authoritie, and the moſt apparent fauorer and follower of *Sauonarola*: and this hapned for that aboue all others, his authoritie had depriued them of the facultie to haue recourſe to the iudgement of the councell popular. *Sauonarola* was afterwards examined with torments, but not very grieuous, and vpon the examination a proceſſe publiſhed, which (taking away all imputations that were laid on him for couetouſneſſe, corruptions of manners, or to haue had ſecret intelligence or practiſe with Princes) contained, that the matters by him prophecied, were not pronounced by diuine reuelation, but by his proper opinion, grounded vpon the doctrine and obſeruation of holy Scripture: and that he had not bene moued by any wicked intention or purpoſe, and much leſſe by that meanes to aſpire to any office or greatneſſe in the Church;

but

but that he had a holy deſire, that by his meanes a generall Councell might be called, wherein the corrupt cuſtome of the Cleargie might be reformed, and the eſtate of the Church of God (ſo farre wandered and gone aſtray) be reduced, as neare as might be, to the reſemblance of the times drawing neareſt the Apoſtles; a glorie, which, to giue perfection to ſo great and holy an operation, he eſteemed farre aboue the obtaining of the Popedome: becauſe that could not come to paſſe but by the means of an excellent doctrine and vertue, and a ſingular reuerence of all men: whereas the Popedome moſt often was obtained, either by ſiniſter means, or elſe by the benefite of fortune. Vpon which proceſſe confirmed by him in the hearing and preſence of many religious perſons, euen of his owne Order, but (if that be true which his owne faction bruted afterwards) with words darke, and ſuch as might receiue diuers interpretations: there were taken from him and his two other companions, with ceremonies inſtituted by the Church of *Rome*, the holy orders, by ſentence of the General of the *Iacobins* and of the Biſhop *Romolin*, who was after Cardinall of *Surrente*, Commiſſioners delegate by the Pope: and that done, they were paſſed ouer to the power of the ſecular Court, by the iudgement whereof they were hanged and burned, there being preſent at the ſpectacle of the degradation and execution, no leſſe multitudes of people, then at the day of the experiẽce of entring the fire, there were come to the ſame place to behold the iſſue of the miracle promiſed by *Sauonarola*. This death conſtantly endured (but without expreſſing word whereby might be diſcerned, either their innocencie or fault) quenched not the diuerſitie of iudgements and paſſions of men: for that many ſuppoſed he was but an abuſer; and others of the contrary beleeued, that the confeſſion that was publiſhed was falſly forged, or that in his weake complexion, the torments had more force then the truth: excuſing this frailtie with the example of *S. Peter*, who neither impriſoned, nor conſtrained with torments, or by any other extraordinary force, but at the ſimple words of the handmaids and ſeruants, denied that he was the diſciple of that maiſter, in whom he had ſeene ſo many holy miracles.

The end of the third Booke.

THE FOVRTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Lewis Duke of Orleans ſucceedeth to the Crowne of France: he determineth to recouer his Duchie of Millan. Piſa and Florence make warre: Lodowike Sforce flieth from Millan: the Florentines giue batterie to Piſa, and agree with the French King. Pope Alexander aſpireth for his ſonne to the iuriſdiction of Romagna. Lodowike Sforce recouereth Millan, but being betrayed by the Swiſſers, he is taken, and led into France.

BY the death of King *Charles* the eight, *Italy* was freed of the feare of imminent dangers, which the power of the *French* did threaten. For men were of opinion, that the new King *Lewis* the twelfth, newly aſcended to the Crowne, would not in the beginning of his reigne make warre in *Italy*. But the ſpirits of ſuch as conſidered the euent of things, nouriſhed alwayes a ſecret ſuſpition, that the afflictions then deferred, would with time grow more dangerous and more great, ſo large an Empire being fallen vpon a King ripe in age, full of experience in matter of warre, moderate in expences, and in all things (without compariſon) holding more of himſelfe then did his predeceſſor: and to whom withal, did appertaine (as he was King of *France*) not only the ſame right of the kingdome of *Naples*, but alſo he maintained that the Duchie of *Millan* was his freehold by the ſucceſſion of the Ladie *Valentina* his grandmother, who was married by *John Galeas Viſcounte* his father (afore that in ſtead of viccaire of the Empire, he had obtained the title of Duke of *Millan*) to *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, brother to King *Charles* the ſixt. At which marriage, there was added to the ſtate of the dowrie (which was the Citie and countrey of *Aſt*, with great ſummes of money) an expreſſe condition, that when ſoeuer the line maſculine of *Galeas* ſhould faile, the Ladie *Valentina* ſhould ſucceed to the Duchie of *Millan*, or ſhe being dead, her next heires and deſcendents. Which couenant albeit ſtrong enough of it ſelfe, was confirmed (if the *French* traditions be true) by the authoritie of the Pope (the Imperiall ſeate being voide at that time; for the Popes of *Rome* pretend that the adminiſtration of the Empire vacant belongeth to them:) by which meanes, the bloud male of *John Galeas* determining afterwards by the death of *Philip Maria Viſcounte*, *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, ſonne to the Ladie *Valentina*, began to lay claime to the ſucceſſion of the ſaid Dukedome. But as the ambition of Princes is readie to helpe on their titles with euery apparent colour, ſo there aſpired at the ſame time to the ſaid Dukedome, not onely the Emperour *Federike*, alledging that it was reuerted to the Empire, for that the line nominated in the inueſtiture made to *John Galeas* by *Vinciſlaus* King of *Romanes*, was extinct, but alſo *Alphonſo* King of *Aragon* and *Naples*, who was inſtituted heire by the teſtament of Duke *Philip*; and among the reſidue, *Francis Sforce* with a fortune, force and felicitie, more fauourable then the others, quarrelled the ſame title; who to giue a better ſhadow to the armies which he leuied in that cauſe, alledged that his wife *Blanch*, the onely daughter (but a baſtard) of *Philip*, had peculiar intereſt in that ſucceſſion: ſo that *Charles* Duke of *Orleans*, who (being taken priſoner at the battell of *Agincourt* in the warres betweene the *Engliſh* and *French*, and remaining reſtrained in *England* fiue and twentie yeares) was able to do nothing, by reaſon of his pouertie and hard fortunes, to iuſtifie his title, and much leſſe could he obtaine aide of King *Lewis* the eleuenth, notwithſtanding he was his neareſt kinſman: the reaſon was, that the ſame King, in the beginning of his reigne, hauing bene much moleſted and manifeſtly inuaded by the great Lords and Barons of the Realme, (who vnder

The title of the French King to the Duchie of Millan.

The authoritie of the Pope founded vpon the negligence of the Emperor

vnder the ſhew of publicke profite, conſpired againſt him, by diſdaine, and for their particular intereſts) eſteemed that his eſtate and ſuretie was eſtabliſhed by the embaſing of the great ones: and for that reaſon, *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, ſon to *Charles*, albeit he was his ſonne in law, could obtaine of him no fauour at all: and *Lewis* after the death of his ſaid father in law, vnwilling to ſuffer that the Ladie *Anne* Ducheſſe of *Bourbon* the Kings ſiſter, ſhould be preferred afore him to the gouernement of *Charles* the eight then in minoritie, after he had troubled *France* with a very ſlender ſucceſſe, retired into *Brittaine* with a worſe fortune. For ioyning with thoſe that were vnwilling that *Charles* ſhould obtaine *Brittaine*, by marrying with *Anne* heire of that State by the death of *Francis* her father leauing no iſſue male, (yea aſpiring ſecretly to the ſame marriage) he was taken in an encounter betweene the *French* and the *Brittons* neare *S. Aulbin* in that countrey, and from thence being led into *France*, he remained priſoner there two yeates: in ſo much as meanes failing him, and finding no ſuccours in King *Charles*, after he was out of priſon, he ioyned no further action to that enterpriſe, but when the King left him within *Aſt*, he made himſelfe Lord of *Nouaro* with very litle profite. But being now become King of *France*, he deſired nothing with greater affection, then to reconquer the Duchie of *Millan* as a ſucceſſion iuſtly appertaining to him: which deſire planted in him from his youth, was eftſoones wonderfully increaſed by the ſucceſſe he had at *Nouaro*; and withall, for that he greatly hated *Lodowike Sforce*, by reaſon of the inſolent demonſtrations and behauiours which he vſed to him when he was in *Aſt*: therefore, not long after the death of King *Charles*, by reſolution ſet downe in his elect Councell, he intitled himſelfe not onely King of *France*, and (for the regard of the realme of *Naples*) King of *Ieruſalem* and both the *Sicilies*, but alſo Duke of *Millan*. And becauſe he would make knowne to the world what was his inclination to the things of *Italy*, he preſently wrote letters full of amitie and congratulation touching his aſcending to the Crowne, to the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*, and withall diſpatched men of purpoſe to giue hopes of new enterpriſes, giuing plainly to vnderſtand, that he purpoſed to conquer the Duchie of *Millan*: wherein the time running, nouriſhed for him many fauours and oportunities, for that the death of his predeceſſor had bred in the minds of the *Italians* many new inclinations, much differing from the cogitations they had afore. For the Pope (whoſe ambitious thoughts could not be ſatisfied if *Italy* ſtood in tranquillitie) wiſhed that things might grow to hurly burly, ſeeking his peculiar aduancement thereby. And the *Venetians*, being now deliuered of the feare they had of King *Charles* for the wrongs and iniuries they had done him, expreſſed manifeſtly that they had no diſtruſt in the new King: which diſpoſition increaſed dayly more and more, for that *Lodowike Sforce* (notwithſtanding he knew that he had to do with an enemie more mightie and leſſe pliable) feeding himſelfe with this hope (the ſame alſo beguiling *Federike* of *Aragon*) that the *French* King could not with ſuch expedition execute any action on that ſide the Mounts, forbare not to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the *Venetians* in the quarrell of *Piſa*, wherein his ſpite preſent would not let him ſee the danger that was to come. The *Florentines* onely began to eſtrange themſelues in mind from the amitie of the *French*: for albeit this new King had bene their protector afore, yet now that he is come to the Crowne, he had with them no bond of amitie, neither in regard of faith giuen, nor for benefites receiued, as his predeceſſor had by meanes of thoſe capitulations which were made at *Florence* and at *Aſt*: for regard of which they would alwayes lay themſelues open to many perils and perplexities, rather then to abandon his alliance. Beſides, the diſcord which continually increaſed betweene the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan*, was the cauſe that the feare being ceaſſed which they had of the forces of the Confederates, and withall hoping more in the fauours certaine and neare at hand of *Lombardie*, then in the ſuccours farre off and doubtfull of *France*, they tooke occaſion to make leſſe reckoning of ſuch friendſhip. In this different diſpoſition of minds, were alſo no leſſe diuerſe the embaſſages that were ſent. For the Senate of *Venice* diſpatched with great ſpeed to the King, one of their Secretaries remaining at that time in negociation with the Duke of *Sauoy*: and to eſtabliſh with theſe beginnings the foundations of a well aſſured alliance, as the dayly affaires and occurrents of times required, they made an election of three other Embaſſadours to go to his Maieſtie, not onely to congratulate his right worthy aſcending to the Crowne, but alſo to proteſt, in forme of excuſe, that what they had done contrary to the liking of the late King *Charles*, proceeded of no other motion, then of a ſuſpition which they had (when they perceiued by many ſignes) that not contented with the kingdome of *Naples*, he would lift vp his mind

Lewis xij. king of France intitleth himſelfe Duke of Millan.

The Venetians ſend Embaſſadours to the French king.

to thoſe meanes which might make him Lord of all *Italy*. The Pope alſo, who had determined to appropriate to his ſonne *Ceſar*, at that time Cardinall, all temporall greatneſſe, raiſed his thoughts to high things, and ſending Embaſſadours to the *French* King, purpoſed to ſell to his Maieſtie ſpirituall graces, receiuing in recompence temporall poſſeſſions. For he was not ignorant that the *French* King had great deſire to refuſe *Iane* his wife, both barren and deformed, who was giuen him almoſt by force by *Lewis* the eleuenth: and that he had no leſſe liking to marry *Anne* now widow by the death of the late King, not ſo much for the ancient affection that was betweene them afore the encounter of *S. Aulbin*, as that by the prerogatiue of that marriage he ſhould infinuate into the Duchie of *Brittaine*, an Eſtate very conuenient for the Crowne of *France*: which could not be done without the authoritie of the Pope. The *Florentines* in like ſort failed not to ſend Embaſſadours to the King, as well to teſtifie the ancient cuſtome and deuotion of that Citie to the Crowne of *France*, as to put his Maieſtie in remembrance of their merites, and the bonds and promiſes of the late King: wherein they were much ſolicited by the Duke of *Millan*, hauing two intentions, the one that by their meanes the practiſes of the *Venetians* might be hindered, (both the one and the other Commonweale intreating of the affaires of *Piſa*) and alſo that if they obtained any credite, amitie, or authoritie, they might vnder ſome occaſion, employ all to worke an accord betweene him and the *French* King; a thing not a litle deſired by him. All theſe Embaſſadours were well receiued of the King, who began euen at the firſt to ſound euery of them ſeuerally, notwithſtanding he had no meaning to put any thing to action in *Italy*, afore he had firſt aſſured the realme of *France*, by new leagues and confederations with the neighbouring Princes.

The Pope apt to diſpenſe with all things for the greatnes of his ſonne.

But it was a thing fatall, that the fire of *Piſa*, which the Duke of *Millan* had firſt kindled, and nouriſhed by an earneſt deſire to aſſubiect it to himſelfe, ſhould in the end burne the author thereof: for that as well by his naturall iealouſie, as for the danger of the greatneſſe of the *Venetians*, which he ſaw to aſpire not onely ouer him, but alſo aboue all the other Potentates of *Italy*, he could not endure with patience, that the fruite of his deuices and trauels, ſhould be gathered by them: wherein, taking occaſion vpon the diſpoſition of the *Florentines*, reſolute to purſue in all accidents the quarrell of *Piſa*, and ſeeming to him that by the death of *Sauonarola* and *Francis Valori*, which were ſtrong parties againſt him, he might now repoſe more in that Citie then he could do in times paſt; he determined to aide the *Florentines* in the recouery of *Piſa* with armes, ſeeing that neither with practiſes, nor by his owne authoritie, nor the power of others, he could accompliſh his deſire: perſwading himſelfe vainly, that either afore the *French* King could execute any action, *Piſa* would be reduced by compoſition or force to the iuriſdiction of *Florence*, or elſe the Senate of *Venice* (guided by that wiſedome which he would neuer ſuffer to gouerne himſelfe) would neuer deſire either for enuie, or other leſſe occaſion, that (to the common danger of the whole) the *French* armies ſhould eftſoones returne into *Italy*, for the expelling of whom they had taken ſo great paines. And this indiſcreet reſolution was furthered by a diſorder which hapned againſt the *Florentines* in the countrey of *Piſa*. For their people which were at *Pontadere*, hauing aduertiſement by their eſpials that a troupe of ſeuen hundred horſemen and a thouſand footmen of the *Piſans* were returning home with a great prey of cattell which they had taken in the fields of *Volterre*, they iſſued out almoſt all vnder the conduct of *Rainuce* and *Guillaume* of *Pazzi* Commiſſioner for the *Florentines*, to cut betweene them and home for the recouerie of the bootie; and encountring with them in the valley of *S. Real*, they had almoſt put them to diſorder, and recouered the moſt part of the prey, when there ioyned to the *Piſans* an hundred and fiftie men at armes ſent out of *Piſa* to the ſuccours of their fellowes, who finding the *Florentines* armie both wearie and ſomewhat diſordered with the trouble of the pillage, and the authoritie of Count *Rainuce* not being able to range the horſemen to make head againſt their enemies, after the footmen had made ſome reſiſtance, they were put to the chaſe, among whom many of their footmen were ſlaine, and moſt of their horſemen taken priſoners, with the chiefeſt of their Leaders: in ſo much as the Count and Commiſſioner for *Florence*, ſaued themſelues with great difficultie within *S. Real*, where they impoſed vpon one another (as is the cuſtome in ſuch caſes) the fault of the diſorder happened. This ouerthrow much grieued the *Florentines*, who to prouide ſpeedily for ſo great a danger, and not being able to refurniſh their companies with expedition, and alſo Count *Rainuce* Generall of their whole armie hauing loſt his reputation, for that his regiment had bene ſtripped, determined

ned to turne to the affaires of *Pisa* the *Vitellies*, who were then in the countrey of *Aretze*: but they were constrained to accord to *Paul Vitelli* the title of Captaine generall of their armie. This misfortune constrained them eftsoones to demand succours of the Duke of *Millan*, and that with so much the more instance, by how much since the chase, they had besought the *French* King, that to put them out of danger with his forces and with his authoritie, he would send them three thousand lances into *Tuscane*, and ratifie the retaining of the *Vitellies* according to the contract made in the time of the late King *Charles*, prouiding his portion of their paiment; and also that he would cause the *Venetians* to abstaine from further vexing of them: of all which requests, they reaped but gracious words without any effect; for that the King would not bring himselfe suspected with the *Venetians*, nor make any stirre in *Italy* afore he put beginning to the warres of *Millan*. But in this businesse the Duke of *Millan* was neither cold nor negligent, doubting lest the *Venetians* (by the occasion of this victorie) would enter further into the iurisdiction of *Pisa*, then they could be afterwards repulsed but with great difficultie; and therefore made knowne to the *Florentines* that he had a firme intention to succor them, but first he would establish with them, what prouisions were necessarie not onely for their defence, but also to atchieue the enterprise of *Pisa*; to the which (for there was no feare of any action in the *French* King for that yeare) were turned vniuersally the eyes of all *Italy*, being then free from all other troubles. For albeit in the territories of *Rome* the *Colonnoys* and the *Vrsins* had taken armes, yet their wisedomes preuailed more, then did either their hatreds or their iniuries. This was the substance of their quarrell: The *Colonnoys* and *Sauelles*, stirred vp for the occupation which *Iaques Count* made of the Tower *Mathias*, had inuaded the places and territories of the *Counts*: and of the other part, the *Vrsins* (for the affinitie and coniunction of factions) tooke armes in their fauour: so that many boroughs and villages being vsurped both by the one and other partie, they fought together at last with all their forces at the foote of *Motitelle* in the countrey of *Tiuoli*; where, after a long and braue battell, the inflamed passion of the parties pushing them on no lesse, then either regard of glory, or consideration of the danger of their estates, the *Vrsins* (whose armie contained two thousand footmen and eight hundred horsemen) were broken and put to the chase, their ensignes lost, and *Charles Vrsin* taken prisoner; and of the side of the *Colonnoys* was hurt *Anthonie Sauelle* a Captaine of no small reputation, who died of his wound not many dayes after. After this successe, the Pope, seeming to be displeased that the countrey so neare to *Rome* was disquieted, tooke vpon him to solicite an accord; which, whilest he entertained in action, not with good faith (for he was disguised in all his doings) the *Vrsins* hauing recouered new forces, went and incamped afore *Palombare*, a principall towne belonging to the *Sauelles*, which the *Colonnoys* (who after the victorie had occupied many places of the *Counts*) prepared to rescue. But both the parties finding at length the dissembled behauiours of the Pope, sometimes giuing courage to the *Colonnoys*, and eftsoones comforting the *Vrsins*, and that he did but nourish the warre, and giue them medicines to weaken them both, to the end he might with more facilitie oppresse them when their strengths were consumed, they came all together to a parley (without the interposing of a third) at *Tiuoli*, where, of themselues, they established an accord, by the which *Charles Vrsin* was set at libertie, the places taken in the controuersie restored to their proper owners, and the quarrell for the Earldomes of *Albe* and *Taillecousse* referred to the arbitration of King *Federike*, to whom the *Colonnoys* were mercenarie souldiers. These stormes thus resolued, and no warres discerned in any part of *Italy*, but about the countrey of *Pisa*, although the Duke of *Millan* had determined in the beginning not to succour the *Florentines* openly, but to minister to their wants with secret aides of money; yet suffering his mind to be continually ouer-ruled with passions of disdaine and enuie, and not abstaining from words insolent and full of threats against the *Venetians*, he determined now to declare himselfe publickly, and to cut off all regards and considerations of things, denying euen then passage to their bands of souldiers which marched to *Pisa* by the way of *Parma* and *Pontrema*, constraining them of necessitie to passe by the Duke of *Ferraraes* countrey; a way of farre more trauell and greater trouble; and wrought so that the Emperour commanded all those Embassadours which were resident in his Court (except the *Spanish*) to returne home, reuoking them all within a few dayes after, except the Embassadour for the Senate of *Venice*. He sent also to the succor of the *Florentines*, three hundred crossebow men, and contributed to the leuying of three hundred men at armes, partly vnder the Lord of *Plombin*, and some vnder *Iohn Paul Baillon*, and lent them at sundry

Paul Vitelli Captaine generall of the Florentine armie.

Quarrell betweene the families of Colonne & Vrsin.

dry times more then three hundred thouſand duckats, offering them continually greater aides when need required. Beſides all theſe, he made inſtance to the Pope (the importunities of the *Florentines* greatly inducing him) to aide them in ſome ſort: who anſwering that he knew well that it was dangerous to the eſtate of the Church, that the *Venetians* ſhould preuaile to make a foundation of *Piſa*, promiſed to refurniſh them with an hundred men at armes, and the three galleys which were in his pay vnder Captaine *Villemarine*, which ſhould giue impediments to the prouiſions of victuals that ſhould enter *Piſa* by ſea: yet after that with diuers excuſes he had deferred to ſend them any proportion, in the end he refuſed them openly, for that drawing dayly more and more into other deuices and thoughts, he made his reſolution to reſtraine himſelfe onely to the *French* King, by whoſe meanes he hoped to obtaine no ſmall nor common recompences, but euen the kingdome of *Naples*; following herein the propertie of men, who oftentimes do make eaſie with will and hope, that which in reaſon they know to be hard. And it was a thing almoſt fatall, that the refuſing of the alliance which the King of *Aragon* made to the Pope, ſhould breed in him the beginning of new things. For, before he had fully determined to ioyne himſelfe with the *French* King, he had requeſted King *Federike* to giue to the Cardinal of *Valence* (who was reſolued to giue ouer his hat vpon the firſt occaſion) his daughter in marriage, with the principalitie of *Tarent* in dowrie; perſwading himſelfe, that if his ſonne (whoſe wit was ſuttle and mind great) were once become Lord of ſo important a member of the kingdome of *Naples*, he might eaſily (hauing for wife one of the Kings daughters) take occaſion with the forces and authoritie of the Church, to diſpoile his father in law of the kingdome, both weake in forces and poore in money, and from whom alſo were eſtranged the affections of many Barons. This matter although it were hotly furthered and fauoured by the Duke of *Millan*, who debated with King *Federike* (by his Embaſſador the Marquis *Stampe* ſent purpoſely to *Rome* and *Naples*) how dangerous it would be for him, if the Pope (made fruſtrate of this deſire) went ſuddenly to ioyne with the *French* King: and withall he preferred to the Kings remembrance how much it would ſauour of puſillanimitie and indiſcretion (ſpecially the matter concerning wholy his ſafetie) to put in conſideration indignitie onely, and not to haue ſo much rule ouer himſelfe, as to preferre the protection of his Eſtate afore his proper will: yet *Federike* fearing that in this ſubtletie of *Lodowike* was layd the foundation of his ruine, refuſed the plot with continuall obſtinacie, confeſſing that the alienation or eſtranging of the Pope was a degree to put his kingdome in danger; but he ſtood aſſured, that to giue his daughter with the principalitie of *Tarent* to the Cardinall of *Valence*, were to put his life in danger, and therefore in two perils he had rather to abide the hazard of that which he might runne into with moſt honour and honeſtie, and which proceeded not of any fault or errour of himſelfe. By this meanes, the Pope turning wholly his mind to ioyne with the *French*, and deſiring that the *Venetians* would do the like, (whom he was loth to offend) he abſtained altogether to miniſter any fauours or ſuccours to the *Florentines*: who receiuing courage by the ready ſuccours of the Duke of *Millan*, and for the recommendation of the valour of *Paul Vitelli* their new Captaine, forgot nothing that might aduance the enterpriſe, notwithſtanding they eſteemed it of very hard action: for that beſide the numbers, experience, and courage of the Citizens and countrimen of *Piſa*, there was within *Piſa* a ſtrength of the *Venetians* of foure hundred men at armes, eight hundred eſtradiots, and more then two thouſand footmen: beſides that they were ready to refurniſh them with ſtronger ſuccours, for that euen ſuch as at the beginning had no will to conſent to accept the protection of the *Piſans*, were now no leſſe ready then the reſt to ſupport their quarrell for the regard of common honour.

The Pope ſeeketh to match his ſonne with the daughter of Federike.

The contract made in common by *Lodowike* and the *Florentines*, was ſo to increaſe the army, that it might be ſufficient to recouer all the places within the country of *Piſa*, and to do as much as was poſſible to cauſe the neighbours to forbeare to giue aide and fauour to the *Piſans*, or at leaſt, eſchuing the example of the *Venetians*, not to moleſt any more the *Florentines* in other places. *Lodowike* then hauing afore he determined to diſcouer himſelfe, entertained in common with the *Venetians*, *Iohn Bentiuole* with two hundred men at armes, laboured him ſo much, that he bound him with the ſtate of *Bologna*, to himſelfe onely: wherein the better to confirme *Bentiuole*, the *Florentines* tooke into their pay *Alexander* his ſonne: and to the end that if the *Venetians* (who had taken into their protection the Lord of *Faenza*) ſhould come to inuade them on the ſide of *Romagnia*, they ſhould find reſiſtance, the *Florentines* alſo tooke to their appoint-

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ments and deuotion, together with fiftie men at armes, *Octauian de Riare* Lord of *Imola* and *Furly*, who was gouerned according to the direction and will of *Katherine Sforce* his mother, who followed without any regard the faction of *Lodowike* and the *Florentines*, many occaſions moouing her, but principally for that ſhe was ſecretly married to *Iohn de Medicis*, whom the Duke of *Millan*, nothing liking of the gouernment popular, laboured to make great at *Florence*, together with his brother. *Lodowike* alſo cauſed the people of *Lucques* (with whom he was in great credite) to promiſe not to comfort any more the *Piſans* as they had alwayes done; the which albeit they did not obſerue fully, yet they abſtained very much for his regard. There remained the *Genowayes* and thoſe of *Sienna*, ancient enemies to the *Florentines*, who had great cauſes of controuerſie againſt that State: the one for the intereſt of *Montpulcian*, and the other by reaſon of the countrey of *Lunigiana*: and touching the *Siennoys*, it was a thing much to be feared, leſt being made blind with enuie, they would giue way to euery one to trouble and moleſt the *Florentines* by the oportunitie of their eſtates (as they had ſometimes done, euen to their proper domage.) And for the *Genowayes*, albeit by reaſon of ancient iniuries, it grieued them not a litle that the *Venetians* ſhould be maiſters ouer *Piſa*, yet (in that Citie there being litle care of the common good) they ſuffered the veſſels of the *Venetians* to exerciſe trafficke in their riuers, in regard of the priuate gaine which ſome particulars got by it, by the which the *Piſans* receiued very great commodities. Therefore, by the counſell of *Lodowike*, the *Florentines* ſent Embaſſadours to *Genes* and *Sienna*, to ſolicite (the rather by his meanes) an accord of all their quarrels. But as touching the *Genowayes*, the practiſe brought forth no effect, for that they demanded franke reſtitution of *Serezana*, without giuing other recompence then a ſimple promiſe to bereaue the *Piſans* of all the commodities of their countrey: and the *Florentines* found the loſſe ſo certain, and in regard thereof the profite ſo litle and incertain, that they refuſed to buy ſo dearly their friendſhips. But whileſt theſe deuices occupied the minds of men in diuers places, the *Florentine* armie, more mightie in horſemen then ſtrong in footmen, aduanced into the field vnder their new Generall; by meanes whereof the *Piſans*, who ſince the victory of *S. Real*, had with their ſtradiots made incurſions at pleaſure ouer the whole countrey, retired from *Pont de Sac* where they laſt incamped, and *Paul Vitelli* hauing taken *Calcinaia*, and ſetling his armie there in expectation of new ſtrength of footmen, he beſtowed one day one part of his ſouldiers in ambuſh neare to *Caſcina*, whither the regiment of the *Venetians* were retired, who gouerned by *Marke Martinengo* were not onely without obedience, but alſo without order: in ſo much as when *Paul Vitelli* gaue the charge to them, he ſlue many of the ſtradiots, with *Iohn Gradanic* a Captaine ouer men at armes, and tooke priſoner *Franque* Coronell of the ſtradiots, with an hundred horſes. For this accident the companies of the *Venetians* ſuppoſing it was not ſafe for them to remaine at *Caſcina*, they retired to the borough of *S. Marke*, expecting new ſuccours to come from *Venice*. But *Paul Vitelli*, after he was furniſhed with footmen, making ſhew as though he would aſſaile *Caſcina*, and the *Piſans* beleeuing ſo, beguiling the coniectures of the enemies, he paſſed ouer the riuer of *Arne*, and pitched his campe before the borough of *Buti*, hauing ſent afore three hundred footmen to keepe occupied the hils and frontier places: and hauing drawne thither with the ſtrength of a great number of Pioners, the artillery by the way of the mountaine (not without great difficultie for the troubleſome wayes) he tooke the towne by force the ſecond day after he had planted his artilleri:. *Paul* made choiſe of this enterpriſe, for that he iudged that *Piſa* (wherein was an incredible obſtinacie, as well of the inhabitants as others retired out of the countrey, in whom by long vſe was great ſufficiencie touching actions of warre) could not be taken by force, the Citie of it ſelfe being ſtrongly walled, and hauing within it many bands of men at armes of the *Venetians*: he held it an action of better policie to deuiſe rather to languiſh and conſume them, then to enforce them; and ſetling the warre in that part of the countrey which is on the right hand of the riuer *Arne*, he eſteemed it a good counſel in warre to lay plots to take the peeces in that quarter, and to command all thoſe places by whoſe helpe and oportunitie he might giue impediment to the ſuccours that might come to them by land from any forrein countrey: and therefore after the taking of *Buti*, hauing raiſed a baſtion vpon the mountaines which be aboue *S. Iohn de la Vene*, he drew his campe right afore the fort which the *Piſans* had made neare to *Vicopiſan*, drawing thither his artillery with the ſame difficulties he did before: and taking almoſt in one ſeaſon *Valdecalcio*, and building aboue *Vico* in a place called *Pietro Doloroſo*, another baſtillion, to keepe that no ſuccours ſhould enter there,

he

he held beſieged the caſtle of *Verrucola*. And to the end that the *Piſans* (doubting that he would aſſaile *Librafatta* and *Valdeſerclo*) might be the leſſe hardie to be farre from *Piſa*, the Count *Rainuce* was incamped with other companies at *Valdinieuolo*. All which notwithſtanding, foure hundred footmen iſſuing out of *Piſa*, brake all the regiment of footmen which were negligently beſtowed in the Church of *S. Michael* to keepe *Verrucola* beſieged. But *Paul Vitelli*, after he had got the baſtillion, which yeelded vpon condition to carry their artillery to *Vicopiſan*, encamped afore *Vicopiſan*, not on that ſide where the *Florentine* campe was when he was within to defend it, but he lay towards *S. Iohn de la Vene*, to giue impediments to the ſuccours that were to come from *Piſa*. After the furie of his artillery had brought downe to the earth a great quantitie of the walls, the defendants, deſpairing of reſcue, rendred the place, their liues and goods ſaued; being diſcouraged to hold out to the vttermoſt, for that *Paul* when he tooke *Buti* (to giue terrour to others) cut off the hands of three Cannoniers *Germains* which were within the towne, and vſed his victory with many cruelties. Immediatly after the ſucceſſe of *Vicopiſan*, there followed another occaſion of happie exploit, for that the bands which were within *Piſa*, ſuppoſing it would be very eaſie to ſurpriſe the bulwarke of *Pietro Doloroſo*, they ſent thither afore day two hundred light horſemen, with many troupes of footmen, but finding there a ſtronger reſiſtance then they looked for, they loſt more time then their enterpriſe required: in ſo much that whileſt they were giuing the aſſault, the Generall of the *Florentines* diſcouering himſelfe vpon the mountaines thereabouts, and with part of the armie deſcending to ſuccour the fort, ſent *Vitellozze* with the reſidue of the bands to giue impediment to their returne: againſt whom as they entertained skirmiſh in the plaine towards *Calci*, the Generall came vpon them ſuddenly, and put them to flight, not without the loſſe of many horſemen, and the moſt part of their footbands. But in the meane while, the *Florentines* hauing ſome likely aduertiſements from the Duke of *Ferrara* and others, that the *Venetians* were not vnwilling to hearken to peace, if (as belonged to the dignitie of ſo great a Commonweale) they were proceeded withall, not as with equals, but as with a ſtate of more greatneſſe; they ſent as Embaſſadours to *Venice* to ſound their intentions *Guid' Antonio Veſpuccio* and *Bernard Rucellai*, two of the moſt honourable citizens of their Commonweale: a matter from the which they had abſtained till that time, partly for that they wold not offend the mind of King *Charles*, & partly for that whileſt they knew themſelues not to be ſtrong enough to oppreſſe the *Piſans*, they iudged that their petitions wold be vnprofitable, being not accompanied either with reputation or forces: but now that they were the ſtronger in the field, and that the Duke had publickly declared himſelfe againſt the *Venetians*, their hopes were greater then their doubts, to find ſome conuenient meanes of honeſt compoſition. The Embaſſadours were honorably receiued, and immediatly brought into counſell, the Duke ſitting and the whole reſort of Senators, in whoſe preſence after they had formed many excuſes for not ſending Embaſſadours to them afore, the ſame being refrained for many regards proceeding of the qualitie of times, and ſundry accidents of their Citie: they required frankly that they would abſtaine from the defence and protection of *Piſa*; a requeſt whoſe moderation put them in hope not to be denied, ſeeing that the Commonweale of *Florence* had giuen them no occaſion of offence, and alſo for that the Senate of *Venice* hauing alwayes had the reputation to be moſt iuſt, they hoped they would not abandon iuſtice, which being the pillar and foundation of all other vertues, it was but reaſonable to preferre it afore all other reſpects. To which propoſition the Duke made anſwer; that as it was true that in theſe times they had receiued no iniuries by the *Florentines*, ſo alſo the Senate was not entred into the protection of *Piſa* for any deſire to offend them; but for that the *Florentines* onely, hauing ſupported in *Italy* the faction of the *French*, the common ſafetie had induced all the Potentates of the League to giue faith to the *Piſans*, to helpe them to defend their libertie; wherein, though ſome others did forget themſelues after they had giuen their faith, yet they, contrary to the vſe of their Commonweale, would not follow them in a matter ſo vnworthy: but if the State of *Florence* would propound ſome meane by the which the liberty of the *Piſans* might be preſerued, they would make knowne to all the world, that neither for their particular auarice, nor for any reſpect of their owne profite, they haue thus long continued the defence of *Piſa*. Vpon this anſwer, they drew certaine dayes to diſputation vpon ſome meanes which might ſatisfie both the one and other parties; wherein ſome contention riſing, for that neither the *Venetians* nor the *Florentine* Embaſſadors would propound the meanes, they agreed that the Embaſſadour of *Spaine*, who encouraged them

Vicopiſan rendred.

The Florentines ſend Embaſſadours to Venice to treate of the affaires of Piſa

The Duke of Venice anſwereth the Florentine Embaſſadours.

them to the agreement, ſhould interpoſe betweene them: who hauing propounded that the *Piſans* ſhould returne to the deuotion of the *Florentines*, not as ſubiects, but as people recommended, and vnder the ſame capitulations which had bene agreed vpon at *Piſtoia*, as a thing indifferent betweene ſeruitude and libertie; the *Venetians* anſwered, that they could not acknowledge any part of libertie in a Citie wherein the fortreſſes and adminiſtration of iuſtice were in the power of others. By reaſon whereof the Embaſſadours of *Florence* being out of hope to obtaine any thing, departed from *Venice*, with full aſſurance that the *Venetians*, vnleſſe they were compelled by neceſſitie, would not abandon the defence of *Piſa*, whither they ſent ſupplies of ſouldiers continually. Beſides, they had in the beginning no great feare of the enterpriſe of the *Florentines*, for that deferring the action till the moſt part of the Spring was paſt, they could not long keepe the field, the countrey of *Piſa*, by reaſon of his lowneſſe, being much ſubiect to waters. And laſtly hauing of new taken to their pay vnder the Duke of *Vrbin* (to whom they gaue the title of Gouernour) and vnder certaine other Captaines, fiue hundred men at armes, being holpen with diuers good intelligences, they determined (the more eaſily to turne the *Florentines* from offending the *Piſans*) to begin the warre in another place; ioyning to their plots the oportunitie of *Peter de Medicis*, at whoſe perſwaſions they entertained into their pay *Charles Vrſin* and *Bartlemew Aluiano* with two hundred men at armes. They were not without hope alſo to be able to induce *Iohn Bentiuole* to conſent that they might make warre vpon the *Florentines* on the ſide of *Bolognia*, for that the Duke of *Millan* (much diſpleaſed for that in the retaining which was made by *Annibal* his ſon, the *Venetians* were preferred before him; and ioyning to that new offence a recordation of old iniuries done againſt him, as he ſaid, when the Duke of *Calabria* paſſed into *Romagnia*) had taken certaine Caſtles, poſſeſſed by right of dowrie, by *Alexander* his ſonne, within the Duchie of *Millan*: and forbare not to vexe him vpon euery occaſion: yet the Caſtles being at laſt reſtored to him againe at the requeſt of the *Florentines*, the deuice to make warre on that ſide was broken.

Therefore the *Venetians* laboured to diſpoſe them of *Sienna* to grant that they might begin the warre in their quarters; wherein they grew into hope to preuaile (beſides their ordinary diſpoſition againſt the *Florentines*) by a diuiſion that was in *Sienna* amongſt the Citizens: for *Pandolfe Petruccio* with his wit and ſubtletie, hauing gotten to himſelfe great authoritie, *Nicholas Borgheſe* his father in law, and the family of the *Belanties*, to whom his greatneſſe was diſpleaſing, laboured that paſſage might be granted to the Duke of *Vrbin* and the *Vrſins*, who, with foure hundred men at armes, two thouſand footmen, and foure hundred eſtradiots, were ſtayed by commiſſion of the *Venetians* at *Fratte* in the countrey of *Perowſe*: and they alledged, that to make truce with the *Florentines* according to the ſolicitation of the Duke of *Millan*, and as *Pandolfe* perſwaded them, was no other thing then to giue them oportunitie to diſpatch the affaires of *Piſa*, which being reſolued, they would be ſo much the more able to offend them. And therefore they ought (making profite of occaſions, as wiſe men ſhould) to be reſolute, not to make other accord with them, then a peace, which might make them giue ouer the right they pretẽded to *Montpulcian*, a grant whereunto they knew the *Florentines* would neuer agree: whereof would follow by neceſſitie, that the demands of the *Venetians* muſt be conſented vnto: with whõ hauing obtained the firſt place of grace, they hoped eaſily to embaſe the authoritie of *Pandolfe*, who, hauing made himſelfe author of the contrary opinion by the perſwaſion of the Duke of *Millan*, found enough to do to maintaine it, for that the hatred which the people bare naturally to the *Florentines*, could do much, and it was not vnlikely that by this feare, it might be brought to paſſe, that they would diſclaime the right of *Montpulcian*. This couetouſneſſe accompanied with hatred, had more force then the conſiderations alledged by *Pandolfe*, either touching the trauels that would follow the warre, if it were drawne vpon their countrey, or in regard of dangers, which in time would afflict *Tuſcane* by the greatneſſe of the *Venetians*: for iuſtification whereof (ſaid he) we need not haue recourſe to the examples of others, ſeeing euen of late memory, for fauouring the faction of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* againſt the *Florentines*, they were in perill to fall into ſeruitude, if *Ferdinand*, for the occupation which *Mahomet Ottoman* made of the towne of *Otrante* in the kingdome of *Naples*, had not bene compelled to call home from *Sienna* the perſon of *Alphonſo* his ſonne, and his regiment: And that their hiſtories do tell them (beſides theſe examples) that the ſame deſire to offend the *Florentines* by the meanes of the Earle of *Vertus*, together with the diſdaine conceiued for the reſpect of *Montpulcian*, was the

cauſe that of themſelues they had aſſubiected to him their proper countrey. Theſe reaſons, albeit they were true, yet being not ſufficient to repreſſe the furie and affections of the others, he was not without apparent danger of ſome tumult to be raiſed by his aduerſaries. Notwithſtanding to preuent them, he cauſed ſuddenly to enter into *Sienna*, many of his friends thereabouts, and wrought ſo cunningly, that at the ſame inſtant, the *Florentines* ſent to *Poggi Imperial* three hundred men at armes and a thouſand footmen, with whoſe reputation and force, hauing reſtrained the audacitie of his aduerſaries, he brought to paſſe a truce for fiue yeares with the *Florentines*: who, preferring the feare of perils preſent, afore regard to dignitie and honor, bound themſelues to pull downe one part of the bridge of *Valiane*, and to diſmantle euen to the earth, the baſtillion which had ſo much moleſted the *Siennoys*: condeſcending further, that the *Siennoys* within a certaine time might build what fortreſſe they would betweene the ſhoare and channell of *Chianes* and the towne of *Montpulcian*. By meanes of this accord *Pandolfe* riſing into more greatneſſe then before, found meanes ſoone after to kill his father in law, who too boldly oppoſed himſelfe againſt his deſignes: and ſo by the diſpatch of him, increaſing terrour to the reſidue, he confirmed himſelfe dayly more and more in tyrannie. By this accord the *Venetians* being depriued of the hope they had to diuert or turne by the way of *Sienna* the *Florentines* from the enterpriſe of *Piſa*, and being not able to obtaine licence of the *Peruſins* to manage the warre by their countreys, they determined to vexe them on that ſide to *Romagnia*, hoping with the ancient fauours and factions which *Peter de Medicis* had there, to aſpire eaſily to the occupation of thoſe places which they held in the *Appenine*. In ſo much as hauing obtained paſſage of the litle Lord of *Faenza*, by the vale of *Lamone*, with part of the regiment which they had in *Romagnia*, with whom *Peter* and *Iulian de Medicis* were ioyned, they occupied the borough of *Maradi* ſituate vpon the *Appenine*, on that ſide which lookes towards *Romagnia*, where was made againſt them no reſiſtance, for that *Dennis* of *Nalde* a man of the ſame vale, entertained by the *Florentines* with three hundred footmen to defend it, together with the ſtrength of that countrey, led thither ſo ſmall a force of footmen, that he durſt not abide there. By meanes whereof they incamped afore the rocke of *Chaſtillon*, built in a place aboue the ſaid borough, which they hoped to carry, though by no other meanes, yet by want of many things which they knew to be within it, but ſpecially the lacke of water, and ſo by the oportunitie of that, to haue free paſſage to paſſe into *Mugelle*, which is a countrey neare to *Florence*. But the conſtancie of the Caſtle-keeper, ſupplied the ſlender prouiſions of victuals that were within, and the liberalitie of heauen auoided the penurie of water, raining ſo much in one night, as all the veſſels and ceſternes being full, they were deliuered from that paine: and in the meane while, the Count *Rainuce* with the Lord of *Plombin* and other Captaines, being ſtolen vpon the enemie by the way of *Mugelle*, enforced them to retire, almoſt flying, hauing vndertaken this enterpriſe with a greater confidence in their diligence then with ſufficient ſtrength. Beſides, the Count *Caiazze* ſent to *Cotignole* by the Duke of *Millan*, with three hundred men at armes and a thouſand footmen, together with *Fracaſſe* entertained by the ſame Duke, who was within *Furly* with an hundred men at armes, prepared to charge them vpon the backe: by meanes whereof, to auoide this danger, they went and ioyned with the Duke of *Vrbin*, then departed from the countrey of *Peronſe*, and with the other regiments of the *Venetians*, who altogether were beſtowed betweene *Rauenna* and *Furly*, but with a very ſmall hope of happie enterpriſe, for that, beſides the bands of the *Florentines*, there was in *Romagnia* a ſtrength of fiue hundred men at armes, fiue hundred croſſebow ſhot, and a thouſand footmen of the Duchie of *Millan*; the impediment alſo which *Imola* and *Furly* gaue to them, being of great importance. But in this meane while *Paul Vitelli* (who after the taking of *Vicopiſan* had remained there certaine dayes expecting neceſſarie prouiſions) continuing in the ſame mind to cut from the *Piſans* the meanes of ſuccours, was gone to the enterpriſe of *Librafatta*: and the eaſier to approch that part of the towne which was moſt weake, and to preuent the diſpoſition of the enemy to inuade his army much troubled with artillery & carriage, he left the way which deſcends by the mountains to the plaine of *Piſa*, & cutting by force of Pioners a new way through the mountaines, he tooke in his marching the ſame day the baſtillion of the mount *Maior*, which the *Piſans* had built vpon the top of the mountaine, and ſo deſcended with great ſuretie into the plaine of *Librafatta*; where, the day after hauing eaſily brought into neceſſitie to yeeld the bands of footmen that had the charge of *Potito* and the old Caſtle, (two towers anſwering one another very neare *Librafatta*) he beſtowed in the ſecond

Truce betweene the Siennoys and Florentins

cond tower and in other places, certaine peeces of artilleries to gouerne the Towne, which was well manned and guarded, containing two hundred footmen of the *Venetians*: from theſe places he battered the wall both on high and below, and from the firſt day had hope to carry it: but there fell by chance ſo great a part of the wall in the night, that the ruinous matter raiſed the rampier which was begun there aboue foure cubits; in ſo much as *Paul* aſſaying in vaine three dayes together to mount vp by ladders, began to doubt much of the ſucceſſe, the rather for that the armie receiued great harmes by a peece of artillerie which came from the Towne by a low loope hole: but his induſtrie and vertue was aided by the benefite of fortune (without whoſe fauour great Captaines are oftentimes deceiued in their enterpriſes) for that with a ſhot out of the campe, the peece which beat them was broken, and one of the beſt Cannoniers within the place killed, the bullet paſſing through the towne: which accident ſo amazed thoſe within the towne, being ſo commanded by the artillerie of the ſecond tower, that they durſt not aſſemble to make head, but yeelded the fourth day; and not long after, the Caſtle abiding ſome ſhot of the cannon, did the like. After the conqueſt of *Librafatta*, he deuiſed to make certaine baſtillions vpon the hils thereabouts, but chiefly he erected one of capacitie to receiue great numbers of men, aboue *Santa Maria* in *Caſtello*, called by the name of the Mount, where was built the baſtillion of *la Ventura*, commanding the countrey thereabouts (and where they ſay there had anciently bene another built by *Caſtruccio* of *Lucques* an excellent Captaine of that time,) to the end that this and *Librafatta* being guarded, all paſſage for commodities that might come to *Piſa* by the way of *Lucques* and *Pietraſanta*, might be ſtopped. But the *Venetians* ceaſſed not to ſtudie meanes whereby they might miniſter comfort to *Piſa*, ſomtimes with immediate ſuccors, and ſometimes by diuerting and drawing away the forces of the enemie: wherein they hoped to preuaile the rather for the differences which happened betweene the Duke of *Millan* and the Marquis of *Mantua*, entred of new into the appointments and directions of the Duke: who becauſe he would not take away the title of Captaine generall ouer all his companies from *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, more great with him by fauour then by vertue, had promiſed to the Marquis to honour him within three moneths with the place of Captaine generall in common, either with the Emperour, or with the Pope, or with King *Federike*, or with the *Florentines*: which being not performed by *Lodowike* at the terme promiſed, *Galeas* giuing many impediments againſt it, and adding thereto many other difficulties vpon the paiments of his entertainments, the Marquis determined to reenter into the pay of the *Venetians*, who practiſed to ſend him to the ſuccours of *Piſa* with three hundred men at armes: whereof *Lodowike* hauing doubt, he declared him immediatly, by the conſent of *Galeas*, Captaine to the Emperour and to him. But this Marquis hauing alreadie bene at *Venice*, and declared to the Senate the great confidence he had to enter *Piſa* in deſpite of the *Florentine* bands, was reentred into their pay: and receiuing part of his pay in preſt, he returned to *Mantua*, preparing himſelfe to the expedition; which he had further aduanced, and put his companies to march, if the *Venetians* had vſed the ſame diligence to diſpatch him, which they did to entertaine him: but becauſe they began to proceed ſlowly vpon the occaſion of a new hope they had, that by certaine ancient fauourers of the *Medices*, they ſhould be able to obtaine *Bibienna*, a borough in the countrey of *Caſentin*, they were of opinion that in regard of the difficulties to paſſe to *Piſa*, it would be more profitable to diuert then to ſuccour. The Marquis being diſpleaſed with theſe delayes, returned eſtſoones to the pay of *Lodowike* with three hundred men at armes and an hundred light horſemen, vnder the title of Captaine to the Emperour and to him, retaining the money he had receiued of the *Venetians* vpon an account or reckoning of payes due of old. The practiſe which was debated with the *Venetians*, was not without ſuſpition to the *Florentines*; who beſides their generall meanes of aduertiſement, had certaine dayes before, a more particular intelligence from *Bologna*. But diligent and wiſe counſels are vnprofitable when they are executed with negligence and indiſcretion: for the Commiſſarie whom they ſent thither to aſſure them from ſuch a danger, after he had apprehended ſuch as he doubted moſt, and were guiltie of the practiſe, hauing vnwiſely giuen credite to their words, he ſet them at libertie, and in other things was ſo negligent, that he made eaſie the purpoſe of *Aluiano*, appointed for the execution of this practiſe. For he hauing ſent before certaine horſemen attired like trauellers, and they marching all night, were at the gate by breake of day, which they wonne without difficultie, for that the Commiſſary had not onely left it without guard, but alſo had ſet no order that the gate ſhould be opened later then was ac-

Librafatta taken by Paul Vitelli.

The Venetians carefull to ſuccor the Piſans.

Aluiano taketh Bibienna.

cuſtomed in times nothing dangerous. And after theſe followed other bands of horſemen, who named themſelues, by the way, to be of the regiments of the *Vitellies*: when the conſpirators, riſing in their fauour, they were immediatly maiſters of the whole towne: and the ſame day arriued *Aluiano*, who albeit he had but a ſmall proportion of ſouldiers (his nature being alwayes to make benefite of occaſions, yea to preuent them with incredible diligence) yet he went ſuddenly to aſſaile *Poppi*, the principall borough of that valley; but finding a reſiſtance aboue his ſtrength, he ſought to get the places neareſt to *Bibienna*, albeit but litle and of no importance. The countrey of *Caſentin*, amid the which runneth the riuer of *Arne*, is a countrey narrow, barren, and full of hils, ſeated at the foote of the *Appenine* Alpes, at that time laden with ſnowes, for that the Winter was but then begunne: neuertheleſſe it had bene a paſſage very commodious to go to *Florence*, if the enterpriſe of *Poppi* had ſucceeded well to *Aluiano*; and no leſſe conuenient to make entrie into the countreys of *Aretze* and *Valdarno*, countreys which for the plentie of great townes and boroughs, were of great importance to the eſtate of the *Florentines*; who ſhewing themſelues not to be negligent in ſo great perill, refurniſhed with ſpeed all places needfull, breaking by that meanes the execution of a conſpiracie pretended in *Aretze*: and ſtudying aboue all other things, to cut from the *Venetians* all meanes to ſend new ſupplies to the countrey of *Caſentin*, they called from *Piſa* the Count *Rainuce*, and diſpatched him ſpeedily to occupie the wayes of the *Appenine* betweene *Valdibagno* and the pariſh of *S. Stephen*: and yet they could not let the Duke of *Vrbin*, *Charles Vrſin* and other Captaines from paſſing, who hauing in the ſaid valley ſeuen hundred men at armes, and ſixe thouſand footmen, with ſome bands of Lanceknights, commanded all the countrey of *Caſentin*, except a very few places, and aſſayed againe, but in vaine, to take *Poppi*: by meanes whereof the *Florentines* were compelled (according to the very intent of the *Venetians*) to call backe from the affaires of *Piſa*, *Paul Vitelli* with his bands, leauing ſufficient guard in the places of importance, namely the baſtillion of *la Ventura*. His coming into the countrey of *Caſentin*, cauſed the *Venetians* to retire, who were remoued to incampe the ſame day about *Pratto Vecchio*; and *Fracaſſe* being ioyned with him (ſent by the Duke of *Millan* with fiue hundred men at armes and fiue hundred footmen in fauour of the *Florentines*) he brought preſently into hard termes the ſtate of the enemies, who were diſperſed into diuers places, both for the ſmall meanes of lodging, and alſo for that (to the end they might haue free egreſſe and regreſſe in the countrey of *Caſentin*) they were compelled to keepe the wayes of *Vernie*, *Chiuſa*, and *Montalona*, places very high vpon the Alpes: by which meanes, being incloſed in that valley in a ſeaſon very ſharpe, they were without all expectation of aduancement, either there, or in any other place, the Count *Rainuce* being within *Aretze* with two hundred men at armes; and in the countrey of *Caſentin* the enterpriſe of *Poppi* not ſucceeding in the beginning; and the name of the *Medices* bearing no more authoritie, the men of the countrey being againſt them, where they could hardly haue any helpe by their horſes; they had receiued many harmes of the paiſants afore the coming of *Vitelli*: and therefore hauing intelligence of his coming, and the marching of *Fracaſſe*, they ſent backe beyond the Alpes, one part of their carriage and artillerie, and drew themſelues all together into one ſtrength, as the nature of the place would ſuffer. Againſt whom *Paul Vitelli* determined to vſe his cuſtome, which was (to carrie the victorie with more eaſe) to beare no regard either to the longneſſe of time, or to great paines and trauell, and much leſſe to expences, eſteeming it better to proceed with all neceſſarie prouiſions, then, for a deſire of the glorie to haue eaſily and ſpeedily ouercome, to put in perill the iſſue of things, and the whole armie in hazard. His counſell therein was, in the countrey of *Caſentin*, not to attempt ſuddenly any action vpon the places moſt ſtrong, but to labour firſt to make the enemie abandon the peeces moſt weake, and to ſtop the wayes of the Alpes and the ſtraits of the countrey, with baſtillions, guards, and intrenched wayes, with fortifications, both to cut off all ſuccours and ſupplies, and to take from them all meanes of mutuall aides and reſcue from one place to another: hoping that this forme and maner of proceeding would in the end breed occaſions to oppreſſe them further; beſides that the great numbers that were within *Bibienna* could not but conſume, both by the incommoditie of horſemen, and for the want of victuals. With this counſell, hauing recouered certaine places neare to *Bibienna*, of themſelues of ſmall importance, but very proper for his intention, with the which he looked in the end to preuaile: and dayly winning ground, he ſtripped many men at armes beſtowed in diuers places neare to *Bibienna*. And to cut off all wayes from the bands of

the

the *Venetians* assembling beyond the mounts to minister rescue to their peoples, he deuised to command all the places about the mount *la Vernia*, and to intrench all the wayes thereabouts. In so much as many difficulties increasing by the enemies, togethet with want of victuals, many of them refused the campe, who stealing away by troublesome passages, were sometimes stripped by the paisants, and oftentimes by the souldiers. These were the actions of armes betweene the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. At the same time albeit the Embassadours of *Florence* were departed from *Venice* without any hope of accord, yet was there holden at *Ferrara* a new practise of composition, moued by the Duke of *Ferrara* at the instance of the *Venetians*; for as much as many of those which held the greatest authoritie in that Senate, being wearie of the warre, which was maintained with great expences and many difficulties, and being out of all hope to preuaile any further in the countrey of *Casentin*, desired to be rid of the studies and trauels they suffered for the defence of *Pisa*, and to find some honest pretext to giue it ouer. *Meanes of accord.*

But whilest the regions of *Italy* were in these afflictions for the quarels of *Pisa*, the new *French* King forgat not to make preparations to assaile the Duchie of *Millan* the yeare following: wherein he hoped to haue the *Venetians* on his side, who, carried with an incredible hate against the Duke of *Millan*, held strait negociatiõ with his Maiestie. But yet more earnestly did the Pope negociate with him; who, excluded from the alliance of *Federike*, and continuing in the same desire to the kingdome of *Naples*, was wholly conuerted into the hopes of the *French*, by whose meanes he sought to obtaine for his sonne the Cardinall of *Valence*, *Charlotta* daughter to *Federike*, who was not yet married, but trained vp in the Court of *France*: and for that the King gaue him some hope, in whose power he thought it was to giue her in marriage, the Cardinall entring one morning into the Consistorie, besought his father and the whole colledge of Cardinals, that seeing he neuer had any mind to be a Priest, that they would permit him to leaue the dignitie and the habite, to follow from that time forward the exercise whereunto his destinie drew him. And so resuming the habite of a person secular, he prepared speedily to go into *France*, by whom the Pope sent this comfort and promise to the King, to make it lawfull by the authoritie Apostolicke to refuse his wife: And the King, for his part, became bound to aide him (as soone as he had conquered the Duchie of *Millan*) to reduce into the obedience of the sea Apostolicke, the townes possessed by the Vicars of *Romagna*, and withall, to giue him presently thirtie thousand duckats, vnder this colour, that he was constrained to entertaine a greater force for the guard of his person; as though to knit himselfe with the *French* King, were to stirre vp many of the Potentates of *Italy* to seeke to hurt and oppresse him. For the execution of which couenants, the King began to make paiment of the money, and the Pope committed the action of the diuorce to the Bishop of *Setto* his *Nuncio*, and to the Archbishops of *Paris* and *Roan*; and in the trauerse of the cause, the Kings wife impugned the iudgement: but in the end being no lesse doubtfull of the consciences of the Iudges, then of the greatnesse of her aduersarie, she came to agreement, receiuing for the entertainment of her person, the Duchie of *Berry*, with thirtie thousand frankes of reuenue: and so the diuorce being confirmed by sentence of the Iudges, there was nothing else expected, for the dispencing and accomplishing of the new marriage, but the coming of *Cæsar Borgia*, lately of a Cardinall and Archbishop of *Valence*, become a souldier and Duke of *Valentinoys*: the King hauing giuen him a companie of an hundred Lances, and twentie thousand frankes pension: and for his title of Dukedome, he endued him with *Valence* a Citie of *Dauphiné*, with twentie thousand frankes of reuenue; who embarquing at *Ostia* vpon the galleys which the King sent him, arriued about the end of the same yeare at the *French* Court, where he entred with a pompe incredible, the King receiuing him most magnificently, and brought with him the Cardinals hat for *George Amboise* Archbishop of *Roan*, who hauing alwayes afore, participated in the dangers and fortunes of the King, was held with him in great authoritie. Neuertheless the new Dukes maner of dealing, at the first being not well liked, for that according to the counsell of his father, he denied that he had brought with him the Bull of dispensation; hoping that the desire to obtaine it, would make the King more easie to his designes, then would do the remembrance that he had receiued it. But the Bishop of *Setto* hauing very secretly reuealed the truth to the King, and the King holding it sufficient in respect of God, that the Bull was ratified, consummated the marriage openly with his new wife, without making more demands for the Bull: the same being the cause that the Duke could no longer keepe from him the Bull; and finding out after, that the Bishop of *Setto* had reuealed the

The doings of the French king during the warre of Pisa

The Cardinall of Valence the Pope sonne renounceth his profession.

The Cardinall of Valence Duke of Valentinoys.

matter, he cauſed him ſoone after by ſecret meanes to die of poiſon. And the King began to be carefull to renew amitie with his neighbours, making preſently a firme peace with the King of *Spaine*, who, bearing now no more regard to the things of *Italy*, called home all his Embaſſadours remaining there, except him that lay reſident with the Pope, and readiourned *Gonſaluo* into *Spaine* with all his regiment, leauing to *Federike* all the peeces in *Calabria* which he had holden till that day. But he had more trouble to accord with the Emperour, who was newly deſcended into *Burgundie* by occaſion of ſome commotions ſtirring there, being for that expedition aided with a round ſumme of money by the Duke of *Millan*, who perſwaded himſelfe, that either the warre which he ſhould make vpon the *French* King, would turne him from the enterpriſe of *Italy*, or at leaſt, if any agreement ſucceeded betweene them, he ſhould be comprehended in it, as the Emperour had aſſuredly promiſed him. But after many practiſes and much diſcourſe, the King made a new peace with the Archduke, by the which were to be rendred vnto him the places of the countrey of *Artois*; a thing which to the end it might bring effect and profite to his ſonne, the Emperour conſented to make truce with him for many moneths, without making mention of the Duke of *Millan*, againſt whom he ſeemed at that time much diſcontented, for that he had not alwayes ſatisfied his infinite demands of money. Laſtly, the *French* king ratified the peace made with the King of *England* by his predeceſſor, and reiecting all ſolicitations made to him to receiue the Duke of *Millan* to any compoſition, who with very large offers, and no leſſe corruptions endeuoured to induce him thereto, ſought meanes how he might at one time tie to him in amitie the *Venetians* and *Florentines*; and therefore he required with great importunities, that ceaſſing to vexe the *Piſans*, the *Venetians* wold put *Piſa* into his hands: whereunto the rather to draw the *Florentines* to conſent, he offered ſecretly to reſtore it to them within a ſhort time. This practiſe being found full of many difficulties, and concurring in it diuers ends and intereſts, was for many moneths debated with great varietie: for that the *Florentines* (holding it neceſſary that in that caſe they ſhould make alliance with the *French* King, and fearing by the remembrance that King *Charles* had not kept promiſe with them, leſt the like ſhould befall them in this preſent buſineſſe) could not agree amongſt themſelues in vnitie of opinion; and alſo for that their Citie being vnquietly toſſed betweene the ambition of the greateſt citizens and the vnbridled libertie of the gouernment popular, and being repoſed (by reaſon of the warre of *Piſa*) vpon the Duke of *Millan*, the whole Citie was fallen into ſuch generall diuiſion, that it was hard to deliberate in peace and quiet vpon matters of importance, ſome of the principall citizens deſiring the victory to the *French* King, and others of the contrary, bearing their whole affections to the Duke of *Millan*. The *Venetians* alſo, notwithſtanding all other difficulties had bene ouercome which might hinder the accord, had yet determined not to conſent to put *Piſa* into a third hand, hoping that for the regard of the repaiment of their charges, and to leaue *Piſa* with leſſe diſhonor, they ſhould obtaine better conditions in the negociation that was holden at *Ferrara*, which was vehemently ſolicited by *Lodowike*, both for feare leſt the deputation of *Piſa* falling to the *French*, both thoſe Commonweales would knit to the King: and alſo hoping that the controuerſie being accorded for the profit of *Italy*, the *Venetians* would ſhake off and leaue there the malice they had to hurt him. For which reſpect, both the practiſe that continued at *Ferrara*, diſpleaſed not a litle the *French* King: and the Pope, to make his profite of the trauels of others, ſought indirectly to hinder it: for that ſtanding in great credite with the King, ſo farre as concerned the affaires of *Italy*, he hoped that making *Piſa* to diuolue by deputation to the King, he ſhould in ſome ſort participate with him.

The French King maketh peace with his neighbours.

The French king requireth Piſa in truſt.

But at the ſame time it was conſulted at *Venice*, that if the King miſſed of his demand for the deputation, which they had determined neuer to conſent vnto, whether they might enter confederation with him touching the warre againſt the Duke of *Millan*, as the King with great importunitie had ſolicited, offering them for the reward of the victory the citie of *Cremona* and all *Guiaradadda*: an offer, which though greatly deſired of them all, yet it ſeemed to many of them to be a deliberation of great importance, and that the power of a *French* King in *Italy* was ſo dangerous to their eſtate, that the matter was brought into the counſell of the *Pregati* (the chiefeſt aſſembly amongſt them) and there was diſputed with no ſmall diuerſitie of opinions: but as one day they were aſſembled to ſet downe the laſt reſolution, *Anthonie Grimany*, a man of great authoritie, one of the *Pregati* named, ſpake in this ſort: When I conſider (moſt worthy Senators) the many good turnes which the Duke of *Millan* hath receiued of our Common-weale, by

The Venetians take counſell whether they ſhould ioyne with the French king.

The Oration of Anthonie Grimany.

by the which in theſe later yeares his whole eſtate hath bene protected; and of the contrary, the great ingratitude which he hath vſed, and the groſſe iniuries done to vs, to compell vs to abandon the defence of *Piſa*, whereunto he gaue vs the firſt ſuggeſtion and encouragement; I cannot chuſe but thinke, that you all know well enough how neceſſary it is for vs to vſe all our endeuor to be reuenged of him. For what greater infamie can there be, then by patient enduring of ſo many iniuries, to expreſſe to all the world that we are become degenerate from the magnanimitie of our elders? who as often as they were prouoked by offences, although not very great, neuer refuſed to embrace any danger, to preſerue the dignitie of the *Venetian* name: And not without reaſon: for that the deliberations of Commonweales require not regards and ends abiect and priuate, nor that all their actions ſhould bring them profite; but ends more excellent and honorable, by the which their glorie may be increaſed, and their reputation preſerued: a matter which nothing makes ſo ſoone to be loſt, as by giuing men occaſion to thinke, that there is not the courage, or at leaſt the abilitie to be touched with wrongs and iniuries, or no readineſſe ſhewed to be reuenged: an action very neceſſary, not ſo much for the pleaſure of the reuenge, as for that the puniſhment of the offender breeds ſuch example to others, that they will haue leſſe courage to attempt the like. Of ſuch conſequence is that glorie which is found to be ioyned with vtilitie, high and honorable deliberations alwayes declaring themſelues full of commodities and profites. Likewiſe one diſpleaſure takes away from men many others; and oftentimes by one onely ſhort puniſhment, men are found to be deliuered from many & very long troubles. And yet if we conſider the eſtate of the affaires of *Italy*, and the diſpoſitiō of many Princes againſt vs, together with the ambuſhes which *Lodowike Sforce* dreſſeth continually againſt vs, we may know, that we are led to this deliberation, no leſſe by the preſent neceſſitie, then in conſideration of other things. For, *Lodowike* puſhed on by naturall ambition, and by the hate he beares to this moſt excellent Senate, hath nothing in more care or ſtudie, then to diſpoſe the minds of all the Potentates in *Italy* againſt vs, to ſtirre vp the Emperour and the whole nation of the *Germains* againſt vs; and which is more, he begins for the ſame effect to entertaine intelligence with the *Turke*. You ſee alreadie with what difficulties (by his meanes) yea almoſt without hope, we ſuſtaine the defence of *Piſa*, and manage the warre in *Caſentin*: which if it be continued, it cannot be without heaping greater effects of dangers and diſorders; and if it be abandoned, without laying other foundations to our affaires, it cannot be but with ſo great a diminution of reputation, that it miniſtreth a wonderfull courage to whoſoeuer hereafter ſhall haue diſpoſition to oppreſſe vs: and you know that it is more eaſie to oppreſſe him that begins to decline, then him that ſtands yet in the fulneſſe of his reputation. Of which things the effects would clearly appeare to vs, and we ſhould alſo ſee our eſtate full of tumult and brutes of warre, if *Lodowike* were not kept in ſuſpence by the feare he hath, leſt we ioyne with the *French*; a feare which long time is not able to containe him. For who knoweth not, that the King, made fruſtrate of the hope which he hath that we will ioyne with him, will either attempt ſome other enterpriſe beyond the mounts, or elſe ouercome by the perſwaſions of *Lodowike*; and by the corruptions and great meanes he hath in the *French* Court, will fall to ſome accord with him? So that the neceſſitie to maintaine our ancient dignitie and glorie, conſtraines vs to ioyne with the *French* King, but much more the aſpect of the great and imminent dangers, which cannot be auoided by other meanes: wherein fortune ſeemeth to be very fauourable, ſeeing ſhe brings to paſſe that ſo great a King ſues to vs for that for which we ought to ſeeke to him; and beſides offereth vs ſo great and honorable recompences of the victorie, as by meanes thereof this Senate may promiſe themſelues great hopes, and employ their conceits in the compaſſing of great things, ſpecially the victory being to be gained with ſo great facilitie. For who doubts that *Lodowike* can by any meanes reſiſt two powers ſo mightie and ſo neighbouring? Vpon which deliberation, it is vaine, in my opinion, to feare, that the neighbourhood of the *French* King when he ſhall haue conquered the Duchie of *Millan*, will be either ſuſpitious or dangerous to vs: for that he that conſiders wel, may know, that many things which now are aduerſe to vs, will then be fauorable, ſeeing that ſuch an augmentation will breed a ſuſpition in the minds of all the principalities of *Italy*, and ſtirre vp the Emperour with the regions of *Germany*, for enuie and diſcontentment, that a *French* king ſhould occupie ſo noble a member of the Empire: in ſo much as euen thoſe whom now we feare to ioyne in vnitie with *Lodowike* to vexe vs, will then deſire (for their proper intereſts) to preſerue vs, and be conioyned with vs: And being great throughout the world the re-

« reputation of our Seigniorie, great the renowne of our riches, and moſt great the opinion,
« confirmed with ſo many honorable examples, of our vnion & conſtancie to preſerue our eſtate,
« the *French* King dare not inuade vs, vnleſſe he haue coniunction with more, or at leaſt with the
« Emperour: the vnitie and agreement of whom, ſeemes for many reaſons ſo hard, that it is vaine
« to occupie our minds either with the hope or feare of it. Beſides, the peace which now he hopes
« to eſtabliſh with the Princes his neighbours beyond the mounts, will not be perpetuall, ſeeing
« iealouſie, iniuries, and feare of his greatneſſe, will alwayes keepe waking all thoſe that hold him
« in hatred, or beare enuie to his glorie. And further, all men know that the *French* are more rea-
« die to conquer, then diſcreet to preſerue and keepe; and how ſoone by their pride and inſolencie
« they fall into the hatred of their ſubiects: ſo that after they haue got *Millan*, they will haue more
« need to ſtudie how to preſerue it, then any oportunitie to occupie their thoughts with new en-
« terpriſes; for that a iuriſdiction newly gotten, failing in order and wiſe gouernment, doth ra-
« ther weaken then make more mightie him that hath got it. Wherein we cannot haue an exam-
« ple more freſh and notable, then the victorie of the late King *Charles*, againſt whom were con-
« uerted into extreme hatred, the incredible deſires and gladneſſe with the which he was receiued
« into the kingdome of *Naples*. Thus then the perils which may fall vpon vs at any time after the
« victory of the *French* King, are neither ſo certaine, nor of ſuch nature, as for the auoiding of
« them, we need to remaine in a danger preſent and of great conſequence; and to reiect for feare
« of dangers to come and vncertaine, ſo rich and ſo conuenient a part of the Duchie of *Millan*,
« cannot but merite imputation of puſillanimitie and faintneſſe of courage: a thing reprochfull
« euen in men priuate, but much more infamous to a Commonweale, more mightie and more
« glorious, then euer was any (except the *Romane* eſtate) in any part of the world. There happen
« very ſeldome ſo faire occaſions, which being tranſitory and fleeting, it is an office in wiſedome
« and magnanimitie to embrace them when they be offered; and on the contrary, blame-worthy
« to neglect them: and a curious wit ſtanding too long in conſidering of things to come, is of-
« ten hurtfull and reproueable: for that the things of the world are ſubiect to ſo many and ſundry
« accidents, that rarely doth that come to paſſe which the wiſedome of man ſeemes to haue fore-
« ſeene, and imagined would happen: and he that leaueth the benefite preſent, for feare of the
« danger to come (if the perill be not certaine and neare at hand) finds himſelfe to haue loſt of-
« tentimes (to his diſpleaſure and ſhame) occaſions full of profite and glory, and all for ſtanding
« in feare of dangers which afterwards turne to nothing. For theſe reaſons my aduice is, that we
« accept the confederation againſt the Duke of *Millan*, for that it puts vs in ſuretie for the preſent,
« breeds our credite with all the other Potentates, and offereth vs the poſſeſſion of moſt great
« things, which another time we would be glad to get with intollerable expences and trauels, as
« well for their importance, as for that they be the doore and entrie maruellouſly to augment the
« glory and empire of this flouriſhing Commonweale. The author of this aduice was very atten-
« tiuely and fauourably heard, and the generoſitie of his ſpirit commended of many, together
The counſell of Melchior Treuiſan. « with the loue of his countrey. But *Melchior Treuiſan* ſpake thus on the contrary: It cannot be
« denied (moſt prudent Senators) that the iniuries done by *Lodowike Sforce* to our Common-
« weale, are many and great, and offend much our dignitie; yet, by how much the more they are
« great, and by how much more they concerne vs, by ſo much the more belongs it to wiſedome
« to moderate her iuſt anger, with maturitie of iudgement, and with conſideration of the publick
« benefite. For that, for a man to command ouer himſelfe, and to vanquiſh his owne paſſions, is
« ſo much the more commendable, by how much leſſe often it hapneth, and by how much more
« iuſt are the occaſions that kindle that anger, or any other humane affection. And therefore it
« appertaineth to this Senate, which in reſpect of all other nations hath the fame to be moſt wiſe,
« and who not long ſince made profeſſion to haue deliuered *Italy* from the *French*, to ſet before
« their eyes the infamie we ſhall incurre, if now through our occaſion they returne, and much
« more the dangers that may threaten vs if the Duchie of *Millan* fall into the power of the *French*
« King: the which danger whoſoeuer cānot conſider of himſelf, let him call to memory what feares
« were brought vpon vs by the conqueſt which the late King *Charles* made of *Naples*, of whom we
« held not our ſelues aſſured, vntill we conſpired againſt him almoſt with all Chriſtian Princes.
« But there is great difference betweene the one danger and the other. For the late King, naked
« almoſt of all kingly vertues, was a Prince almoſt ridiculous: and the kingdome of *Naples*, ſo farre
« remoued from *France*, held his forces ſo deuided, that they weakened more then ſtrengthened

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his power; and that conqueſt (for the feare of their eſtates, ſo neare neighbours to the Realme of *Naples*) procured him two great enemies, the Pope and the King of *Spaine*, in whom touching the one are occupied for the preſent many diuers intentions, and the other made weary with the things of *Italy*, will make himſelfe no partie without very great neceſſitie. But this new King, both for his proper vertue is rather to be feared then deſpiſed: as alſo the eſtate of *Millan* bordereth ſo neare vpon *France*, that in reſpect of commoditie to ſuccour or reſcue it, there is no hope to driue him backe, but by ſetting all the world in a ſtirre: and therefore we being neighbours to ſo great a power, ſhall in time of peace be ſubiect to expences and ſuſpitions, and in time of warre, ſo intangled with danger, that we ſhall find great difficultie to make our owne defence. And ſure I cannot but maruell much at him that hath reaſoned afore me, who on the one ſide makes no feare of a King of *France* being Lord ouer the Duchie of *Millan*, and on the other ſide holds for terrible *Lodowike Sforce*, a Prince in power much inferiour to vs, and with whom this hath bene alwayes a cuſtome, either with fearfulneſſe or couetouſneſſe, to put in danger all his enterpriſes. He alledged the feare of ſuccours which others might giue to him, as though it were eaſie, in ſo great diuerſitie of ſpirits and wils, and in ſo generall varietie of conditions, to make ſuch an vnitie: or rather, as if the abſolute vnion of ſo great a puiſſance, were not more to be feared then the power of many, which as it hath diuers ends and motions, ſo doth it bring forth actions diuers and diſcordant. He perſwades himſelfe, that in thoſe who for hate and many other reaſons deſire our embaſement, would be found that wiſedome to vanquiſh diſdaine and couetouſneſſe, which we find not in our ſelues to reſtraine ſuch ambitious thoughts. Beſides, I know not why we ſhould promiſe our ſelues, that the iealouſies and new and ancient diſdaines againſt the *French* King (aſpiring to the conqueſt of *Millan*) may do more with the Emperour and the *Almain* nation, then the inueterate hatred which they beare to vs, by reaſon of ſo many townes which we hold appertaining to the Empire and houſe of *Auſtrich*. Neither can I ſee any cauſe why the Emperour ſhould more willingly ioyne with vs againſt the *French*, then with the *French* againſt vs; but rather the vnion of the barbarous and perpetuall enemies to the name of the *Italians*, ſeemes to me more likely to make a prey: for that being vnited with him, he may the rather hope to be victorious ouer vs, then ouer him if he were knit with vs. And beſides, ſuch were his actions during the league paſt, and when he came into *Italy*, that I ſee not for what reaſon we ſhould ſo much deſire to haue him eftſoones reunited with vs. I denie not, but *Lodowike* hath done vs many iniuries; but it is farre from counſell and wiſedome, for a paſſionate deſire of reuenge, to put our owne affaires in ſo great hazard: and it is no ſhame to attend thoſe accidents and occaſions to reuenge, which a Commonweale may very well expect. Nay, rather it meriteth great blame, to be carried by diſdaine afore the oportunitie of time: and in matters of State, it is no ſmall ſlander, when vnaduiſedneſſe is accompanied with detriment. No man will ſay, that for ſuch reaſons, we were moued to make an enterpriſe ſo raſh, but all the world will iudge, that the deſire to haue *Cremona* hath puſhed vs forward; the ſame giuing cauſe to euery one to demand, what is become of the ancient wiſedom & grauitie of this Senate: and the world will maruel, that we are fallen into the ſame raſhneſſe to bring the *French* King into *Italy*, into the which our ſelues wondred ſo much that *Lodowike Sforce* ranne ſo farre. Great is the profite of *Cremona*, and very conuenient for many reſpects; but we ought to conſider whether it be not a greater loſſe to haue a King of *France* Lord of the State of *Millan*. We ought to conſider when it is that our power and reputation is moſt great in *Italy*, whether it be when of our ſelues we are of moſt eminence there, or when there is in the heart of *Italy* a Prince ſo mightie and ſo neare a neighbour to vs. We haue had at other times with *Lodowike*, both diſagreements and friendſhips, as may dayly happen betweene him and vs; neither is the difficultie of *Piſa* ſuch, but there may be applied ſome remedie, and much leſſe doth it deſerue, that for it we make our ſelues ſubiect to ſo great dangers. But the *French* being our neighbours, we ſhall be alwayes at variance with them, for that occaſions will dayly ariſe, in the diuerſitie of our minds from theirs, in the haughtie pride of the *French* nation, in the hatred wherein Princes do always purſue Commonweales, and in the vnbridled deſire which the moſt mightie haue continually to oppreſſe the moſt feeble and weake: for which regard, not onely the reſpect of *Cremona* cannot allure me, but it doth euen aſtoniſh me, for that in it is aggrauated the occaſion of the *French* King to vexe vs, which will be ſo much the more ſet forward by thoſe of *Millan*, by how much leſſe they can ſuffer *Cremona* to be diſmembred from the Duchie: and the ſame occaſion will

« will alſo ſtirre vp the *Germain* nation and the Emperour, for that *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda* be « alſo members of the iuriſdiction of the Empire. At the leaſt our ambition would not be ſo much « blamed, and we ſhould not ſearch with new conqueſts to get vs euery day new enemies, and to « make vs more ſuſpected to euery one. By reaſon whereof it muſt needs come to paſſe in the end, « that either we muſt be ſoueraigne and maiſters ouer all, or ſcourged and beaten of all; and which « of theſe two is ſooneſt to happen, it is eaſie to conſider by ſuch as take not pleaſure to beguile « themſelues. The wiſedome and grauitie of this Senate, is knowne and publiſhed through *Italy* « and all the world; blemiſh it not then by ſo raſh and dangerous a deliberation. For, to be carried « with paſſion againſt our proper profite, is nothing elſe but lightneſſe, and to eſteeme more dan- « gers that be litle then ſuch as be great, cannot but hold of folly and indiſcretion. Which two « things being directly contrary to the wiſedome and grauitie of this Senate, I cannot but per- « ſwade my ſelfe that the concluſion that you will ſet downe, will be moderate and well aduiſed, « according to your cuſtome. This counſell, though it was ſupported with ſo many mightie rea- ſons, and by the authoritie of many of the principall and moſt wiſe Senators, was not for all that of ſuch force, but that the contrary aduice carried it, as well for reſpect of hatred, as for deſire to beare rule, two things which leade men eaſily to dangerous deliberations. For the hatred which euery one had conceiued againſt *Lodowike*, was without meaſure, and no leſſe was the de- ſire to adioyne to the iuriſdiction of *Venice* the citie of *Cremona* with all the countrey about it, and all *Guiaradadda*: an enlargement of no ſmall value, for that it yeelded yearely a reuenue of an hundred thouſand duckats at the leaſt; but more to be eſteemed for this oportunitie, for that embracing by this increaſement almoſt all the riuer of *Oglia*, they ſtretched out their limits euen to *Po*, and much amplified their iuriſdiction along the riuer of *Adda*, and approching within fif- teene miles of the citie of *Millan*, and ſomewhat neare the cities of *Plaiſance* and *Parma*, it ſee- med in their coniectures that they had the way opened to occupie all the Duchie of *Millan*, as often as the *French* King was either carried with new thoughts, or troubled with great impedi- ments on the other ſide the Mounts: which they hoped would happen within a ſhort time, both for the nature of the *French* men, who are more apt to get then able to keepe; and alſo for that their Commonweale is perpetuall: whereas in the kingdome of *France* it often hapneth, by the death of Kings, that things deuolue to alteration, and gouernments and counſels change. They brought alſo into conſideration the difficulties of the *French* to continue the amities and good wils of their ſubiects, no leſſe for the generall diuerſitie of bloud, then for the difference of the *French* manners from the cuſtomes of the *Italians*. So that this ſentence being confirmed by the voices of the greateſt number, they ſent to their Embaſſadours reſident with the King, to con- clude the confederation vpon the offers made, not ſpeaking in any reſpect of the affaires of *Piſa*.

This exception of *Piſa* did not a litle trouble the King, for that he hoped by the oportunity of that deputation, to vnite the *Venetians* and *Florentines* with him: and knowing that the *Venetians* were inclined to withdraw themſelues by compoſition from the defence of *Piſa*, he held it but reaſonable, that in that action they ſhould rather haue regard to him to make eaſie the enterpriſe of *Millan*, as a thing nouriſhing cõmon benefite to them both, then ſeeking to haue better con- ditions in the compoſition, to be the cauſers that the *Florentines* ſhould remaine ioyned with *Lo- dowike Sforce*; by whoſe meanes the King knowing that the negociation continued at *Ferrara*, was in no litle doubt, that he ſhould not haue on his ſide either the *Florentines* or the *Venetians*, if *Lodowike* had power to bring the conference of *Ferrara* to a good concluſion. Then the King iudging that to be a reſolution both vaine and ill aduiſed, which ſhould leaue in doubt both the one and the other Commonweale; and being not a litle moued with the diſtruſt which they ſee- med to haue of him, be began to incline rather to conclude the peace which continually was ſo- licited with the Emperour, beating this condition, that it ſhould be lawfull to the one to make warre vpon *Lodowike Sforce*, and to the other to vexe the *Venetians*: he made anſwer then by the deputies which debated in his name with the Embaſſadours of *Venice*, that he refuſed to accord with them, if for their parts, they gaue not perfection to the deputation of *Piſa*, wherein he had ſolicited them before: and in his owne perſon he aſſured the *Florentine* Embaſſadours, that he would neuer make other agreement with the *Venetians*. But the Duke of *Valentinois*, and the o- ther agents of the Pope, with the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula*, *Triuulce*, and all the other *Ita- lians*, who for their particular intereſts incited him to this warre, would not ſuffer him to re- maine conſtant in that deuice: perſwading him with many and great reaſons, that weighing with

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the power of the *Venetians*, the oportunities they had to annoy the Duke of *Millan*, his Maiesty could not follow a counsell more hurtfull, then to suffer himselfe to be depriued of their aides and succours, for feare to lose the fauour of the *Florentines*, from whom, by reason of their owne troubles, and that they were farre remoued from the Duchie of *Millan*, could be drawne no great profite or commoditie to his purposes: and that it would easily come to passe, that *Lodowike Sforce* who, in fauour of the *Florentines* had forborne to reconcile himselfe with the *Venetians*, (a matter which had bene the very spring and originall of all the disagreements betweene him and the *Venetians*) would eftsoones reunite himselfe with them: by which vnion of the *Venetians* with *Lodowike*, if there were no other meanes to discerne what difficulties and impediments might ensue to the affaires of his Maiestie, at the least the experience of things past gaue sufficient warning: for that albeit in the league that was made against King *Charles*, the names of so many Kings were concurrent, yet the onely forces of the *Venetians* and *Lodowike*, tooke from him *Nouare*, and alwayes defended the Duchie of *Millan* against him: They told him, that it was a counsell dangerous and deceitfull, to make a foundation vpon the vnitie with *Maximilian*, in whom the world had seene, euen till that day, farre greater attempts and dispositions to enterprises, then were his meanes or wisedome able to colour: and that if his actions sorted to better effect then in times past, it ought to be well considered, how ill would agree with the intentions of the King, the augmentation of so great and perpetuall an enemie to the Crowne of *France*. With these reasons they so altered the Kings mind, that changing aduice, without speaking further of *Pisa*, he consented to the confederation with the *Venetians*, wherein was agreed, that at the selfe same time that his Maiestie with a mightie armie should assaile the Duchie of *Millan*, they for their parts should do the like vpon their frontiers: That the King hauing conquered the residue of the Duchie, *Cremona* with all *Guiaradadda* should be for the *Venetians*, except foure furlongs along the riuer of *Adda*. Lastly, that after the King had conquered the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Venetians* were bound to defend it for a certaine time, and with a certaine proportion of horsemen and footmen, the King promising to do the like office for *Cremona*, and all the rest that they possest in *Lombardie*, euen vnto the marrishes of *Venice*. This confederation was so secretly contracted, that *Lodowike* for many moneths could not vnderstand whether they had made betweene them a league onely for their common defence, as from the beginning had bene published both in the *French* Court and at *Venice*, or whether there was any article that touched him, or made mention to manage warre against him: and the Pope himselfe, notwithstanding his strait familiaritie with the King, could haue no certain aduertisement, but very late. The league being concluded with the *Venetians*, the King (without speaking further of *Pisa*) propounded to the *Florentines* conditions much differing from the former: by reason whereof, and for the displeasures which the *Venetians* did them, they were so much the more constrained to make their stay vpon the Duke of *Millan*, by whose aides their affaires continually prospered in the countrey of *Casentin*, where the enemies receiuing many hurts by the souldiers and paisants, and suffering want of victuals and forrage for their horses, were shut vp within *Bibienna* and other small places: yet they forgot not all necessary diligence to command the straits of the *Appenine*, to the end the way of their succours might be kept open, and the meanes more assured (when they should be constrained) to abandon the countrey of *Casentin* with lesse domage. By reason whereof *Charles Vrsin* was bestowed with his men at armes, and an hundred footmen, for the guard of the strait of *Montalona*, and a litle more below, *Aluiano* defended the passage of *Vernia*. But on the other side, *Paul Vitelli* proceeding discreetly, according to his custome, after he had restrained them into hard termes, laboured to compell them to abandon the country of *Montalona*, with intention afterwards to driue such as kept the passage of *Vernia* to do the like, to the end that the regiment of the *Venetians* being wholly penned vp in *Bibienna*, and enuironed on all sides with enemies and hils, they might either be the easilier vanquished, or at least be driuen to consume themselues: seeing their numbers were already much diminished, for that besides those that were stripped here and there, there were departed from the armie at sundry times, both for want of victuals, and ill suretie of their lodgings, more then fifteene hundred horsemen with may troupes of footmen, who being set vpon in the passage of the Alpes by the paisants, receiued great harmes. In the end the consideration of these difficulties constrained *Charles Vrsin* with his regiment to abandon the strait of *Montalona*, not without danger to be put to the chase, for that many of the *Florentine* bands (to whom his distresses were knowne)

Conclusion of the league betweene the French King and the State of Venice and the articles thereof.

The wisdome of Paul Vitelli to ruinate his enemies.

known) and companies of paisants embracing the present occasion, set vpon them on the way: yet the *Vrsins* hauing already take the aduantage of the strait, albeit they lost a great part of their baggage, performed notwithstanding such defence, that the companies that followed the chase in disorder, tasted of their valour. The example of *Charles Vrsin* (in regard of the same difficulties) was followed by those of *Vernia* and *Chiusa*, who forsaking that passage, were retired to *Bibienna*, wherein were inclosed the Duke of *Vrbin*, *Aluiano*, *Aitor Baillon*, *Peter Marcel* Superintendent to the *Venetian* companies, and *Iulian de Medicis*, who had reserued for the guard of that place (their onely fortresse in the countrey of *Casentin*) threescore horses and seuen hundred footmen, and sustained themselues with no other comfort then a hope in the succors which the *Venetians* prepared, iudging that for the regard of honour, but much more to haue better conditions by agreement, it imported them much not to abandon wholly the enterprise of the countrey of *Casentin*: and for that cause the Count *Petillane* mustred at *Rauenna* with great diligence the bands appointed for that rescue, whereunto he was solicited by the perpetuall complaints of the Duke of *Vrbin* and the rest, who signifying vnto him that their victuals began to faile them, protested that their necessitie was such, that without speedie succour they should be constrained for their safetie to offer composition to the enemie: and of the contrary, the Duke of *Millan* and the Captaines that were in the countrey of *Casentin*, desired much to preuent the succour, by the expugnation of *Bibienna*, and for that end demanded foure thousand footmen to be sent to ioyne with those in the campe. But their desire found many impediments, both for that in that countrey, cold and full of hils, the nature of the time hindred much all actions and exercise of warre, and also there was no great readinesse in the *Florentines* to furnish such prouision, partly being ouer-wearied with the long and intollerable expences they had bene at, and which increased dayly: and partly for that in the Citie, which on the other side was not very peaceable, there was disclosed a new dissention, some of the Citizens fauouring *Paul Vitelli* for his late merites in the warre, and others desiring to raise the Count *Rainuce*, an ancient and faithfull Captaine to that Commonweale, and which had parentage of great authoritie within *Florence*; who by his misfortune at *S. Real* hauing lost the hope of the first place, did very vnwillingly endure to haue that dignitie transferred to *Paul Vitelli*; and therefore leading his regiment in the countrey of *Casentin*, he expressed no readinesse to aduance the enterprises, whereby might grow increase of reputation to him whom he had a desire to embase. These difficulties also became the greater by the naturall propertie of *Paul*, who alwayes demanded money before the time, who could not agree with the *Florentine* Commissioners, and who oftentimes in the deliberation and expedition of affaires, tooke to himselfe more authoritie then seemed reasonable; and had euen at that time, without the priuitie of the Superintendents, giuen to the Duke of *Vrbin* being sicke, safeconduct to repasse in suretie out of the countrey of *Casentin*: vnder the warrant of which safeconduct, *Iulian de Medicis* was also gone with him, to the speciall displeasure of the *Florentines*, who perswaded themselues that if they had made difficultie to suffer the Duke of *Vrbin* to passe, his desire to go to recouer his health in his owne dominions, would haue constrained him to agree to the departing of the bands that were within *Bibienna*: and likewise they complained that without their priuitie *Iulian de Medicis* should communicate in such a fauour, expressing aforetime manifest action of rebellion, and euen then was in armes against his countrey. These things hindred much that at *Florence* they neither beleeued counsels, nor agreed to the demands of *Paul Vitelli*; but much more were they cause that the warre continued not with much reputation for him towards the people, for that many things of importance were performed more by the paisants then by the souldiers, and that for the great opinion they had of his valour, they promised to themselues with a quicker expedition the victorie of the enemies: wherein perhaps (according to the nature and iudgement of peoples) they attributed to the want of will, that which with more equitie they might haue referred to the want of power, hauing regard to the sharpnesse of the time, and want of things necessarie. By these occasions the supply of foure thousand footmen being too slow in coming, the Count *Petillane* had leisure enough to come to the borough of *Elcie* appertaining to the Duke of *Vrbin*, and very neare the limites of the *Florentines*, where were before *Charles Vrsin* and *Peter de Medicis*, and where were assembled all the bands to passe the *Appenine*, whose strength and order (as best agreeable to that rude and penurious countrey) stood more vpon footmen then horsemen, and the most of them lightly armed. This was the last attempt which the *Venetians* made in the countrey of *Casentin*;

ſentin, and to breake it, *Paul Vitelli* leauing about *Bibienna* a certaine forme of a ſiege, and ſufficient guard in the ſtraits and moſt neceſſary paſſages, marched with the reſidue of his armie to the pariſh of *S. Stephen*, (a towne of the *Florentines* ſeated at the foote of the Alpes) to withſtand the enemies deſcending from the hils: but the Count *Petillane* hauing before him the Alpes loden with ſnow, and at the foote of the Alpes ſo great an impediment, and the paſſages narrow, and very troubleſome to paſſe, euen when the ſeaſon is faire; durſt not aſſay to paſſe, notwithſtanding with great complaints he was perſwaded to it by the Senate of *Venice*, who were more forward to puſh him forward, then readie to prouide for him: and albeit they propounded to him diuers plots and meanes to withdraw *Paul* from whence he was, and that already in *Valdibagna* was done ſome enterpriſe of vexation vpon the peeces of the *Florentines*, yet he ſtood reſolute in his determination, and would not ſtirre in any ſort.

The Duke of Millan made aſtoniſhed with the league, ſolicited an accord betweene the Venetians and the Florentines

But by how much more coldly the warre proceeded, by ſo much the more hotly were recontinued the ſolicitations and practiſes of accord, equally deſired of both the one and other partie for diuers regards, and no leſſe followed and ſolicited by the Duke of *Millan*: who being diſmayed becauſe of the league made betweene the *French* King and the *Venetians*, had ſome hope, that the accord being made, the *Venetians* would haue leſſe deſire to the paſſage of the *French*, perſwading himſelfe alſo, that at the leaſt (contenting themſelues in that regard with his good will and with his workes) they would ſomewhat mitigate the rigor of their indignation conceiued againſt him. Therefore interpoſing amongſt them a meanes by *Hercules d Eſte* his father in law, he conſtrained the *Florentines* to condeſcend ſomewhat to the deſire of the *Venetians*, not ſo much with authoritie (for they ſeeing into his intentions, began to hold him for ſuſpected) as by letting them know, that if the agreement went not forward, his neceſſities would compell him, for the feare he had of the *French* King, to take from them, if not all, yet at leaſt ſome part of the forces which he had ſent to their aide. The matter was debated many moneths at *Ferrara*, where, after many difficulties diſputed, *Hercules* was required by the *Venetians*, to come in perſon to *Venice* for the more facilitie of the expedition, whereof he made ſome difficultie; but much more the *Florentines*, for that they knew that the *Venetians* deſired that a compromiſe might be made in the perſon of the Duke of *Ferrara*, which ſtood not with their liking. But ſuch were the importunities of *Lodowike Sforce*, that at laſt he conſented to go thither, and the *Florentines* to ſend with him *Iohn Baptiſta Rodolpho* and *Paul Antonie Soderin*, two of the chiefeſt and wiſeſt citizens of their Commonweale. The firſt thing that was diſputed vpon at *Venice*, was, to know if *Hercules* as arbitrator would put an end to the controuerſie, or as a friend indifferent, would labour to bring them to accord, interpoſing betweene the parties according to their order of proceeding at *Ferrara*, where they were not farre from reſoluing the articles moſt principall and important. The *Florentines* deſired that they ſhould continue as they had begun, knowing that *Hercules*, in as much as might depend vpon his arbitrement, would hold more account of the greatneſſe of the *Venetians* then of them; and that if he muſt pronounce the ſentence at *Venice*, he ſhould be ſo much the more compelled to beare reſpect to the *Venetians*: and though he would do nothing of himſelfe, yet they were aſſured that the Duke of *Millan* would induce him thereto, for that he deſired greatly to make knowne to the *Venetians* that he had ſerued their turne in that action. And albeit many difficulties were almoſt reſolued at *Ferrara*, yet both in their laſt perfection, and in many particularities, the power of the arbitrator was not little, who, notwithſtanding the compromiſe, would yet haue a libertie to depart from that which was firſt debated. On the other ſide, the *Venetians* were at a point, if the compromiſe went not forward, to paſſe no further; not ſo much for that they put more confidence in the arbitrator then did the *Florentines*, as for that there were riſen amongſt themſelues many contrarieties and obiections touching the matter in queſtion. For, albeit they were all wearie of their intollerable expences, with a very ſmall hope of profite, which not a litle aduanced their diſpoſitions to agreement; yet many of the yonger ſort in the Senate, would not conſent to agreement, vnleſſe the libertie of the *Piſans* were wholly preſerued, or at leaſt vnleſſe that part of the countrey remained ſtil to them which they poſſeſſed when they tooke them into their protection; for which opinion they alledged many reaſons, but chiefly this, that hauing by publicke decree ratified a promiſe to the *Piſans* to protect their libertie, they could not breake it without apparent blemiſh to their common honours, and perpetuall ſtaine to the reputation of their Commonweale: and ſome others, made eaſie touching all other things, were immoderate in the quantitie of the ex-

pences, which they required to be repayed by the *Florentines* in abandoning of *Piſa*. But the opinion almoſt of all the chiefe of the Senate both for wiſedome and authoritie, was on the contrary; who, euen tired with ſo great expences, ſaw nothing but deſpaire in the defence of *Bibienna*, and leſſe poſſibilitie to ſuſtaine any longer the generall quarrell of *Piſa*, without increaſe of new troubles and charges, for the many difficulties that ſtill appeared, as well in ſuccouring them, as to diuert and draw away the forces of the enemies; for that the *Florentines* had wrought farre greater impediments then they expected in the beginning. Beſides, they conſidered that albeit the enterpriſe againſt the Duke of *Millan* might be ſuppoſed eaſie, yet the *French* King, being not pacified with the Emperour, and ſtanding ſubiect to diuers impediments ordinarily happning at home, might by many aduentures be hindred to proſecute the warre: and though he ſhould put it to action, yet in the buſineſſe of warre, many dangers vnlooked for, and difficulties no leſſe intricate, may chance dayly; but aboue all, being daunted by the great preparations which *Baiazet Ottoman* was ſaid to make both by ſea and land to inuade thoſe parts towards *Greece*, their reſolution was, (ſeeing they could not otherwiſe do) that it was neceſſary, rather to conſent that honeſtie in ſome part ſhould giue place to vtilitie, then, in ſtanding obſtinately vpon their promiſe, to perſeuere in ſo great troubles and perplexities: and becauſe they were well aſſured that theſe concluſions would be hardly conſented vnto in their councels, (albeit they knew from the beginning that of neceſſitie they muſt be allowed) they had (whileſt the negociation was at *Ferrara*) wiſely procured, that by the councell of the *Pregati* ſhould be giuen fulneſſe of authoritie touching the affaires of *Piſa*, and the reſolution of the accord treated with the *Florentines*, to the councell of the *Dieci*, which is a councell compounded of a farre leſſer number, none being called vnto it but ſuch as be of greateſt grauitie and authoritie, which contained the moſt part of thoſe that deſired the accord. But now the ſolicitation continuing at *Venice*, and being in no hope to be able to diſpoſe the councel of the *Pregati* to conſent to the articles which had bene debated at *Ferrara*, and knowing withall, that if onely the councell of the *Dieci* condeſcended to them, there might riſe occaſions greatly to charge thoſe that aſſiſted it: they ſolicited that the compromiſe might be made, hoping that touching the iudgement that might come of it, men would rather transferre the imputation to the arbitrator then to them, and that more eaſily would that be ratified which had bene alreadie publiſhed in ſentence, then that which ſhould be conſented vnto with the partie intreating by way of accord. So after theſe things had bene debated for certaine dayes, (the Duke of *Millan* threatning the *Florentines* refuſing to compromit, to withdraw immediatly all his companies out of *Tuſcan*) there was a free and abſolute compromiſe for eight dayes in the perſon of *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, who, after he had well conſidered of all things, pronounced the ſixt day of Aprill, That within eight dayes next following, the *Venetians* and *Florentines* ſhould ceaſſe to offend one another, and that by the next *S. Markes* tide all the bands, ſuccours and aides of either partie, ſhould returne into their countreys: and that the *Venetians* at the ſame time ſhould cauſe to iſſue out of *Piſa* and all the places thereabouts, all their regiments of ſouldiers, which they entertained there: That they ſhould abandon *Bibienna* with all other peeces taken vpon the *Florentines*, and they to pardon thoſe of *Bibienna* all their faults and treſpaſſes: That for the recompence of all charges (which the *Venetians* aſſured to amount to eight hundred thouſand duckats) the *Florentines* ſhould be bound to repay them within twelue yeares, fifteene thouſand duckats by the yeare: That all the offences ſhould be pardoned to the *Piſans*, to whom ſhould be ſuffered to exerciſe by ſea and land all ſorts of ſciences and merchandize, and all the fortreſſes of *Piſa* and thoſe other places which were holden by them the day of the ſentence, to remaine in their guard; but vnder this charge, that if they beſtowed therin garriſons of the countrymen or others, that they ſhould not be perſons ſuſpected to the *Florentines*, and that they ſhould be payd of the reuenues which the *Florentines* ſhould collect of *Piſa*, increaſing neither the numbers of men, nor the payes accuſtomed afore the rebellion: That if the *Piſans* thought good, they might deface and diſmantle all thoſe citadels and fortreſſes of the proper countrey of *Piſa*, which had bene recouered by the *Florentines* for the time the *Venetians* held them in protection: That within *Piſa* the firſt inſtances of cauſes ciuill ſhould be iudged by a Podeſtat ſtranger choſen by the *Piſans* of a place not ſuſpected of the *Florentines*; and that the Captaine choſen by the *Florentines* ſhould not meddle but with cauſes of appellation, and haue no power to proceed in any caſe criminall concerning bloud, baniſhment, or confiſcation, without the counſell of a Superintendent to be choſen by

by *Hercules* or his ſucceſſors, and of fiue Doctors of law which the *Piſans* ſhould name to him: That the goods moueable and vnmoueable occupied by the one and other partie, ſhould be reſtored to whom they appertained, not making reſtitution of the fruits, of the which euery one was abſolued: That in all other things they ſhould ſuffer the *Florentines* to enioy fully their rights in *Piſa* and the territorie, forbidding the *Piſans*, that neither for the regard of the citadels and fortreſſes, nor for other cauſe whatſoeuer, they ſhould practiſe or conſpire any thing againſt the Commmonweale of *Florence*. This ſentence was no ſooner publiſhed at *Venice*, but there were heard through the Citie great complaints, euen of the Nobilitie, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, and againſt thoſe ſpeciall Senators which had managed this buſineſſe, the moſt part blaming them, in that faith ſhould be broken to the *Piſans*, with ſo great ſhame to their Commonweale, complaining vehemently, that the article touching the expences of the warre was paſt ouer with ſo light conſideration; a matter which greatly inflamed the Embaſſadours of the *Piſans*: who before the ſentence being cunningly entertained by the *Venetians*, in hope, that vndoubtedly they ſhould remaine in full libertie, and that not onely the reſidue of the countrey ſhould be adiudged to them, but haply alſo the port of *Liuorne*; they were ſo much the more grieued, by how much the effects fell out contrary to the perſwaſions wherein they had bene nouriſhed. And then they began to complaine, that the promiſes to protect their libertie ſo oftentimes reiterated by the Senate (vnder the aſſurance of whoſe faith they had not onely reiected the amities of all other Potentates, but alſo refuſed farre better conditions offered by the *Florentines*) were vnworthily violated, their ſecuritie being no otherwiſe prouided for then with vaine apparences. For, how could they be aſſured, that the *Florentines*, reeſtabliſhing their magiſtrates within *Piſa*, and their merchants and ſubiects returning to trafficke there, and on the other ſide their paiſants, who had ſerued as a principall member in the defence of the Citie, retiring to their houſes and farmes, would not bring vnder their iuriſdiction by ſome propertie of fraud, the whole gouernment of their towne? hauing withall the guard and command of the gates. And what ſuretie can that be, to haue in their hand the fortreſſes, if ſuch as ſhal be appointed to guard them, muſt be payed by the *Florentines*, and not to be lawfull in a time ſo doubtfull, to beſtow a ſtronger guard then had bene accuſtomed in ſeaſons peaceable and aſſured? That the pardon for treſpaſſes committed, was likewiſe a thing vaine, ſeeing the *Florentines* had good meanes to deſtroy them by wayes iudiciall and by iudgements: for that the merchandizes and ſuch other goods as had bene made pillage in the time of rebellion, amounted to ſuch a value, that in recompence they would not onely confiske their ſubſtances, but alſo their perſons ſhould not be aſſured from impriſonment. But to cut off the importunitie of theſe complaints, the principals of the Senate brought to paſſe the day following (although the terme of the compromiſe was expired) that *Hercules* (to whom the generall indignation of the citie brought not a litle feare) added to the ſentence publiſhed, a declaration without the knowledge and priuitie of the *Florentines*: that vnder the name of fortreſſes, was comprehended and meant the gates of the towne of *Piſa*, with other peeces that had fortreſſes, for whoſe guard, and the entertainment of the Podeſtat and Superintendent, ſhould be aſſigned to the *Piſans* a certaine part of the reuenues of *Piſa*: and that the places not ſuſpected, whereof mention was made in the ſentence, and from whence they might draw ſouldiers, ſhould be the ſtate of the Church, of *Mantua*, of *Ferrara*, and of *Bologna*, not comprehending therein ſouldiers of the appointment or in the pay of others; and that touching reſtitution of goods, there ſhould neuer be ſpeech of it: That it ſhould be in the power of the *Piſans* to name the Superintendent, borne in any place not ſuſpected: That the Captaine ſhould not proceed in any cauſe criminall (how litle ſoeuer it were) without the Superintendent: That the *Piſans* ſhould be well intreated of the *Florentines*, according to the cuſtome of other noble cities of *Italy*, and that there ſhould not be impoſed vpon them any new charges. This declaration was not ſolicited for any deſire the *Venetians* had that it ſhould be obſerued, but ſomewhat to qualifie the importunities of the *Piſan* Embaſſdours, and ſo to iuſtifie themſelues to the counſell of the *Pregati*, that if the libertie of the *Piſans* were not altogether obtained, yet at leaſt they had ſo well prouided for their ſuretie and commoditie, that they could not be charged to haue paſſed them ouer as a prey, or left them abandoned. In this counſell of the *Pregati*, after much diſputation and reaſoning, at laſt what with conſideration of the conditions of the time, and the difficulties to maintaine *Piſa*, but ſpecially for feare of the *Turkes* armies, it was reſolued, that the ſentence ſhould not be ratified with an expreſſe conſent, but that

things which were of greateſt importance ſhould be put in execution, making to ceaſſe within eight dayes all offences, and drawing all their bands out of *Tuſcan* at the time determined, with intention to meddle no more with the quarrell: yea many of the Senators began to deſire, that the *Florentines* ſhould rather recouer *Piſa*, then that it ſhould fall into the power of the Duke of *Millan*. And at *Florence*, after the tenour of the ſentence was communicated to the Citie, moſt of the multitude began to murmure in their minds, and not onely held themſelues oppreſſed in this, that they muſt make repaiment of the expences of the warre to thoſe who had vniuſtly vexed them; but much more for that it ſeemed to them they had obtained no other thing but the naked and ſimple name of Lords, ſeeing, both the fortreſſes were in the guard of the *Piſans*, and the adminiſtration of criminall iuſtice, one of the principall members to preſerue eſtates, could not haue his courſe without their magiſtrates: neuertheleſſe, the ſame proteſtations of the Duke of *Millan* which had induced them to compromit, conſtrained them to ratifie it, and hoping withall that within a litle time, by induſtry and good behauiour to the *Piſans*, they might redreſſe things in a better forme, they ratified by name, the ſentence publiſhed, but not the additions and declarations which were not yet come to their knowledge. But farre greater were the indignations and doubts of the *Piſans*, who moued not a litle againſt the name of the *Venetians*, and iealous of ſome greater deceit, as ſoone as they vnderſtood the purpoſe of the ſentence, diſcharged their ſouldiers from the guard of the fortreſſes and the gates; and not ſuffering them any more to lodge in the Citie, they ſtood many dayes in great doubt, whether they ſhould accept the conditions of the ſentence or not. On the one ſide, feare ouer-ruled their wils, ſtanding now abandoned of euery one: and on the other ſide, the generall hate to the *Florentines* made them ſtand reſolute, but much more their deſperation to obtaine pardon for their heauy and infinite tranſgreſſions, and for that they had put the ſtate of *Florence* to infinite expences and harmes, and many times had brought into hard termes their proper libertie. They being in theſe doubts, the Duke of *Millan* counſelled them to giue place, offering that he would worke ſo much with the *Florentines* that the conditions of the ſentence ſhould be more in their fauors and to their aduantages: yet they, to make triall if he remained ſtill poſſeſſed with his ancient couetouſneſſe, determining in this caſe to giue themſelues wholly to him, ſent to him Embaſſadours; and at laſt, after many thoughts and variations, they determined rather to make triall of all extremities, then to returne vnder the yoke of the *Florentines*, whereunto they were ſecretly incited by the *Genoways*, *Lucquoys*, and *Pandolfe Petrucci*. And the *Florentines* were not without ſuſpition, that the Duke of *Millan* (the truth being otherwiſe) had encouraged them to that obſtinate reſolution, ſo litle expectation is there of ſinceritie and faithfull actions in that man, whom the world hath taken into opinion to be double and cautelous.

The Piſans not keeping the accord, are beſieged by the Florentines.

Thus the *Florentines* being out of hope to reconcile *Piſa* by accord, thought they had a great occaſion to vanquiſh and force that Citie; and therefore cauſing *Paul Vitelli* to returne eſtſoons into that countrey, they leuied with ready diligence the prouiſions by him demanded: but whileſt that ſtrength was in preparing to action, the dangers of *Lodowike Sforce* increaſed continually, for that his interpoſition into the accord had in no ſort appeaſed the minds of the *Venetians*, who, for hate to the man, and hope of their profite, were wholly bent to conſpire his ruine: and *Maximilian* was nothing ſo readie to make warre on the *French* King, as he was importunate in continuall demands of money of *Lodowike*: yea, contrary to his many promiſes, he prolonged the truce for the whole moneth of Auguſt next; taking from him at one time the hope that he had that his ſuccours would ſtand him in more ſtead then had done his counſell to diuert the warre; and likewiſe *Maximilian* being vnited with the league of *Sweaden*, began warre vpon the *Swiſſers*, declared rebels of the Empire for many controuerſies betweene them: which warre continuing on both ſides with great furie, with ſundry accidents and fortunes on both parts, *Lodowike* began to aſſure himſelfe, that in no neceſſitie he could hope for ſuccours from *Maximilian*, vntill that warre againſt the *Swiſſers* tooke end, either by victorie or compoſition. And yet *Maximilian*, promiſing him that he would neuer accord with the *French* King or with the *Swiſſers*, without comprehending him in it, *Lodowike* was ſtill conſtrained to refurniſh the expences of that warre, and to entertaine the Emperours prodigalities with new ſupplies of money. This being knowne to the new King of *France*, and how much it imported him to haue the Pope and the *Venetians* for him, he eſteemed litle the perſwaſions of many that counſelled him, that in regard he was newly aſcended to the Crowne, and his treaſures very ill furniſhed, he might put

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off the warre till the yeare following: but he hoped to obtaine the victorie in few moneths, and ſo could ſuffer no great neceſſitie of money, and therefore entred into open preparation for the warre, alwayes furniſhing the *Swiſſers* vnder hand with ſome proportion of money, to the end to keepe *Maximilian* in buſineſſe. And for this cauſe the Duke of *Millan*, diſcerning ſuch manifeſt tokens of the warre, laboured with a wonderfull diligence and care not to be alone in ſo great dangers; for that he had an abſolute diſtruſt in all poſſibilities and meanes of accord with the King, or reconciliation with the *Venetians*; and likewiſe in the King of *Spaine* (notwithſtanding his many ſolicitations) he found no care of his perils. Then ſounding in one inſtant the wils almoſt of all the other potentates, he ſent *Galeas Viſcount* to *Maximilian* and the *Swiſſers* to negociate an agreement betweene them. And knowing, that according to the Popes deſire, the mariage of *Charlotta* with his ſonne *Ceſar Borgia*, could not well ſucceed, for that the yong Ladie either moued with the loue and authoritie of her houſe and parents, or elſe gouerned by the perſwaſions of the *French* King (in whom notwithſtanding were expreſſed many faire apparences to the contrary,) refuſed with great conſtancie to make him her husband, if withall he put not an end to the affaires of *Federike* her father, who offered to the *French* King a yearly tribute, with very large conditions; he entred into hope, to alien and eſtrange him from the fauours he bare to the enterpriſes of *France*, ſoliciting him with many importunities to draw him into confederation with him, wherein he promiſed the aſſociation of King *Federike* and the *Florentines*, with many faire offers, that as well he as the Confederates, would contribute with him in a common ſuccour againſt the Vicars of the Church, and indue him beſides with a great quantitie of money to purchaſe ſome honorable eſtate for his ſonne. Theſe offers, as the Pope at the firſt motion ſeemed to heare them with a diſſembled eare: ſo in the end he was content to giue them leaue to vaniſh and become meerly vaine. For, hoping to receiue by the ſocietie and fauour of the *French* King, farre greater recompences then thoſe which he looked to obtaine if *Italy* were not againe filled with the armies of *France*, he conſented that his ſonne excluded already from the marriage of *Charlotta*, ſhould take one of the daughters of the Lord *Albret*, who for his affinitie with the bloud royall, and for the greatneſſe of his eſtates, was one of the greateſt Lords in all the kingdome of *France*. But *Lodowike* who was daily more certified of the euill inclination of the *Venetians*, ceaſſed not by expreſſe ſolicitors, but in ſecret maner (King *Federike* concurring in the ſame action) to ſtirre vp againſt them the Prince of the *Turkes*, hoping that being aſſailed and vexed by him, they would haue no oportunitie to moleſt the ſtate of *Millan*. And being withall well aduertiſed of the preparations which the *Florentines* made to haue *Piſa*, he laboured, offering them all ſorts of ſuccours, to bind them to his defence with three hundred men at armes and two thouſand footmen after they had recouered *Piſa*. And on the other ſide, the *French* King required their promiſe to furniſh him for one yeare with fiue hundred men at armes: and for recompence he offered to bind himſelfe, as ſoone as he had accompliſhed the conqueſt of *Millan*, to aide them for one whole yeare with a thouſand Lances, for the aduancement of their enterpriſes, with promiſe to make no accord with *Lodowike*, if at the ſame time they were not repoſſeſſed of *Piſa*, and their other places withholden: beſides, he would bring to paſſe that the Pope and the *Venetians* ſhould ioyne to their protection, if afore the conqueſt of *Millan*, any would offer to moleſt them. Vpon theſe ſo contrary demands, the *Florentines* could not reſolue, no leſſe for the difficultie of the matter, then for their diuiſion of minds. For, *Lodowike* requiring their aide no otherwiſe, then in caſe they recouered *Piſa*, his ſuccours were farre more preſent and certaine, then the helpes promiſed by the *French* King, in whom they iudged litle oportunitie of action to the aide of *Piſa*, for that, being abandoned of euery one, they determined to haue it that ſommer: and beſides, many were moued with the memory, that the *Venetians* were confederate with the *French* king againſt *Lodowike*, for that he had miniſtred to them in their perils: but much more were they moued with feare, leſt in refuſing to gratifie his demands, he would for very ſpite hinder them to get *Piſa*, a thing which he might eaſily do. And of the contrary, iudging it a thing impoſſible for him to reſiſt the *French* King and the *Venetians*, it ſeemed a counſell dangerous to make themſelues enemies with a King whoſe armies they expected within few moneths to runne ouer all *Italy*: and the memory of the fauours receiued of *Lodowike* in the warre againſt the *Venetians*, to the which they referred the originall of all their dangers, was eaſily defaced by this conſideration, that the rebellion of *Piſa* was firſt kindled by his meanes; and that nouriſhing alwaies ambitious deſires to aſpire to the iuriſdiction

Reaſons moouing the Florentines to ioyne with the French king.

of it, he had ſuſtained them, and for many moneths cauſed them to be ſuſtained by others, hauing done at that time many other wrongs and iniuries againſt the *Florentines*: ſo that his offences had bene greater then his fauours, which yet he did not communicate in liberalitie and frankneſſe, but for that he could not endure that the *Venetians* ſhould take from him that which with hope and ambition he had long ſince iudged to be duly appertaining to him: and further, that if they declared themſelues for *Lodowike*, the *French* King alſo by meanes of the Pope and *Venetians* his confederates, might hinder them in the recouering of *Piſa*. Then, at laſt, they determined not to ſtirre either in fauour of the *French*, or of the Duke of *Millan*, and in the meane time to follow the enterpriſe of *Piſa*, for which they iudged their owne ſtrength ſufficient; & yet to the end to giue *Lodowik* no occaſion to hinder them, vſing with him his owne wiles, to entertaine him in hope as much as they could. And therfore after they had for many daies made delayes in anſwering, they diſpatched at laſt a Secretarie of eſtate to giue him vnderſtanding, that the intention of the Commonweale was conformable to his deſires as touching the effect, but concerning the maner there was ſome difference: for that as they had reſolued, that as ſoone as *Piſa* was recouered, he ſhould not faile of the ſuccours he had demanded; ſo they deſired him to conſider how perillous it was to contract their promiſe vnder expreſſe couenant, for that in free cities, ſuch things being not to be diſpatched without the conſent of many, there was no poſſibilitie to hold them ſecret; and being diſcloſed, they would giue occaſion to the *French* King to draw the Pope and the *Venetians* to adminiſter ſuccours to *Piſa*: by which it would come to paſſe, that their promiſe would bring harme to themſelues, and proue vnprofitable to him, for that *Piſa* being not taken, neither ſhould they be bound to him, neither were they able to helpe him. For theſe reaſons, they ſaid, that faith and promiſe might ſuffice giuen in words with the conſent of the chiefe citizens, vpon whoſe authoritie all their publike deliberations depended; and that it was for no other occaſion that they refuſed to couenant with him by writing; offering him at laſt for better declaration of their will and intention, that if he knew any other meanes whereby his deſire might be ſatisfied, and ſo great domages auoided, they would be as ready to put it in practiſe. By which anſwer, ſubtill and full of art, and for that alſo they did not accept the offers of his ſuccours, *Lodowike* ſaw there was no hope left to haue bands of ſouldiers from them, and leſſe expectation of ſuccours from other parts, for that the comforts promiſed ſo continually by the Emperour, proued very vncertaine, no leſſe by his naturall inconſtancie, then for the impediment of his warres with the *Swiſſers*. And for *Federike*, where he promiſed to ſend him a ſtrength of foure hundred men at armes, and fiue thouſand footmen vnder the leading of *Proſper Colonne*, he doubted not ſo much of his will (for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* turned to his profite) as of his diſabilitie and delayes: and *Hercules*, his father in law, when he deſired his aid, (reproching in a maner the ancient iniuries done by him in the compoſition of *Poleſina*) had anſwered him, that it brought no ſmall griefe to him to be reſtrained to ſuccour his diſtreſſe, for that the lands of the *Venetians* ioyning ſo neare to the gates of *Ferrara*, he was conſtrained to be carefull ouer the ſuretie of his owne eſtate. Then *Lodowike* thus made naked of all hopes, ſauing ſuch as depended of himſelfe, began carefully to fortifie *Anon*, *Nouaro*, and *Alexandria de la Paille*, townes ſtanding in the mouth of the firſt inuaſions of the *French*: and his reſolution was to ſend out againſt the furie of the *French* armie *Galeas de S. Seuerin* with the greateſt part of his ſtrength, and to oppoſe the reſidue againſt the *Venetians*, vnder the gouernment of the Marquis of *Mantua*, although a litle after, either by indiſcretion, or by couetouſneſſe, or for that there is no power to reſiſt the counſels of God, he became eſtranged from the Marquis: for that falling into this vaine perſwaſion, that the *Venetians* (againſt whom *Baiazet Ottoman* had opened the warre as well by land as by ſea with a wonderfull preparation) would haue no oportunitie to moleſt him, being conſtrained to defend their owne eſtates againſt ſo ſtrong an enemie: and deſiring withall to ſatisfie *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, who could not brooke that the Marquis ſhould enioy a title more honourable then he, he began to make difficulties, as refuſing to pay him a certaine remainder of old payes, and required of him oathes and cautions not accuſtomed, for the aſſurance of his faith: and notwithſtanding that, afterwards being aduertiſed that the *Venetians* diſpatched many bands of men into *Breſſe*, to be readie to enter into the warre at the ſame time that the *French* ſhould begin it, he ſought by the meanes of the Duke of *Ferrara* father in law to them both, to reconcile him; yet the difficulties could not ſo ſoone be reſolued, as the dangers increaſed, growing dayly more

Reſolution of the Florentines to remaine neuters.

Lodowike ſtrengtheneth himſelfe againſt the king

more great and terrible. For the Duke of *Sauoy*, being eftſoones conioyned with the King, gaue paſſage for his bands to march continually through *Piemont*, which were beſtowed about the confines of *Aſt*: and the hopes of *Lodowike* diminiſhed dayly, for that King *Federike*, either by diſabilitie or by negligence, was ſlow to miniſter to his perils: and that ſmall remainder of hope which he entertained as his chiefeſt comfort, that the *Florentines* hauing once gotten *Piſa*, would ſend to his ſuccours *Paul Vitelli* (whoſe valour held great reputation in all the parts of *Italy*) was cut from him by the diligence of the *French* King, who, debating with their Embaſſadours with words ſharpe and full of threatnings, wrought ſo much with their Commonweale, that they made him ſecret promiſe by writing to miniſter no aide at all to the Duke of *Millan*; a promiſe, for the which they receiued in recompence no couenant or grant of him. *Lodowike* leauing the Count *Caiazze* on that ſide to the *Venetians* with a very ſmall companie, not ſufficient for any great reſiſtance, ſent *Galeas de S. Seuerin* beyond the riuer of *Po*, with an armie of ſixteene hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horſemen, ten thouſand footmen *Italians*, and fiue hundred footmen *Almains*, but more with intention to defend his places, then to reſiſt in the plaine field: for that he eſteemed it moſt to his profite to entertaine and hold things in delay, chiefly for that he had dayly expectation of the concluſion of an accord ſolicited in his name by the Viſcount, betweene *Maximilian* and the *Swiſſers*: which if it were accompliſhed, he was fed with many promiſes of mightie ſuccours, which otherwiſe he could not onely not hope for, but it was very hard for him to draw any proportions of footmen from thoſe quarters, for that by reaſon of the great troubles that were thereabout, almoſt all the countrey was kept trauelled in that warre.

Touching the warres of *Millan*, there was performed neither of the one nor other part, any exploit of warre, other then certaine light incurſions, vntill the regiments of the Lords *de Ligny*, of *Eberard*, of *Aubigny*, and of *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* were paſſed the Mounts: for though the King was come to *Lions*, and the bruite ranne that he would paſſe into *Italy* in ſeaſon conuenient, yet he referred the direction of this warre to his Captaines. But when the *French* armie was fully aſſembled, which conſiſted of ſixteene hundred Lances, fiue thouſand *Swiſſers*, foure thouſand *Gaſcoins*, and foure thouſand of other parts of *France*: the Captaines pitched a campe the thirteenth of Auguſt, afore the rocke *Arazze*, ſituate vpon the ſhore of the riuer *Tanare*, the which though it was guarded with a ſtrength of fiue hundred footmen, yet was it taken within a very ſhort time, the furie of the artillerie being the cauſe, and no leſſe the cowardize of the garriſon that was within. The rocke of *Arazze* being taken, they drew their campe to *Anon*, a litle towne in the high way to *Aſt* and *Alexandria*, vpon the bankes of *Tanare*, and right ouer againſt *Arazze*, the which being ſtrong by ſituation, the Duke of *Millan* had ſtrongly fortified it certaine moneths before. And albeit *Galeas de S. Seuerin* who with his army had taken the field neare *Alexandria*, vnderſtanding of the loſſe of *Arazze*, had determined to ſend thither other bands of footmen better reſolued, for that the ſeuen hundred beſtowed there firſt, were of the new leuies, and not trained to the warre: yet he could not put his deuice in execution, for that the *French* men, to cut off all recourſe of ſuccours thither, had manned *Filizana* which is betweene *Alexandria* and *Anon*, and that by the ſufferance and conſent of the Marquis of *Montferrat* Lord of the place. In ſo much that they that were within *Anon*, expreſſing in action and experience no better proofe of their valours, then anſwered the expectation and opinion of moſt men, fell into the danger of the *French*, who after they had firſt battered the ſuburbes, and afterwards ſhaken the walls of the towne in foure ſeuerall quarters, they enforced it in two dayes, and likewiſe the Caſtle, making ſlaughter of all the footmen that were withdrawne thither. The which ſucceſſe being more ſudden then was expected, brought ſuch aſtoniſhment to *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, that he retired with all his armie into *Alexandria*, colouring his feare with an excuſe, that both in his ſouldiers wanted valour, and in the people was litle faith towards *Lodowike*; which gaue occaſion of greater courage to the *French*, who drew their campe within foure miles of *Alexandria*, and at the ſame ſeaſon tooke *Valence* plentifully ſtored with artillerie and ſouldiers, and that by the treaſon of *Donat Raffagnin* of *Millan*, at that time Captaine of the Caſtle, corrupted by the promiſes of *Triuulce*: who hauing let them into the Towne by the Caſtle, beheld with his eyes all the ſouldiers that were within either ſlaine or taken, and amongſt others *Octauian* baſtard brother to *S. Seuerin* was made priſoner: and it is to be noted, that this Captain twentie yeares before falſifying his faith to Madame *Bonne* and the yong Duke

The French king deſcendeth into Italy

The French men take diuers peeces of the Duchie of Millan.

Iohn Galeas, deliuered vp to *Lodowike Sforce* one of the ports of *Tortona*, the ſelfe ſame day that he put the *French* men into *Valence*. Then the *French* men as a violent thunder running ouer the whole countrey, *Baſigniana*, *Voguera*, *Newcaſtle*, and *Pont Corona*, yeelded to them without reſiſtance, as alſo the caſtle and towne of *Tortona*, from whence *Anthonie Maria Palueiſin* gouerning the garriſon there, retired beyond the riuer of *Po* without tarying for any aſſault. The aduertiſement of theſe accidents being come to *Millan*, *Lodowike Sforce* ſeeing afore his eyes nothing but a lamentable face of all extremities, and that his eſtate haſtened with a violent ſwiftneſſe to his ruine, became confuſed (as hapneth in ſuch ſudden extremities) both in counſell and courage, and had recourſe to thoſe remedies, (whereunto men being accuſtomed to run when things be ſo farre afflicted, that they be almoſt brought to the laſt deſpaire) which declare to euery one rather the greatneſſe of the danger wherein they are, then miniſter any helpe: he cauſed to muſter and enroll all the men of the towne of *Millan* that were able to beare armes, and cauſing to aſſemble the people, which hated him not a litle for the many exactions he had impoſed vpon them, he acquited them of one part of the tributes and impoſitions, vſing perſwaſions accompanied with words and geſtures pitifull, that if they thought he had at any time too heauily burdened them, that they would not aſcribe it to his diſpoſition and nature, nor to any deſire to heape to himſelfe a particular treaſure, but rather to the eſtate of the time, & to the dangers of *Italy*, firſt for the greatneſſe of the *Venetians*, and then for the deſcending of the late King *Charles* of *France*, matters which conſtrained him to thoſe actions, to the end to be the better able to protect the peace and ſuretie of that State, and to reſiſt againſt all oppreſſions and inuaſions, iudging that he could not ſhew a greater affection to his countrey and to his people, then to foreſee they ſhould not be trauelled with warres: That the fruits which they had reaped, gaue good teſtimonie of the ineſtimable profite of ſuch a pollicie and counſell, ſeeing they had liued many yeares vnder him in great peace and tranquillitie, by reaſon whereof their citie was augmented wonderfully in riches, magnificence and glorie, as is well expreſſed in the aſpect of ſo many ſtately buildings, pompes, and ſo great increaſe of wealth, with the multiplication almoſt of infinite ſciences and inhabitants: benefites, wherein the towne and Duchie of *Millan*, doth not onely not giue place, but exceed all other cities and regions of *Italy*: That they ſhould remember, that he had gouerned them without any crueltie, and with what affabilitie and readineſſe he had heard euery one, and that he onely, aboue all the Princes of his time, without bearing reſpect to the paines and trauels of his perſon, had obſerued the dayes appointed for publike audiences, and alwayes had giuen to euery one ready and vpright iuſtice: That they ſhould beare reſpect and remembrance to the merites and gracious behauiours of his father, who had gouerned them rather in an affection of children, then in the propertie and condition of ſubiects: and withall to ſet before their eyes, how hard and grieuous it would be for them to beare the proud and inſolent yoke of the *French*, who, for the neighborhood of the realme of *France* (if they once came to command ouer the ſtate of *Millan*) would plant there their perpetuall dwelling, and chaſe out the ancient inhabitants; as they had heretofore done in *Lõbardy*. That for theſe reaſons he deſired them that hauing in horror the barbarous manners of the *French*, they wold ioyne all together with minds reſolute for the defence of their countrey and proper ſafetie, not doubting if they could ſuſtaine themſelues for a while againſt the firſt brunt of dangers (which like a ſtorme would be violent and but ſhort) but the reſidue of the action would be eaſie, for that this was a propertie infallible in the *French* nature, to be more furious to aſſaile, then conſtant to continue, and for that alſo he had in expectation a ſpeedie and mightie ſuccour from the Emperour, who being alreadie at accord with the *Swiſſers*, prepared to reſcue him in perſon; and beſides, the regiments which the King of *Naples* ſent to him vnder the leading of *Proſper Colonne*, were on the way. Laſtly, that they ſhould beleeue that the Marquis of *Mantua* (all the controuerſies betweene them being now reſolued) was alreadie armed, and with three hundred men at armes entred the countrey of *Cremona*: to which ſuccours and forces, if he might adioyne the readineſſe and faith of his people, he made himſelfe aſſured againſt his enemies, yea if their armie contained all the power of *France*. Theſe perſwaſions were heard with more diligence then profite, and ſerued him to as litle purpoſe, as the forces which he oppoſed againſt the *French*; for feare of whom, weighing lightly the preſent dangers of the *Venetians*, who had begun the warre in *Guiaradadda*, and taken the towne of *Caranage* with other peeces neare the riuer of *Adda*, he called backe the Count *Caiazze* with the moſt part of

Lodowike muſtereth all the inhabitants of Millan, and laboureth to reconcile the hearts of the people.

of thoſe bands which he had ſent for the defence of that quarter, and cauſed him to march to *Pauie* to ioyne with *Galeas* for the defence of *Alexandria*. But his ruine was alreadie aduanced on all ſides: for the Count *Caiazze* was a litle before ſecretly at accord with the *French* King; being more carried with diſdaine that *Galeas* his brother, yonger in yeares, and of leſſe exerciſe in armes, was preferred before him in the gouernment of the armie, and in all other honors and fauours, then with the memorie of the innumerable benefites which he and his brethren had receiued of *Lodowike*. Some are of opinion, that *Lodowike* was aduertiſed of his reuolting certaine moneths before, and after many deepe cogitations of the diſpoſition of the man, he anſwered at laſt with many ſighs to him that gaue him the aduertiſement, that as he could not be perſwaded of ſo great an ingratitude, ſo, if it were a thing true, it was an euill whoſe nature reſiſted all remedies, and for his part, he knew not in whom to repoſe confidence, ſince in his fauorites and familiars, and ſuch as had moſt communicated with his liberalities and benefites, were found diſpoſitions of treaſon: affirming that he eſteemed it not a calamitie leſſe hurtfull to depriue himſelfe by a vaine ſuſpition of the ſeruice of perſonages faithfull, then by too haſtie and light credulitie to repoſe his ſuretie in the faith of thoſe of whom he had reaſon to doubt. But in the meane while, the Count *Caiazze* makes a bridge ouer *Po* to ioyne with his brother, and entertaining with cunning delayes the execution, whileſt the bridge is in worke, he deferreth to paſſe, notwithſtanding the *French* army was two daies afore entred into *Alexandria*, which they did batter: and *Galeas* whoſe ſtrength was twelue hundred men at armes, twelue hundred light horſemen, with three thouſand footmen, in the night of the third day, without the priuitie of any of the Captaines except *Luke Maluezze*, flieth ſecretly out of *Alexandria* with part of the light horſmen, giuing the whole world to know, to his great diſhonour, and no leſſe reproch to the wiſedom of *Lodowike*, how great difference was between the ſport to manage a Courſer and to run at tilt and tourney with huge lances (exerciſes wherein he exceeded moſt *Italians*) and the office to be a Captaine of an armie: and how much thoſe Princes beguile themſelues, to their great harmes, who, in the election of men to whom they will commit the charge to manage affaires of great importance, beare more regard to the fauour of ſuch whom they chooſe, then to their vertue. As ſoone as it was knowne in *Alexandria* that *Galeas* was fled, ſuch as remained in the armie began in great tumult ſome to flie and ſome to hide themſelues, by occaſion whereof, the *French* armie being entred the towne at the breake of day, not onely ſtripped all the ſouldiers that were there, but with a libertie of warre, put the whole citie to ſacke. There ranne a bruite, that *Galeas* was commanded by ſecret letters ſubſigned with the name of *Lodowike Sforce* that for a certaine mutinie then riſen at *Millan*, he ſhould retire thither immediatly with all his bands: but ſome were of opinion, that the letters were falſly made and forged by the Count *Caiazze*, by that meanes to make more eaſie the victorie of the *French*: the which letters *Galeas* was wont to ſhew afterwards for his iuſtification, as though he had bene charged by the ſame to abandon raſhly his armie, and not to leade it ſafe into places where he knew he could leaue it in ſecuritie. But this is not ſo certaine, as is that which all men hold for certaine, that if in *Galeas* had bene found any counſell of a Captaine, or any courage of a man reſolute, he might haue made eaſie the defence of *Alexandria*, and almoſt all the reſidue beyond *Po*, with the ſtrength he had; wherein haply he might haue had good ſucceſſe, for that one part of the *French* armie being paſſed the riuer of *Bornia* a few dayes before, and by reaſon of the ſudden raines falling, they were incloſed betweene the riuers of *Bornia* and *Tanaro*, yet *Galeas* had not the heart to ſet vpon them, notwithſtanding he was told, that certaine of his light horſemen, iſſuing out of *Alexandria* by the bridge vpon *Tanaro* which ioyneth the ſuburbes to the citie, had charged them, and almoſt put to the chaſe the firſt bands.

The Count Caiazze leaueth the Duke of Millan.

The diſhonourable flight of Galeas from Alexandria.

The loſſe of *Alexandria* brought no litle aſtoniſhment to all the reſidue of the Duchie of *Millan*, afflicted more and more with freſh calamities, in ſo much as the *French* men hauing paſſed ouer the riuer of *Po*, were gone to beſiege *Mortaro*, which made them of *Pauie* put themſelues in accord with them: and the *Venetians* hauing taken the rocke of *Caranage*, and paſſed the riuer of *Adda* vpon a bridge made for the preſent ſeruice, commanded almoſt all the countrey euen to *Loddi*, the whole reſidue of the places being for the moſt part drawne into rebellion. And euen at *Millan* there was no leſſe confuſion and feare, then in the other places, for that the whole citie conſpired and tooke armes, and that with ſo ſlender reuerence to their Lord, that *Anthonie Landriane* his treaſurer generall coming from the Caſtle from ſoliciting affaires with him,

The treaſurer of Millan ſlaine.

him, was ſlaine at noone dayes in the ſtreets (particular hatreds working no leſſe in the conſpiracie, then the counſels of ſuch as deſired innouation.) By reaſon of which accident, *Lodowike* entring into great feare of his perſon, and ſtanding naked of all hopes to be able to make reſiſtance, determined, leauing the caſtle of *Millan* in good guard, to flie into *Germanie* with his children, to auoide the danger preſent, and to ſolicite (as he ſaid) *Maximilian* to come to his aide and ſuccours, hauing already concluded, or at leaſt held for reſolued, the peace with the *Swiſſers*. Following this reſolution, he ſent away his children accompanied with the Cardinall *Aſcanius* (who not many dayes before was come from *Rome* to ſuccor, as well as he could, the affaires of his brother) and with the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*; with whom alſo he ſent his treaſure, very much diminiſhed from that it was wont to be: for it is credibly knowne to many, that not eight yeares paſſed, *Lodowike*, to make a glorious brag of his power, ſhewed to Embaſſadours and to many others, the eſtate and ſubſtance of his treaſure, which at that time, as well in money as in plate of gold and ſiluer (beſides iewels of no ſmall number) amounted to a million and a halfe of duckats; but at this time, according to the opinion of men, it amounted not much aboue two hundred thouſand. As ſoone as his children were departed, he appointed (notwithſtanding many of his friends laboured to turne him) for the guard of the caſtle, *Bernardin de Corto* borne at *Pauie*, whom he had nouriſhed of a long time, and being at that time Captain of the Caſtle, he preferred the faith of him afore that of his brother *Aſcanius*, who offered to take vpon him that charge; and left for that defence three thouſand footmen vnder the authoritie of Captaines in whom he repoſed moſt, with proportions of victuals, munitions and money, ſufficient for many moneths: and touching the affaires of *Genes*, he determined to recommend them to the truſt of *Auguſtin Adorne* gouernour preſent, and to his brother *Iohn*, who had maried one of the ſiſters of the *S. Seuerins*, and ſent them forthwith the aſſignation of the Caſtle. To the *Borromeys*, gentlemen of *Millan*, he reſtored *Anguiara*, *Arona* and other lands vpon the lake *Maior* which he had taken from them: and to *Iſabel* of *Aragon* the widow of *Iohn Galeas*, he gaue by reaſon of her dowrie, the Duchie of *Barie* and the principalitie of *Roſſane*, for thirtie thouſand duckats, notwithſtanding ſhe denied to truſt him with the ſonne of *Iohn Galeas*, whom he deſired to ſend with his children into *Germany*. And after he had eſtabliſhed this forme of direction, and in his owne ſeeming had ſet downe as much as might ſuffice for the ſuretie of things, leauing the towne to the gouernment of it ſelfe, he departed the ſecond of September with his eyes full of teares to go into *Almaine*, accompanied with the Cardinall of *Eſte* and *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, and for his ſafetie by the way, he had *Luke Maluezze* with a good troupe of men at armes and footmen. And as he was iſſuing out of the Caſtle, the Count *Caiazze* ſeeking to ſhadow his diſloyaltie with ſome colour, met him and ſaid, That ſeeing he abandoned his eſtate, he held himſelfe acquited of the oath of warre which he had made to him, and from thence forward to be in full power to profeſſe what ſeruice he would; and at the inſtant diſcloſed himſelfe to be for the *French* King, into whoſe pay he entred immediatly with the ſelfe ſame regiment which he had leuied with the treaſure of *Lodowike*: who, from *Coma*, where he left the Caſtle in the power of the people, went along the riuer to *Bellaſia*, and from thence, being ſet on land, he paſſed by *Bormy* and all thoſe places, where at other times, when he was in glorie and felicitie, he had receiued *Maximilian*, paſſing then into *Italy* rather as a Captaine to him and the *Venetians*, then as Emperor. Betweene *Coma* and *Bormy* he was purſued with bands of the *French* and the companies of the Count *Caiazze*; from which places, leauing garriſon within the caſtle of *Tiran*, occupied not many daies after by the *Griſons*, he tooke his way towards *Inſpruch*, where he vnderſtood was the perſon of the Emperour. *Lodowike* was no ſooner departed, then the inhabitants of *Millan* diſpatching Embaſſadours to the *French* Captaines, who were alreadie approched with the whole armie within ſixe miles of the citie, conſented with readie wils to receiue them, reſerting the capitulations till the Kings coming, in whom they had many hopes to find great fauours and graces, (regard to particular profite preuailing much with them:) and all the other places of the Duchie of *Millan* did the like incontinently. The Citie of *Cremona* which was beſet with bands of the *Venetians*, (whoſe gouernment the inhabitants abhorred) would alſo haue done the like; but for that the *French* King would not breake the contract made with the *Venetians*, they were compelled to yeeld to them. The Citie of *Genes* followed this vniuerſall reuolt, the people, the *Adorneys*, and *Iohn Lewis de Fieſque*, ſtriuing who ſhould giue vp the Citie vnto the King. And to the end that with ſo great and ſudden ruines againſt *Lodowike*, loſing

Lodowike abandoneth Millan

Bernardine de Corto put in truſt by Lodowike.

Reſtitutions made by Lodowike.

The reuolt of Count Caiazze.

The towne of Millan yeeldeth to the Frenchmen.

Genes.

loſing in eight dayes ſo mightie an eſtate, the world might alſo diſcerne the examples of ingratitude, the Captaine of the Caſtle of *Millan*, choſen aboue all others for the reputation of his faith, not abiding ſo much as one bullet, or any forme of aſſault, deliuered to the *French* King within twelue dayes after the departure of *Lodowike*, the Caſtle, which was ſuppoſed to be impregnable: and receiued in recompence of ſo great diſloyaltie a great proportion of money, a companie of an hundred Lances, a perpetuall penſion, with many other priuiledges and graces; but with ſuch infamie and hate, euen among the *French*, that being eſchued and reiected of euery one, as an abhominable beaſt, and mocked whereſoeuer he went with words full of reproch, he died of thought within few dayes after, tormented with ſhame and the guilt of his conſcience, two mightie and moſt aſſured ſcourges to vexe euill doers. The Captaines aſſigned to him for the ſeruice of the Caſtle, did communicate in the ſame infamie, but chiefly *Philippin de Fieſque*, who, trained vp and aduanced by the Duke, and left there for the credite and opinion of his faith, in ſtead of encouraging the Caſtle-keeper to ſtand firme, (being made blind with large promiſes that were made him) perſwaded the contrary, and agreed the yeelding vp of the Caſtle with *Antonie Maria Palauoiſin* who came thither in the Kings name. The King receiuing at *Lions* the newes of ſo great a victorie, ſucceeded with a ſpeed ſwifter then his expectation, made way with great diligence to *Millan*, where, being receiued of the people with great ioy, he agreed to the exemption of diuers tributes and impoſitions, (the people notwithſtanding vnmeaſurable in their deſires, were not fully ſatisfied, for the opinion they had conceiued that they ſhould be freed from all exemptions) and diſtributed honorable gifts of reuenues to many gentlemen of *Millan*, and amongſt other things gaue *Vigeuena* to *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* in recompence of his merites.

The French King commeth to Millan.

In the ſelfe ſame ſeaſon that the *French* King made warre againſt the Duke of *Millan*, *Paul Vitelli* hauing now reaſſembled the bands and prouiſions of the *Florentines* to carrie with more eaſe the victorie of *Piſa*, planted his campe afore the towne of *Caſina*, which, notwithſtanding it was ſufficiently manned and victualled, with a wonderfull ſtrength of trenches and rampiers, was taken, after the ſummons of the artillerie, within leſſe then ſixe and twentie houres: for that the defendants beginning now to feare the great ruine which the artillery had made of their wals being of no great ſtrength, the forrein ſouldiers that were within preuenting them, rendred the place, and compounded onely for their liues and goods, leauing the commiſſioners and ſouldiers of the *Piſans* wholly to the arbitration of the victors. Immediatly after this, the Tower builded to guard the mouth of the riuer of *Arne*, and the Baſtillion of the poole, being abandoned of the *Piſans*, yeelded at the ſummons of one onely trumpet: ſo that the *Piſans* held no other peeces within the whole countrey then the Caſtle of *Verrucola* and the litle Tower *Aſcanius*, which ſuffered no vexation of the enemies, both for the incommoditie of the riuer of *Arne* which hindred all actions of aſſault, and alſo being ſo neare *Piſa*, it ſtood poſſible to ſpeedie and readie ſuccours, the importance alſo of the enterpriſe not ſuffering ſo much loſſe of time: in ſo much as there remained now no more to get but *Piſa*, which was an enterpriſe very hard (according to the opinion of ſuch as ſounded things with diſcretion) as well for the fortreſſe of the towne, as for the numbers, valour, and reſolution of the men that were within it. For, albeit there were within *Piſa* no forrein ſoldiers, other then *Gurlin de Rauenna* with ſome very ſmall troupes, who coming at firſt in the pay of the *Venetians*, remained ſtill poſſeſſed of that ſeruice after their regiment was withdrawne: yet there was a great number of citizens and paiſants of no ſmall account, for that by a continuall experience of fiue yeares, they were made ſeruiceable and fit for the warre, and that with ſuch an immoueable purpoſe and reſolution of mind not to returne eſtſoones vnder the power of the *Florentines*, that in reſpect thereof they held for nothing all other aduerſities. And albeit there were no ditches nor trenches before the walls of the Citie, yet were they very thicke, and of ancient building, with ſtones ſo well couched by the facultie of the lime and ſand proper to that countrey, that their reſiſtance was more mightie againſt the artillerie then is the common ſort of wals; and by that benefite, afore they were beaten flat with the earth, the defendants had time and leiſure to reenforce their rampiers. All this notwithſtanding the *Florentines* determined to aſſault it, prouoked thereto by *Paul Vitelli* and *Rainuce de Marciane*, who gaue no ſmall hopes to take it within fifteene dayes: and therefore hauing muſtered together a ſtrength of ten thouſand footmen, with many horſemen, and drawne together according to direction, many other great prouiſions, *Paul* planted his campe there the laſt of Iuly, not

The taking of Caſina.

Piſa.

Piſa hath neither trench nor ditch.

Piſa is beſieged.

not (as many aduiſed him, and the *Florentines* deſired) on that ſide of *Arne*, which hindred that ſuccours might not come from *Lucques*, but on the other ſide the riuer, right ouer againſt the baſtillion and tower of *Stampace*, either for that it ſeemed to him, that by taking that fortreſſe he might the eaſilier carry the towne, or for the great commoditie of victuals brought from the boroughs about the hils, or at leaſt for the knowledge that he had, that the *Piſans* not ſuſpecting the ſiege to be planted on that ſide, had not begun any rampier there, as they had done on the other ſide. The battery containing twentie peeces of great artillery, beat vpon the baſtillion of *Stampace* and a great part of the wall as well on the right as left hand, namely from *S. Anthonie* vntill *Stampace*, and from thence vnto the gate towards the ſea, built vpon the banke of *Arne*: and of the contrary, the *Piſans* not ceaſſing to labour day and night, and with them their wiues, no leſſe reſolute and well diſpoſed then the men, had made in very few dayes, right againſt the wall that was battered, a rampier of great height and largeneſſe, and a ditch of more then common depth, being nothing amazed to ſee many of their companies ſlaine by the artillerie, either directly with the bullet, or by the reuerberation. The ſhot alſo out of the towne ſo thundered vpon the ſouldiers in the campe, ſpecially from a platforme that was vpon the Tower of *S. Marke*, that the whole campe was conſtrained either to remoue their tents to haue better couerture, or elſe to pitch their cabbins within the ditches. Many dayes paſt in this ſort, wherein albeit they had throwne to the ground a great quantitie of the wall from *S. Anthonie* vnto *Stampace*, and had reduced that fortreſſe into ſuch termes, as the Generall hoped to obtaine it without great difficultie, yet, to make the victorie more eaſie, he continued the batterie from *Stampace* to the ſea gate, entertaining in the meane while many skirmiſhes betweene the wall which they battered, and the rampier, ſo farre ſeparate from the walls that *Stampace* remained wholly without the rampier: in one of which skirmiſhes the Count *Rainuce* was hurt with the ſhot of an harquebuze. The Generall determined, as ſoone as he had wonne *Stampace*, to plant there his artillerie, and alſo vpon the wall which he had battered, by which meanes, giuing in the flanke vpon that ſide which the *Piſans* defended, he made his hope of the victorie almoſt certaine. He made at the ſame time fall towards the rampier (to the end the ditch being filled, the ſouldiers might enter with more eaſe) one part of the ruine of the wall which was betweene *Stampace* and the rampier, which being already ſhaked, was now ſupported no otherwiſe but with props of wood. On the other ſide, the *Piſans*, who in defending were altogether directed by the counſell of *Gurlin*, had made towards *S. Anthonie* certaine murthering houſes within the ditch, to the end that if the enemie deſcended, it ſhould not be filled vp by them: they had alſo beſtowed vpon the rampiers towards *S. Anthonie*, much artillerie, and placed their footmen at the foot of the rampier, to the end that things drawing to extremities, they might be oppoſed with their proper perſons againſt their enemies. At laſt, *Paul Vitelli* not willing to deferre any longer the taking of *Stampace*, the tenth day after he had planted his campe there, gaue the aſſault at the breake of day: and notwithſtanding his ſouldiers were grieuouſly vexed with the artillerie of the old citadell, yet they tooke it, both with more ſpeed and more eaſe then was looked for, and with ſuch terror to the *Piſans*, that abandoning the rampiers, they fled in all quarters of the Citie, yea many, amongſt whom was *Peter Iambecourte* a noble citizen, with fortie croſſebow-ſhot on horſebacke which he had in charge, fled out of *Piſa*: and many others would haue done the like, if that the Magiſtrates had not made reſiſtance at the gates: and in ſuch ſort as if the others had followed that fortune, they had certainly caried the towne, to the great glorie of the Captaine, to whom had bene moſt happie the ſucceſſe of that day, which indeed was the beginning of his calamities: for that he not knowing (ſo he excuſed himſelfe afterward) of the vnexpected occaſion that hapned, and hauing not determined to giue the aſſault with all the campe, nor to other place then to that tower, he not onely ſent not his men to aſſault the rampier where they ſhould haue found no reſiſtance, but alſo made the moſt part of his footbands retire, who vnderſtanding that the fortreſſe of *Stampace* was wonne, deſiring to make pillage of the towne, ranne thither by heapes to enter: and in the meane while the *Piſans* (a bruite running through the Citie that the enemies followed not the victorie) puſhed forward by the lamentable cries of the women, who encouraged them rather to chuſe death, then to liue vnder the yoke of the *Florentines*, began to returne with a new valour to the guard of the rampiers: whither *Gurlin* being returned, and remembring that from a part or iawne of *Stampace* bending towards the towne, there was a way that led to the gate of the ſea, which they had before

Stampace taken.

filled

filled vp with earth and wood, and fortified on that ſide to the campe, but not on that part that looked to *Stampace*, he cauſed it to be rampierd and filled vp on that ſide, and caſting a platforme of earth, he cut off the entry on that part with the artilleries that were beſtowed in flank. As ſoone as *Stampace* was wonne, *Paul* cauſed to be mounted there certaine Falconets and portpeeces, which ſhot through the towne of *Piſa*, but offended not the rampiers, the which albeit they were much afflicted with the artillerie that was planted below, yet the *Piſans* abandoned them not: and at the ſame inſtant they battered the murthering houſe towards *S. Anthonie*, the water gate, and the defences: and *Paul Vitelli* ceaſſed not to vſe all his endeuor to fil vp the trench with ſagots, the more eaſily to take the rampier. Againſt theſe endeuors the *Piſans* (to whoſe aid were ſent the night following from *Lucques* a ſuccour of 300 footmen) riſing in courage, hurled into the trench many ſorts of wildfires: and labouring with all diligence to conſtraine the campe to abandon the tower of *Stampace*, they turned directly thither a very great port peece called Buſole, by whoſe furie the campe was compelled to diſmount the artillerie which they had mounted aboue: againſt which albeit *Paul* cauſed to be braked certaine port peeces, by which the mouth of Buſole was broken, yet, ſparing not for all that to ſhoot, they brought in certaine days the tower to that reaſon, that *Paul* was cõſtrained, not only to remoue his artillery, but alſo to abandon the place: neither had the battered wal any better ſucceſſe, for that the *Piſans* hauing propped it within ſide, to make it fall towards the ditch; when *Paul* would haue ouerthrowne it, it ſtood vnmoueable. Notwithſtanding all this, the Generall found not himſelfe fruſtrate of the hope he had to carry the victory in the end, which (according to his cuſtome) deſiring to haue with the moſt ſuretie, and the leaſt hurt to the armie that could be, albeit in many places there was more then fiue hundred yards of the wall vpon the earth, he laboured continually to increaſe the batterie, to fill vp the ditches with earth, and to fortifie the tower of *Stampace*, to replant new artilleries, and to beate in flanke the great rampiers which the *Piſans* had made, laboring with all policie and induſtrie to winne alwayes ſome commoditie to giue with more ſuretie the aſſault generall and determined: which laſt exploit (notwithſtanding he had brought things into that eſtate, that as often as he would haue followed the aſſault, he might haue had great hope of the victory) he prolonged willingly, to the end the harmes of the armie might not deface the honor and reputatiõ of the victorie: notwithſtanding the aſſiſtants of the *Florentines*, to whom euery litle reſpite was troubleſome, and being prouoked by continuall letters and meſſages from *Florence*, ceaſſed not to haſten him to the aſſault, the better to preuent thoſe impediments that might happen. Which counſell of *Paul* (being haply more wiſe, and more agreeable to the diſcipline of warre) had a contrary fortune: for that the countrey of *Piſa*, which is full of lakes and mariſhes betweene the next ſea and the citie, being in that ſeaſon of the yeare ſubiect to aires peſtilent, and ſpecially on that ſide towards the campe, there came vpon the armie in two dayes many diſeaſes, which ſo waſted and weakened the bodie of the campe, that when *Paul* gaue order to prepare to the aſſault the foure and twentieth day of Auguſt, he found ſo many of his regiments made vnprofitable, that thoſe that remained whole, ſufficed not to giue the aſſault. Which vnhappie accident, albeit the *Florentines* and he (who was alſo ſicke) laboured to helpe by leuying new bands of footmen, yet the influence of the aire made the infection ſo vehement, that euery day the diminution was found greater then the ſupply; and therefore being out of hope in the end to obtaine the victory, and fearing ſome domage, he determined to raiſe the campe, the *Florentines* being much againſt it, who aduiſed him that leauing garriſon ſufficient within the fortreſſe of *Stampace*, he would ſtay with the armie about the confines of *Piſa*: but he, making this counſell no direction to him, abandoned the tower of *Stampace*, which he held not tenable, for that it had bene firſt ſhaked with his artilleries, and then battered with the great ſhot of the *Piſans*, and the fourth day of September he drew the whole armie to the way of the ſea, and diſtruſting to be able to bring his artilleries by land to *Caſſina*, for that the wayes were drowned with waters, he embarked them in the mouth of the riuer of *Arne* to conuey them to *Liuorne*. But fortune ſtriuing againſt him in all things, many of the artilleries were ſunke in the water, and a litle after drawne vp againe by the *Piſans*, who at the ſame time recouered againe the Tower that guards the mouth of the riuer. By reaſon of theſe accidents the ill diſpoſition conceiued alreadie by the people of *Florence* againſt *Paul*, was ſo much increaſed, that within few dayes after being called to *Caſſina* by the Commiſſioners, vnder colour to conſult into what places they ſhould diſtribute the companies, he was by them made priſoner,

Paul leaueth the ſiege.

The Florentines put Paul Vitelli to death.

by commandement of the ſoueraigne Magiſtrate of the towne, and from thence ſent to *Florence:* where the ſame night he arriued, being rigorouſly racked, he was beheaded the day following by the ſentence of the Magiſtrate; and his brother failed not much to haue runne with him the ſame fortune, whom the Commiſſioners ſent to apprehend at the ſame inſtant. But *Vitellozze*, ſicke as he was, of the diſeaſe he had taken in the campe, making ſemblance to obey them, aroſe out of his bed, and in the time they gaue him to array himſelfe, by the helpe of his ſeruants, being well mounted vpon a horſe, he fled to *Piſa*, where he was receiued with great ioy of the whole inhabitants. The principall points for which they condemned *Paul Vitelli*, were theſe: That it proceeded of his will onely that *Piſa* was not taken, hauing good oportunitie thereunto the ſame day that the rocke of *Stampace* was forced: That for the ſame reaſon he had deferred to giue the aſſault: That he had many times giuen audience to men coming to him from *Piſa*, and neuer communicated their buſineſſe with the *Florentines*: That he had raiſed the campe againſt the publike commandement; and with the like contempt had abandoned *Stampace*: That he had drawne diuers others of the Captaines to occupie with him *Caſſina*, *Vicopiſan*, and the artilleries, to the end that in paiments and other conditions he might vſe the *Florentines* as be liſted: That in the countrey of *Caſentin* he had ſecret intelligences with the *Medices*, and at the ſame time treated and almoſt concluded with the *Venetians*, to ſerue them as ſoone as the time of his pay with the *Florentines* ſhould be determined, which was now almoſt expired: which practiſe took not effect, for that the *Venetians* being come to accord with the *Florentines*, would not entertain him: That in that reſpect he had giuen ſafeconduct to the Duke of *Vrbin* & to *Iulian de Medicis*. He was ſtraightly examined vpon all theſe points, and albeit he confeſſed nothing particularly that might charge him, yet they cut off all further examinations, and fearing leſt the *French* king, who was now come to *Millan*, would vrge his deliuerie, they haſted his excecution: neither did any of his ſeruants, which after his death were examined at leiſure, confeſſe any thing, ſauing that he was much diſcontented with the *Florentines* for that they had made the Count *Rainuce* concurrant with him in authoritie; and for the difficulties they vſed in the expedition of prouiſions which he demanded, and ſometimes in his affaires particular; and for that at *Florence* they ſpake ordinarily to his diſhonor. By which teſtimonies, albeit ſome remained poſſeſſed of this opinion, that he behaued himſelfe not loyally in his charge, hauing a pretence to be Lord of *Piſa*, and to occupie ſome other part of the demaine of *Florence*, where he entertained many intelligences and amities; yet the moſt part beleeued well of his innocencie, and were perſwaded that he nouriſhed a great deſire to take *Piſa*, for the reputation and glorie that would redound to him, which is the principall reſpect of euery great Captaine.

The French King being at Millan compoundeth with the moſt part of the Potentates of Italy.

The *French* King being now arriued at *Millan*, all the Potentates of *Italy*, except King *Federike*, came to him, ſome in perſon, and ſome by Embaſſadours, ſome to congratulate his victorie, and ſome to iuſtifie themſelues of the imputation to be more inclined to *Lodowike Sforce* then to him, and ſome to ſeeke ſuretie hereafter of their proper eſtates. The King receiued them all graciouſly, and compounded with them all, but diuerſly, according to the diuerſitie of conditions, and according to the greatneſſe of the profite which he might draw. He tooke the Marquis of *Mantua* into his protection, and endued him with a companie of an hundred Lances, with an honorable penſion and the Order of *S. Michael*. He receiued likewiſe into his protection the Duke of *Ferrara* (he and the Marquis were with his Maieſtie in perſon) who partaked not in that benefite without well paying for it, & not without great difficultie, for that euer ſince he rendred the caſtle of *Genes* to *Lodowike*, he had bene eſteemed to beare a mind contrary to the *French*. He accepted alſo into his grace and protection (but vnder a great ſumme of mony) *Iohn Bentiuole*, who had ſent to him *Annibal* his ſonne. But of all the reſidue, the *Florentines* compounded with him moſt hardly and moſt chargeably, for that (their merites all forgotten, and the harmes they had ſo long time endured during the life of the late King, in following the friendſhips of *France*) almoſt all the Court was againſt them: and thoſe reaſons were not accepted, which, not to ſtirre vp *Lodowike Sforce* againſt them for the matters of *Piſa*, had conſtrained them to remaine neuters: for that the impreſſion which the *French* men tooke when King *Charles* gaue libertie to the *Piſans*, remained yet firmly fixed in their minds, and the men of warre of the campe were of opinion (by reaſon of the generall bruite) that they were valiant men, and fit for ſeruice, which drew not a litle their diſpoſitions to beare them fauour. Beſides this, the authoritie of *Triuulce* was no ſmall impediment to the purpoſes of the *Florentines*, for

for that aſpiring to the Lordſhip of *Piſa*, he fauoured the cauſe of the *Piſans*, who deſired to receiue for their Lord, either him or any other in whom was abilitie to defend them againſt the *Florentines*, who were generally blamed by the whole Court for the death of *Paul Vitelli*, as to haue cauſed to be executed without occaſion, a Captaine of ſo great merite, and to whom the Crowne of *France* was much beholding, for that his brother was killed, and he made priſoner in the *French* ſeruice during the warres of *Naples* vnder the late King *Charles*. But in the end, the King inclining more to his proper profite then to things vaine, compoſition was made, by the which his Maieſtie receiuing them into his protection, bound himſelfe to defend them againſt all men with ſixe hundred Lances and foure thouſand footmen, as alſo the *Florentines* to defend his eſtates in *Italy* with foure hundred men at armes and three thouſand footmen: That the King at their requeſt ſhould aide them with Lances and artilleries neceſſarie for the recouering of *Piſa*, and of the places occupied by them of *Sienna* and *Lucques*, but not of thoſe peeces which the *Genowayes* held: And that, if theſe companies were not demanded of him before, he ſhould be bound, when he ſent an armie to the enterpriſe of *Naples*, to conuert either the whole or part of it to this expedition: and that when they had recouered *Piſa*, and not otherwiſe, they ſhould be bound to miniſter to him for the conqueſt of *Naples* fiue hundred men at armes, and fiftie thouſand duckats to pay fiue thouſand *Swiſſers* for three moneths: alſo that they ſhould reſtore to him thirtie thouſand duckats which *Lodowike Sforce* had lent them, rebating (according to the account which *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* ſhould make) ſo much as they had paid or diſpended for him: That they ſhould take for Captaine generall of their men of warre, the Prefect of *Rome*, brother to the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula*, in fauour of whom this demand was made. The ambition of the Pope ſlept not in ſo faire an occaſion, who ſoliciting earneſtly to haue promiſe kept with him, the King gaue to the Duke *Valentinois* (coming with him out of *France*) three hundred Lances defrayed vpon the treaſures of the King, and guided by *Iues d'Alegre*, and foure thouſand *Swiſſers* vnder the charge of the Bailiffe of *Dion*, to be payed by the Pope; which companies were for his aide in the warre which he meant to make vpon the Vicars of *Romagnia*.

The Digreſſion which was omitted.

For the declaration whereof, and of many other things which happened afterwards, it is requiſite that mention be made, what right the Church hath ouer the Cities of *Romagnia* and many other places, which either ſhe hath held heretofore, or poſſeſſeth at this preſent: and by what meanes the ſaid Church, which at the firſt had meerly the charge and adminiſtration of ſpirituall things, is come to theſe worldly ſtates and principalities: and likewiſe that it be ſet downe as a matter of neceſſarie dependance, what amities and enmities haue bene at diuers times, vpon theſe other occaſions, betweene the Popes and the Emperours. The Biſhops of *Rome*, of whom *Peter* the Apoſtle was the firſt, their authoritie in ſpirituall matters being layed by Ieſus Chriſt, being men renowmed for their great charitie, humilitie and patience, and for their holy life accompanied with miracles, were at the firſt not onely voide of all temporall power, but being perſecuted by the ſame, remained for many yeares obſcure, and as it were vnknowne; their name being made manifeſt by nothing more, then by the perſecutions which they and their followers endured. For although (through the great multitude of people, and the diuerſitie of nations and religions that then were at *Rome*) ſmall regard was had to their proceedings, and ſome of the Emperours perſecuted them not at all, but when they were of opinion that their publike actions might not be paſſed ouer with ſilence; yet ſome others, either through crueltie, or for the loue they did beare to their particular gods, perſecuted them with all rigor, as bringers in of new ſuperſtitions, and ſubuerters of true religion. In which eſtate, famous for their voluntarie pouertie, holineſſe of life and martyrdome, they continued vntill the time of Pope *Silueſter*; in whoſe time the Emperour *Conſtantine* being conuerted to the Chriſtian faith, through the holy conuerſation and miracles which were dayly ſeene in thoſe that made profeſſion of the name of Chriſt, the Biſhops were freed from the dangers wherein they had bene for the ſpace of three hundred yeares (or thereabout) and had libertie publikely to exerciſe diuine Seruice, and Chriſtian ceremonies. So that through the reuerence of their manners, and the diuine precepts which our Religion containes in it, and for the readineſſe which ordinarily is found in men to follow the example of their Prince, oftentimes through ambition, and ſometimes for feare, the name of *Chriſtians* began maruellouſly to ſpread it ſelfe euery where, and withall the pouertie of Eccleſiaſticall perſons to diminiſh. For *Conſtantine* hauing built in *Rome*

the Churches of *S. Iohn* in the *Lateran*, of *S. Peter* in the *Vatican*, and of *S. Paul*, and many others in diuers places, he not onely adorned them with rich veſſels and ornaments, but alſo endowed them with poſſeſſions and other reuenues, for the maintenance of thoſe Churches in their apparaments and buildings, and of the Clergie that ſerued in that holy Miniſterie. So likewiſe in times ſucceeding, many others, being perſwaded that by almes and legacies to the Church, they ſhould eaſily purchaſe the kingdome of heauen, did either build and endow other Churches, or gaue part of their wealth to thoſe already built. And further, (whether it were by law or by ancient cuſtome, following the example of the old Teſtament) euery man payed to the Church the tenth part of his fruites. Whereunto men were ſtirred vp with the greater zeale, becauſe at the firſt the Eccleſiaſticall perſons employed all that remained of the neceſſarie expences for their poore and moderate maintenance, partly in the building and repairing of Churches, and partly in other godly and charitable vſes. And then (pride and ambition hauing not yet ſeized on their hearts) was the Biſhop of *Rome* generally acknowledged of all Chriſtians, for the chiefe of all other Churches, and of the Spirituall iuriſdiction; as the ſucceſſor of the Apoſtle *Peter*, and becauſe that Citie for her ancient dignitie and greatneſſe, kept ſtill the name and maieſtie of the Empire, and alſo becauſe from her, Chriſtian Religion was diſperſed through the greateſt part of Europe; and laſtly for that *Conſtantine* being baptized by *Siluester*, did willingly yeeld that power to him and his ſucceſſors. It is further reported, that *Conſtantine* being conſtrained by the troubles of the Eaſterne prouinces to remoue the ſeate of the Empire to the Citie of *Bizantium*, which afterward, by his owne name, was called *Conſtantinople*, he gaue to the Popes the gouernment of *Rome*, and of many other cities and countries of *Italy*. The which report, although it haue bene entertained with great diligence by the ſucceeding Popes, and by reaſon of their authoritie hath bene beleeued of many, yet the ſame is reproued by Authors beſt worthy of credit, but much more by the matter it ſelfe. For it is moſt certaine, that at that time and long after, *Rome* and all *Italy* was gouerned by Magiſtrates deputed by the Emperours, as ſubiect to the Empire. And there are alſo that denie (ſo great is the obſcuritie oftentimes of matters ſo ancient) all that is reported of *Conſtantine* and *Siluester*, affirming that they liued in diuers times. But no man gainſayeth, that the tranſlation of the ſeate of the Empire to *Conſtantinople*, was the firſt beginning of the Popes greatneſſe. For the authoritie of the Emperours by ſucceſſe of time decreaſing in *Italy*, as well by reaſon of their continuall abſence, as for their vrgent affaires in the Eaſt parts, the people of *Rome* withdrawing themſelues from the obedience of the Emperours, and ſo much the more leaning to the Pope, began to yeeld vnto them, not a ſubiection, but a kind of voluntarie obedience; although this appeared but very ſlowly, by reaſon of the ouer-running of the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and other barbarous nations, which came into *Italy*, by whom *Rome* being often taken and ſacked, the Pontificall name, touching temporall cauſes, was of long time baſe and obſcure, and the authoritie of the Emperours very ſmall in *Italy*, becauſe they ſo ſhamefully left it in prey to barbarous nations. Amongſt which barbarous people, the power of the *Gothes* continued for the ſpace of threeſcore and ten yeares, the furie and violence of the other being no other then as a torrent. Theſe were Chriſtians by name and profeſſion, deſcended from the parts of *Dacia* and *Tartaria*; who at length being driuen out of *Italy* by the armies of the Emperours, the countrey began againe to be gouerned by Magiſtrates of *Greece*, of whom he which was the chiefe, was by a Greeke word called *Exarch*, and was reſident at *Rauenna*, an ancient Citie, and in thoſe dayes very rich, and very populous, by reaſon of the fertilitie of the countrey thereabouts, and alſo for that it was inhabited by diuers Captaines and men of command, euer ſince the enlargement it had by the great nauie that *Auguſtus Ceſar* and other ſucceeding Emperours vſually kept there: as alſo for that a long time it had bene the reſidence of *Theodoricus* King of the *Gothes* and of his ſucceſſors, who being iealous of the Emperours power, choſe this place rather then *Rome* for the ſeate of his Court, in regard of the conueniencie of the ſea, being nearer to *Conſtantinople*. Vpon which oportunitie of ſituation (but for a contrary reaſon) the *Exarchs* made that their reſidence, and deputed other particular Magiſtrates for the gouernment of *Rome* and other Cities of *Italy* vnder the title of Dukes. From thence aroſe the name of *Exarchat* of *Rauenna*, vnder which title is vnderſtood all the countrey, which hauing no particular Duke, did immediatly obey the *Exarchat*. In this time the Popes of *Rome* hauing nothing to do with the temporall ſword, and the reuerence in ſpirituall matters, which men before did beare vnto them, waxing cold, by reaſon of the difference

of

of their manners, which now were much corrupted, they liued as ſubiects to the Emperours, without whoſe confirmation, or of their *Exarchs*, they durſt not exerciſe or take vpon them the Papacie, although they were choſen by the Clergie and people of *Rome*. Moreouer, the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* and *Rauenna* did often diſpute with the Biſhops of *Rome* for ſuperioritie; as commonly the ſeate of Religion doth follow the power of the Empire and of Armes. But not long after the ſtate of things altered; for the *Lombards*, a fierce nation, entring *Italy*, made themſelues Lords of *Gallia Ciſalpina*, (which of them was called *Lombardie*.) Likewiſe they tooke *Rauenna*, with all the *Exarchat*, and many other townes of *Italy*, and extended their armes as farre as the Marquiſate of *Ancona*, *Spoleto*, and *Beneuent*, in which two laſt places they eſtabliſhed particular Dukes. In the meane ſeaſon the Emperors not looking to theſe matters, partly through negligence, and partly through the troubles they had in *Aſia*, *Rome* being deſtitute of their ſuccour, and the *Exarchat* being worne out of *Italy*, the *Romanes* began to be gouerned by the aduice and power of the Popes, who a long time after (together with the *Romanes*) being ſore afflicted by the *Lombards*, at laſt had recourſe to *Pepin* King of *France* for ſuccour, who paſſing into *Italy* with a mightie armie, draue them from part of that which they had held there aboue two hundred yeares; and gaue to the Pope and Church of *Rome* (as things fallen to him by right of Armes) not onely *Vrbino*, *Fano*, *Agobbo*, and many other places neare vnto *Rome*, but alſo *Rauenna* with her *Exarchat*, vnder which title (they ſay) is included all that lieth from the confines of *Placentia*, which ioynes to the territorie of *Pauie*, vnto *Rimini*, betweene the riuer *Po* and the *Appenine* hils, the Marriſhes of *Venice* and the *Adriaticke* ſea: and from *Rimini*, to the riuer *Toglia*, then called *Iſaurum*. But after the death of *Pepin*, the *Lombards* made warre againe with the Popes, and would haue taken from them all that was giuen them by *Pepin*: for which cauſe *Charles* his ſonne (who for the great victories obtained by him, was worthily ſurnamed the *Great*) hauing vtterly deſtroyed the *Lombards*, confirmed and renewed his fathers donation to the Church of *Rome*; and during the time of this his warre, reaſſured to the Pope the gift of the Marquiſate of *Ancona* and the Duchie of *Spoleto*, which comprehendeth the citie of *Aquila* and a part of *Abruzzo*. Theſe things are holden for true: to which ſome Eccleſiaſticall writers do adde this alſo, that *Charles* gaue to the Church all *Liguria*, as farre as the riuer *Varo*, which is the furtheſt limite of *Italy*, *Mantua*, and all that the *Lombards* held in *Furly* and *Iſtria*. And as much writeth ſome other of the Ile of *Corſica*, and all the country which lieth between the cities of *Luni* and *Parma*. For which benefites the Kings of *France* being magnified and extolled by the Popes, purchaſed the title of *Moſt Chriſtian Kings*. And afterward in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred, Pope *Leo* with the people of *Rome* (without any other authoritie then as head of that people) elected *Charles* Emperour of *Rome*, ſeparating in name and title this part of the *Romane* Empire, from that of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople*: as if *Rome* and the Weſt prouinces not being defended by them, had need of an Emperour of their owne. Notwithſtanding this diuiſion, the Emperours of *Conſtantinople* were not depriued of the Ile of *Sicilie*, nor of that part of *Italy*, which reacheth from *Naples* to *Manfredonia*, and is bounded with the ſea: for they continued ſtill vnder the gouernment of thoſe Emperours. Neither for all this was that cuſtome abrogated, whereby the election of the Popes was wont to be confirmed by the Emperours of *Rome*, vnder whoſe name the citie of *Rome* was gouerned. Nay the Popes in all their Buls, charters, and grants, expreſſed the date in theſe formall words: *Such a one our Lord the Emperour reigning*. In which eaſie dependance or ſubiection, they continued till the ſucceſſe of things emboldened them to gouerne by themſelues. For the power of the Emperours began much to decline: firſt through the warres and diuiſions ariſing among the ſucceſſors of *Charles*, while the dignitie of the Empire was yet among them: and afterwards for that it was tranſlated to the Princes of *Germanie*, who were not of like power to the ſucceſſors of *Charles*, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the kingdome of *France*. Furthermore, the Popes and people of *Rome*, by whoſe magiſtracy ſhe now began to be gouerned (though very diſorderedly) derogating by all meanes as much as they could from the iuriſdiction of the Emperours, made a law, by which they decreed, That the election of the Pope ſhould be no more confirmed by the Emperours; which law for many yeares was diuerſly obſerued, according as by the alteration of their affaires the Imperiall power increaſed or diminiſhed. And their power being greatly increaſed, ſince the Empire came to the houſe of the *Othoes* of *Saxonie*, *Gregorie* the fift, by birth a *German*, being made Pope through the fauour of *Otho* the third, who was then in *Rome*, moued by the loue

he bare to his owne countrey, and prouoked by the perſecutions he had endured by the people of *Rome*, transferred, by his decree, the power of chuſing the Emperours to his owne nation, in ſuch maner and forme as is obſerued at this day; forbidding the Emperours elect to take vpon them the title of Emperour or *Auguſtus*, vntill they had receiued the Imperiall Crowne (to the end to reſerue alwayes ſome prerogatiue to the Popes.) Hence grew the cuſtome of their going to *Rome* to be crowned, and till then to vſe no other title then King of *Romanes* or *Cæſar*. But afterward the race of the *Othoes* being extinct, and the power of the Emperours diminiſhed, by reaſon the Empire remained not hereditarie, and continued not in the houſes of mightie Kings, *Rome* began openly to withdraw her ſelfe from the obedience of the Emperours, and many other cities rebelled in the reigne of *Conradus* of *Sweuia*: and the Popes of *Rome*, who ſought nothing more then the enlargement of their owne authoritie, became as it were Lords of *Rome*, although oftentimes through the inſolencies and diſſentions of the people, they found many oppoſitions. To reſtraine the people, by the fauour of *Henrie* the ſecond being then at *Rome*, it was ordained by a law, that the power to create a Pope ſhould remaine in the Cardinals onely. To the greatneſſe of the Pope, hapned yet a new augmentation. For the *Normans*, of whō the firſt was *William* ſurnamed *Iron-arme*, hauing vſurped frō the Emperors of *Conſtātinople* the countries of *Powilla* & *Calabria*, *Robert Guicciard*, one of that race, after he had rendred *Beneuent* to the Church, as rightly belonging thereto, acknowledged to hold the Duchies of *Powilla* & *Calabria* in fee of the Church of *Rome*: the which he did, either to ſtrengthē himſelf with ſome colour of right, or to be the better able to defend himſelf againſt the ſaid Emperors, or for ſome other reſpect. The which example was followed by *Roger* one of his ſucceſſors, who driuing *William* one of the ſame ſtocke out of *Powilla* and *Calabria*, recoguized to hold thoſe prouinces in fee of the Church of *Rome* in the yeare a thouſand one hundred and thirtie, vnder the title of King of both the *Sicilies*, the one on this ſide the *Far*, the other beyond: the Popes not refuſing for their owne particular ambition and profite, to nouriſh and fauour the vſurpation and violence of others. By all theſe meanes the power and authoritie of the Pope dayly increaſing (as the couetouſneſſe of men is neuer ſatisfied) they began to depriue of theſe kingdomes ſuch Kings as were not obedient to their commandements, & to beſtow the ſame vpon others. And by this meanes they came to *Henrie* the ſonne of *Fredericke Barbaroſſa*, and from *Henrie* to *Fredericke* the ſecond his ſonne, all three ſucceſſiuely Emperours of *Rome*. But *Fredericke* becoming a great perſecuter of the Church, (in whoſe time ſprang vp the two factions of the *Guelfes* and *Gibellines*, the Pope being head of the one, and the Emperour of the other) the Pope after the death of *Fredericke* granted the inueſtiture of thoſe kingdomes to *Charles* Earle of *Aniow* and *Prouence*, impoſing vpon them a yearely tribute of ſixe thouſand ounces of gold, and with condition, that none of thoſe Kings ſhould hereafter accept the title of Emperour of *Rome*: which condition is euer ſince expreſly ſpecified in the inueſtitures of the Kings of *Naples*. For the kingdome of the Ile of *Sicilia* being afterwards poſſeſſed by the Kings of *Arragon*, was in ſhort time freed of that tribute, and of the acknowledgement to hold of the Church. There is alſo a report (although not ſo certaine as the former things) that a long time ago *Maud* the Counteſſe, a great Princeſſe in *Italy*, gaue to the Church that part of *Toſcane* which is limited on the one ſide by the riuer *Peſcia* and the borough of *S. Quirico* in the country of *Sienna*, and on the other ſide by the lower ſea and the riuer *Tiber*, which is called at this day the Patrimonie of Saint *Peter*; and ſome others do adde, that ſhe gaue to the Church the Citie of *Ferrara*. Theſe later things are not very certaine: but yet much more vncertaine is that which ſome one hath written, that *Arithpert* King of the *Lombards* in their moſt flouriſhing time, did giue to the Church the *Cocceian* mountaines, wherein they ſay *Genes* is included, and whatſoeuer is betwixt *Genes* and the borders of *Prouence*: and that *Luitprandus* a King of the ſame nation, gaue her *Sabina* a countrey neare vnto *Rome*, *Narni* and *Ancona*, with diuers other places. Thus as the ſtate of things altered, ſo varied likewiſe the affaires of the Popes with the Emperours. For at the beginning they were perſecuted many yeares by the Emperours, but afterwards being freed from that feare by the conuerſion of *Conſtantine*, they liued in quiet; and attending onely to ſpiritual things, they liued a long time vnder the ſhadow of the Emperours, in very poore eſtate, as it were meerly their ſubiects, being quite debarred from medling with them by reaſon of the *Lombards* greatneſſe in *Italy*. But afterwards by the meanes of the Kings of *France*, hauing obtained temporall authoritie, they held ſtrict amitie with the Emperours, and depended wholly vpon

their

their authoritie, ſo long as the dignitie Imperiall continued in the ſucceſſors of *Charles* the Great, as well for the memorie of reciprocall benefites, as in regard of the Imperiall greatneſſe: the which declining afterwards, the Popes withdrew themſelues wholly from their friendſhip, and began to make open profeſſion, That the Pontificall dignitie was rather to giue lawes to the Emperours, then to receiue any from them. And therefore hating aboue all things to returne to their former ſubiection, and that the Emperours might not attempt to recouer their ancient right both in *Rome* and other places, (as ſome of them, either of greater force, or of more noble ſpirits had aſſayed to do) they oppoſed themſelues openly by force of armes againſt the Emperours, being aſſiſted by thoſe tyrants, who calling themſelues Princes, and by thoſe cities which hauing freed themſelues, acknowledged no longer the authoritie of the Emperours. Hereupon it came to paſſe, that the Popes taking dayly more and more vpon them, and vſing the feare and terrour of their ſpirituall weapons for temporall occaſions, and interpreting that as the Vicars of Chriſt vpon earth they were aboue the Emperours, and that in many caſes the charge of worldly matters appertained to them, they ſometimes depriued them of their Imperiall dignitie, and ſtirred vp the Electors to chuſe others in their roomes: and on the other ſide the Emperours either choſe, or cauſed to be choſen other Popes. By reaſon of theſe controuerſies it happened, (the ſtate of the Church being much weakened, and no leſſe for that the Court of *Rome* remained for the ſpace of threeſcore and ten yeares in the Citie of *Auignon*, as alſo by reaſon of the ſchiſme which followed the Popes returne into *Italy*) that in the townes ſubiect to the Church, and ſpecially in thoſe of *Romagna*, many puiſſant citizens tooke vpon them to gouerne in their owne countrey, and after were purſued by the Popes: who finding themſelues not able to ſuppreſſe them, made grants of thoſe places to the ſame men, to be holden in fee of the Church; or elſe ſtirring vp ſome others againſt them, gaue thoſe the inueſtiture. Thus the Cities of *Romagna* began to haue ſeuerall Lords, vnder the title for the moſt part of Vicars of the Church. So *Ferrara*, the gouernment thereof being giuen by the Pope to *Azzo d'Eſte*, was granted vnto him afterwards vnder the title of a Vicarſhip; whoſe family in proceſſe of time was dignified with more noble titles. So *Bologna* being taken by *Iohn Viſcount* Archbiſhop of *Millan*, was after granted him by the Pope, vnder the title of a Vicarſhip. By like meanes, in many cities of the Marquiſate of *Ancona*, of the Patrimonie of Saint *Peter*, and of *Vmbria*, (now called the Duchie of *Spoleto*) there ſtart vp ſeuerall Lords, either againſt the Popes will, or with his forced conſent. The like variations happening alſo to the Imperiall cities of *Lombardie*, it fell out very often, that according to the current of the times, the Vicars of *Romagna*, and of other places of the Church ſtate, reuolting openly from her gouernment, acknowledged to hold thoſe places in fee of the Emperour: and ſometimes thoſe that had *Millan*, *Mantua*, and other Imperiall cities in *Lombardie*, would acknowledge to hold them in fee of the Church. And in theſe very times, though the Church held the name of the gouernment, yet *Rome* was gouerned of her ſelfe. For albeit at the firſt when the Popes returned from *Auignon* into *Italy*, they were obeyed as Lords of the towne, yet ſhortly after the *Romanes* hauing created a Magiſtrate called the *Banderez*, they fell to their old obſtinacie: whereupon the Popes hauing very ſmall authoritie left them, withdrew themſelues from *Rome*, vntill ſuch time as the *Romanes* being growne very poore, and fallen into great diſorder, through the abſence of the Court, and the yeare 1400 approching, in which they hoped (if the Pope were at *Rome*) there would be a great concourſe of people from all parts of Chriſtendome, by reaſon of the Iubiley: they made humble ſupplication to Pope *Boniface*, that he would returne thither; offering to aboliſh their *Banderez*, and to ſubmit themſelues wholly to his obedience. Vpon which conditions he returning to *Rome*, and the *Romanes* attending to the gaine of that yeare, he poſſeſſed himſelfe abſolutely of the gouernment of that Citie, and fortified it, and put a garriſon in the caſtle of Saint *Angelo*. And though his ſucceſſors till the time of *Eugenius* had ſomewhat to do, yet afterwards they gouerned that Citie at their pleaſure, without any further trouble. By theſe foundations and by theſe meanes, being raiſed to an earthly power, forgetting by litle and litle the ſaluation of ſoules, and the commandements of God, and bending all their thoughts to worldly greatneſſe, no longer vſing the ſpirituall power, but as an inſtrument of the temporall, reſembling rather ſecular Princes then Popes or Biſhops; their cares and endeuours were now no longer ſanctitie of life, no longer propagation of Religion, no longer zeale and charitie towards their neighbours; but to raiſe armes, and to make warre againſt Chriſtians, managing

their ſacrifices with bloudie hands and thoughts: they began to gather treaſure, to make new lawes, to inuent new trickes, and new deuices to get money on all ſides: to vſe the ſpirituall armes without reſpect, for this onely end: to prophane ſacred things without ſhame, for this onely purpoſe. The great wealth lauiſhly beſtowed vpon them and their whole Court, was accompanied with pride, luxurie, diſhoneſtie, luſt, and abhominable pleaſures; their ſucceſſors hauing no care of the perpetuall dignitie of the Papacie. In ſtead whereof, they had an ambitious and peſtilent deſire to exalt their children, niephewes and kindred, not onely to exceſſiue riches, but to principalities and kingdomes: no longer conferring dignities and preferments vpon men of deſert and vertue, but almoſt always either ſelling them to the moſt giuer, or diſtributing them to perſons fit for their ambition, auarice, and other ſhamefull pleaſures. By which acts of theirs, the Papall reuerence being vtterly decayed in the hearts of men, yet their power is in ſome ſort vpheld by the name and by the effectuall and powerfull maieſtie of Religion, and aided much by the meanes they haue to gratifie great Princes, and thoſe great perſonages that are in authoritie about them, with Eccleſiaſtical liuings and dignities. Whereby knowing themſelues to be in great reſpect among men, and that who ſo takes armes againſt them, purchaſeth much infamie, and oftentimes the oppoſition of other Princes, with ſmall gaine whatſoeuer be the euent; and that if they conquer, they vſe the victorie as they liſt, and being conquered, they obtaine what conditions they will: and pricked forward with a deſire to aduance their kindred from priuate callings to principalities, they haue bene of a long time, and very often, the inſtruments to ſtirre vp warres and new fires in *Italy*. But to returne to my principall purpoſe, from which my iuſt ſorrow for the publike loſſe hath withdrawne me farther then becomes the law of an hiſtorie.

The ſtate of Romagna in the time of the Duke Valentinois.

The townes of *Romagna*, with others that are ſubiect to the Church, being afflicted with ſundry accidents, had bene for many yeares gouerned with a iuriſdiction in effect almoſt ſeparate from the demaine of the Church: for that ſome of the Vicars payed not their tributes, as they ought, in homage of ſuperioritie; others payd them, but with difficultie and hardneſſe, and for the moſt part out of ſeaſon: but they all indifferently, without licence of the Popes, put themſelues in pay with other Princes, and without this exception, not to ſerue them againſt the Church, they bound themſelues to protect them euen againſt the authoritie and armes of the Popes; of which Princes they were ſo much the more plauſibly receiued, by how much they were conuenient for their ſeruice, both for the oportunitie of their eſtates and forces, and no leſſe to hinder that the power of the Popes ſhould not increaſe. Now at that time the *Venetians* poſſeſſed in *Romagna* the cities of *Rauenna* and *Ceruia*, which they had (many yeares before) taken from the family of *Polenta*, who at the firſt, of citizens priuate of *Rauenna*, were become Lords ouer their countrey, and afterwards had the inueſtiture of Vicars. *Faenza*, *Furly*, *Imola*, and *Rimini*, were in the power of Vicars particular: *Ceſena*, that had bene long poſſeſſed by the family of the *Malateſtes*, was eſtſoones returned to the Church, *Dominicke* the laſt Vicar of the ſame citie being dead without children certaine yeares before. The Pope therefore pretending that thoſe Cities for many reſpects were diuolued to the ſea Apoſtolicke, and that he would reduce them to their ancient iuriſdiction, (but indeed with intention to appropriate them to *Ceſar* his ſonne) had contracted with the *French* King, that when he had accompliſhed his conqueſt of the Duchie of *Millan*, he ſhould aide him for the recouerie only of thoſe townes which were poſſeſſed by the Vicars, comprehending the citie of *Peſera*, whereof was Vicar *Iohn Sforce*, aforetime his ſonne in law: for the greatneſſe of the *Venetians* did not ſuffer, that thoſe thoughts ſhould ſtretch out againſt them, who did not aſpire at that time to thoſe litle townes, which confining vpon the riuer of *Po*, were holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*. Then the Duke *Valentinois*, as ſoone as he had obtained of the King the bands promiſed, and ioyned them to the regiments of the Church, entring into *Romagna*, preſently he tooke the citie of *Imola* by accord, in the later end of the yeare a thouſand foure hundred ninetie and nine, in which yeare *Italy* being afflicted with ſo many turmoiles, felt alſo a ſcourge by the *Turkes* armies. For, *Baiazet Ottoman* hauing aſſailed with a mightie armie at ſea the peeces which the *Venetians* held in *Greece*, ſent by land an armie of ſixe thouſand horſemen to ranſacke the countrey of *Furli*, who finding the country without guard, not doubting ſuch a miſchiefe, they ouer-ranne it, making pillage and burnings euen vntill *Liuence*: and hauing taken an innumerable proportion of priſoners, when they came neare the riuer of *Tagliamente* (to returne with the more eaſe) they reſerued ſuch as they thought

Duke Valentinois takes Imola by the aid of the Frenchmen

The deſcending of the Turke.

thought they might leade with them, and made cruell ſlaughter of all the reſt. And in *Greece* the affaires of the *Venetians* trained no better ſucceſſe, for that *Anthony Grimani* Captaine generall of the armie which the *Venetians* oppoſed againſt the enterpriſe of the *Turkes*, being accuſed to haue let ſlip the occaſion to vanquiſh the enemies that iſſued out of the port of *Sapience*, and another time at the mouth of the Gulfe of *Lepanto*: another being preferred to his place, he was cited to *Venice*, and the cauſe committed to the councell of the *Pregati*, where the matter was debated many moneths with no ſmall expectation of the iſſue (his authoritie and greatneſſe defending him on the one ſide, and on the other part, his accuſers purſuing him with many arguments and teſtimonies:) at length, ſtanding in great likelihood to haue the vpperhand, either by his authoritie, or the great number of his kindred, or laſtly for that in that councell compounded of many wiſe men, there would not be ſo much regard had to the generall bruites, and ſlanders which were not well proued, as to a deſire to vnderſtand ripely the truth of the fact: the knowledge of the cauſe was transferred ouer to the iudgement of the great councell, by the Magiſtrate of the aduocates of the communaltie, where fauours ceaſſing, or rather the lightneſſe of the multitude carying more then the grauitie of the Senators, he was in the end paſſed into exile perpetuall in the Ile of *Oſſera*. Such and ſo great matters were brought to paſſe in the yeare 1499.

But in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred, were accompliſhed things of no leſſe importance, nor leſſe worthy of memory, ſpecially for the full remiſſion of the Iubiley, the which being inſtituted by the Popes at the firſt, to be celebrated according to the example of the old Teſtament from an hundred yeares to an hundred yeares, not for pleaſure and pompe, as the *Romanes* did in their ſports and feaſts ſecular, but for the health of ſoules, for that in the ſame (according to the deuout beliefe of Chriſtian people) were aboliſhed wholly all the ſinnes of thoſe, who acknowledging with true repentance their faults committed, made viſitation of the Churches of *Rome* dedicated to the Princes of the Apoſtles; it was afterwards ordained to be celebrated from fiftie yeares to fiftie, and in the end reduced to fiue and twentie. But for the more ſolemne memorie of his primitiue inſtitution, the hundredth yeare was celebrated with a greater affluence of people then the others. In the beginning of this yeare, the Duke *Valentinois* obtained without reſiſtance the Citie of *Furly*, for that the Ladie of the place hauing ſent her children and riches moſt precious to *Florence*, and abandoned that which ſhe could not defend, determined to hold onely the Citadell and Rocke of *Furly* refurniſhed with ſufficient ſtrength of men and artilleries. She then being reſolute and of a manly courage, entring the Citadell, ſhe ſtudied, to her great glorie, how to defend it. But the Duke *Valentinois*, after he had aſſayed in vaine to diſpoſe her to yeeld, began to batter the wall of the Citadell with a great fury of artillerie, the ſame beating to the ground a great quantitie of the wall, with the which the earth of the rampier which was behind being choked, filled almoſt the depth of the ditch or trench, and made the entrie more eaſie to his ſouldiers. By meanes whereof, the defendants loſing courage, ſought meanes to retire into the Rocke, whither the Ladie made alſo her retrait after ſhe had performed all that could be required in the office of a defendant. But in the entrance, feare raiſing a tumult and confuſion among them, and the Dukes ſouldiers coming faſt vpon them, almoſt all the ſouldiers were cut in peeces, ſo that the victors entring with the ſame furie into the Rocke, tooke it, and made ſlaughter of ſuch as were there for defence, except certaine of the chiefeſt, which were retired with the Ladie into a Tower, who were made priſoners together with her, whom the Duke (hauing leſſe regard to her valour then to her ſexe) ſent priſoner to *Rome*, where ſhe was kept in the Caſtle of *S. Ange*, being notwithſtanding deliuered a litle after at the requeſt of *Iues d'Alegre*. After the Duke *Valentinois* had obtained *Imola* and *Furly*, he marched towards the other townes, but new accidents happening vnlooked for, hindred his expedition: for, the *French* King after he had eſtabliſhed the things he had gotten with orders conuenient, hauing left ſufficient garriſon and prolonged the truce with the Emperour (comprehending therein the Duchie of *Millan*) vntill the moneth of May next enſuing, he returned into *France*, leading with him the litle ſonne of *John Galéas* giuen to him indiſcreetly by the mother; whom he made a Monke, and left *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* Gouernour generall of the Duchie of *Millan*, in whom he repoſed much, as well for his valour and merites, as for the great enuie he bare to *Lodowike Sforce*. But (the faith of men changing with the alteration of kingdomes) the people of that ſtate kept not fidelitie with the King, partly for that the cuſtomes and behauiours of the *French* were

Duke Valentinois taketh Furly.

The French king returneth into France, hauing firſt ſet order in the Duchie of Millan.

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displeasing to many, and partly for that they had not found in the King that liberalitie in exempting all their tributes, which vnwisely they perswaded themselues he would: and all the *Gibelline* faction, which was mightie in the towne of *Millan* and the confines, were grieued that *Triuulce* chiefe of the *Guelfes* should be preferred to the gouernment. This euill disposition was wonderfully augmented by himselfe, who being of nature factious, and of a spirit haughtie and busie, fauoured (vnder the authoritie of Magistrate) much more then was conuenient, those that were of his partie: and besides this, he estranged much from him the minds of the communaltie, for that in the open market place he slue with his owne hand certaine butchers, who, following the rashnesse of the other populars, refusing to pay the tributes from the which they were not exempted, resisted with force the ministers deputed to gather the reuenues. For these reasons the most part of the nobility, and all the people, naturally desirous of new things, wished the returne of *Lodowike*, and began already to call vpon his name, with words plaine and to be vnderstood. But now the Emperour (before whom *Lodowike* presented himselfe with his brother *Ascanius*) not onely receiuing him with all humanitie, but also shewing many tokens of goodwill, and to be much discontented with their calamities; he nourished them with continuall promises to descend in person in their aide, with a strong armie, for the recouery of their estates, hauing thereunto good oportunitie, for that he was then at accord with the *Swissers*. But those hopes, both for the variation of his nature, and for that his intentions ill grounded, were as easily confounded, appeared euery day to be more vaine; yea being continually pressed with his accustomed necessities, he made them wearie with his importunate demands for money. Therefore *Lodowike* and *Ascanius* hauing no more hope to receiue succours from him, and being continually solicited by many gentlemen of *Millan*, determined to make the enterprise of themselues, and did leuie for their better strength eight thousand *Swissers* and fiue hundred *Burgonion* men at armes. Wherefore *Triuulce* hauing many feares and doubts, sent immediatly to the Senate of *Venice* to cause their companies to march along the riuer of *Adda*, signifying withall to *Iues d'Alegre*, that it were necessary to leaue for a time the seruice of the Duke *Valentinois*, and returne with speed to *Millan* with the *French* men at armes and the *Swissers*: and to resist the first furie of the enemies, he sent one part of his souldiers to *Coma*, the iealousie he had of the people of *Millan* not suffering him to turne thither with all his forces. But the care and quicknesse of *Sforce* and his brother surmounted all diligence in the others, for that not tarying for the whole armie they had leuied, but leauing order to march after them with all speed, they passed the mountaines, and with a diligence aboue all expectation, being embarked in those vessels which were in the lake of *Coma*, they approched neare that towne, which they tooke without resistance (the *French* being retired for the knowledge they had of the ill disposition of the inhabitants.) The bruite of the losse of *Coma* being come to *Millan*, so altered the minds of the people, and almost all the chiefest of the *Gibelin* faction, that they began to draw into manifest tumult, and rise into such insolent disposition, that *Triuulce* seeing no other remedie to the Kings affaires, retired suddenly into the Castle, and the night following fled to *Nouaro*, together with the men at armes which were retired into the Parke ioyning to the castle (the people in their retrait following them by heapes euen to the riuer of *Thesin*): and leauing within *Nouaro* foure hundred Lances, he with the residue of his strength went to *Mortaro*, thinking (and the other Captaines also) that they should more easily recouer the Duchie of *Millan* with the new succours that were to come out of *France*, then be able to defend it being thus deuided. After the *French* men were gone from *Millan*, the Cardinall *Ascanius* made his entrie first, and then *Lodowike*, who recouering it in as short time and with as litle difficultie as he lost it (except the Castle) was also made glad at his returne with a more generall shew of affection and ioy of the people of *Millan*, then they expressed when he departed. The like disposition was found in other cities and communalties, as in *Pauie* and *Parma*, declaring immediatly for *Lodowike*, whose example *Lodi* and *Plaisance* had followed, if the bands of the *Venetians* (marched afore towards the riuer of *Adda*) had not bene entred. *Alexandria* and almost all the places beyond *Po*, being furthest from *Millan* and neerest to *Ast* which was *French*, stirred not, determining to take aduice what they should do vpon the issue and traine of things. *Lodowike* hauing recouered *Millan*, made speedie leuies of as many *Italian* footmen, and men at armes as he could; labouring, by petition, by offers, and all maner of hopes, all those of whom he had any reason to expect succours in so great necessitie. Therefore he aduertised the Emperour by

Disorders in the French gouernment in Millan.

The French abandon Millan

Galeas

Galeas de S. Seuerin of his happie beginning, beſeeching him to ſupply him with men and artilleries. And deſiring not to haue the Senate of *Venice* his enemie, he gaue direction that the Cardinall *Aſcanius* ſhould ſpeedily ſend the Biſhop of *Cremona* to *Venice*, to offer them the ready will and inclination of *Lodowike* to accept ſuch conditions as it pleaſed them to demand: but the conſtancie of the Senate of *Venice* made vaine all that labour, for that they determined not to depart from their confederation with the *French* King. The *Genoways*, notwithſtanding the importunate ſolicitations of *Lodowike*, refuſed to returne vnder his obedience: and the *Florentines* would not heare his requeſt touching the repaiment of the mony which he had lent them; onely the Marquis of *Mantua* ſent to him his brother, with a certaine proportion of men at armes: and there came to him alſo the Lords of *Mirandola*, of *Carpy*, and *Corege*; and the *Siennoys* relieued him with a ſmall ſumme of money: ſuccours almoſt contemptible in ſo great dangers; as alſo did litle import the aides of *Philip Roſſe* and of the *Verminesques*, who though their fathers had bin deſpoiled by him of their ancient liuings, to wit, the *Roſſes* of *S. Second*, of *Torchiare*, and many other villages of *Parmeſan*; and thoſe of *Verma*, *Bobie*, and the neighboring places, which are in the mountaine of *Plaiſance*: yet *Philip*, leauing without leaue the pay of the *Venetians*, went thither to recouer his lands, and hauing obtained them, ioyned himſelfe to the armie of *Lodowike*: the family of *Verma* doing the like, both the one and the other to reenter into grace by that occaſion. But *Lodowike* after he had aſſembled fifteene hundred men at armes, beſides the *Burgonian* bands of horſemen, and layed to the regiments of *Swiſſers* many *Italian* footmen, he left the Cardinall before the Caſtle, and paſſed ouer *Theſin*: and obtaining by accord the towne and caſtle of *Vigeuena*, he layd ſiege to *Nouaro*, chuſing that enterpriſe rather then the expugnation of *Mortaro*, either for that the *French* had made ſtrong fortifications at *Mortaro*, or elſe for that he eſteemed *Nouaro* (a towne renowmed and plentifull with all things) to import more for the reputation and ſubſtance of the warre, or that the recouery of that towne would breed want of victuals, and ſo conſtraine the *French* that were within *Mortaro* to abandon it: or at leaſt, that it would hinder *Iues d'Alegre* from entring *Nouaro*, who was now marching from *Romagna*. For, as ſoone as he had receiued aduertiſements from *Triuulce* (leauing the Duke *Valentinois* in the enterpriſe of *Peſero*) he departed ſpeedily with all the horſemen and the *Swiſſers*, and vnderſtanding neare to *Parma* the rebellion of *Millan*, he accorded with thoſe of *Parma* and *Plaiſance* not to offend them, ſo that they would not hinder his paſſage: and being come neare *Tortona*, he entred the towne, where, at the inſtigation of the *Guelfes* of that citie, burning in deſire to be reuenged of the *Gibelins*, who (returned to the deuotion of *Lodowik*) had expulſed them, he put all to ſack and ſpoile, the *Guelfs* crying out in vaine of his faith, for that their loyaltie was no better reſpected, but being the Kings faithfull ſeruants, they were no otherwiſe vſed, then belonged to the deſeruings of his moſt traiterous enemies. From *Tortona* he marched into *Alexandria*, where he ſtayed, for that the *Swiſſers* of his armie, either becauſe they were not payed, or for ſome other ſecret reaſon, left him, and went to the Duke of *Millans* campe; whoſe ſtrength being now greater then his enemies, he prepared ſpeedily to the battery of *Nouaro*, to the end to carry it, afore the *French* (expecting ſuccours from the King) were ſtrong enough to encounter him in the field; a matter which ſucceeded happily to him: for that the *French* bands that were within *Nouaro*, hauing no reaſon of hope, or poſſibilitie to defend it, agreed to deliuer vp the towne, receiuing the promiſe of his faith to depart in ſafetie with all their goods, which he kept iuſtly with them, protecting them with ſafeconduct to *Verceil*, although he was perſwaded by many, that the ouerthrowing of thoſe bands was of great importance for his victory; wherein they occupied theſe reaſons, that if it were lawfull, according to the authoritie and examples of great men, to breake faith to conquer a Lordſhip, that it was more lawfull to breake it to keepe that which was his owne. After he had got *Nouaro*, he deuiſed how he might haue the caſtle: but it was beleeued, that if he had aduanced to the enterpriſe of *Mortaro*, all the *French* bands would haue fled afore him ouer *Po*, (*Triuulce* and the Lord *Ligny* not agreeing well together.)

But whileſt *Lodowike* vſed all carefull diligence in theſe expeditions, no leſſe care and diligence occupied the *French* King, who, vnderſtanding the rebellion of *Millan*, digeſted it with no litle griefe and diſcontentment: and therefore he diſpatched with a wonderfull ſpeed into *Italy*, *Monſieur Trimouille* with ſix hundred Lances, and ſent to leuie a great regiment of *Swiſſers*: and to the end there might be an exact diligence in all prouiſions, he created the Cardinall of

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Amboiſe his Lieutenant for *Italy*, and diſpatched him immediatly to *Aſt*: in ſo much as all things prepared with a quicke readineſſe, there was muſtered in *Italy* for the King in the beginning of Aprill, a ſtrength of fifteene hundred Lances, ten thouſand *Swiſſers* footmen, and ſixe thouſand of the Kings ſubiects, vnder the leading of *Trimouille*, *Triuulce*, and *Ligny*. Theſe companies being drawne into one campe at *Mortaro*, marched to *Nouaro*, hauing no leſſe confidence in treaſon then in their forces: for that the *Swiſſer* Captaines which were with *Lodowike*, (though in the action of *Nouaro* they ſhewed faith and valour) had ſecret intelligence with them by the meanes of the *Swiſſer* Captaines which ſerued in the *French* armie. Whereof *Lodowike* being iealous by many apparent coniectures, laboured much to ioyne to him the foure hundred horſemen and eight thouſand footmen which were leuied at *Millan*. But at *Nouaro* the *Swiſſers*, ſtirred vp by their Captains, began to mutine, taking their occaſion for that their payes were not performed at the iuſt daies that were promiſed. And albeit the Duke ranne to the ſtirre in perſon, and beſides his pitiful requeſts and praiers, training with them great occaſion of compaſſion, gaue amongſt them all his ſiluer plate and veſſel, deſiring them to reſt contented but till the money came from *Millan*; yet the *Swiſſer* Captaines fearing that if the bands which were leuied at *Millan* ſhould be ioyned to the campe, their treaſon would ſort to no effect, wrought ſo, that the *French* campe being all put into armes and readineſſe, approched the walls of *Nouaro*, and enuironing a great part of the towne, they diſpatched certaine horſemen to occupie the wayes betweene the citie and the riuer of *Theſin*, to cut off from the Duke and all others, all meanes to flie to *Millan*: who ſeeing more and more into his perils, ſought to iſſue out of *Nouaro* with his whole armie to fight with the enemie, hauing already ſent out in order the light horſemen and the *Burgonions* to begin the skirmiſh; but he was apparently reſiſted by the *Swiſſer* Captaines, who told him they would not come to blowes with their kinſmen, brethren, and countrimen, without the leaue of their Lords, and then mingling themſelues with the others, as if they had bene all of one armie, they ſaid they would depart ſuddenly into their countrey. The Duke not being able neither by prayers, nor with teares, nor by infinite promiſes to pacifie any whit their barbarous diſloyaltie, recommended himſelfe wholly vnto them, to the end that at leaſt they would leade him to a place of ſafetie. But becauſe they had contracted with the *French* Captaines to go their wayes, and not to leade him with them, being not willing to grant to his full demand, yet they conſented that he ſhould march away amongſt them, taking the habite of one of their footmen; and ſo, if he were not knowne, to ſaue himſelfe by the helpe of his fortune. The which condition being accepted of him for a laſt neceſſitie, was not ſufficient for his ſafetie: for that they marching by direction through the midſt of the *French* armie, he was knowne by the diligent eſpiall of ſuch as were aſſigned to that charge; or rather diſcloſed by the *Swiſſers* themſelues, as he marched in a Squadron on foote, attired and armed in all points as a *Swiſſer*; and was by that meanes made priſoner: A ſpectacle ſo lamentable, that it brought teares into the eyes of many, yea euen of his very enemies. *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, *Fracaſſe*, and *Anthony Maria* his brethren, communicated with his fortune, being betrayed by the ſame diſloyaltie of the *Swiſſers*: And the *Italian* ſouldiers were taken and ſtripped, ſome within *Nouaro*, and others as they fled towards the riuer *Theſin*: as for the *Burgonians* and Lanceknights, the *French* men not willing to prouoke thoſe nations, let them go freely. The Duke being taken, and the army diſperſed, no more reſiſtance appearing, and all things being full of feare and confuſion, the Cardinall *Aſcanius*, who had already ſent towards the campe thoſe bands that were leuied at *Millan*, being aduertiſed of this great misfortune, departed ſuddenly from *Millan*, to ſeeke ſome place of ſuretie. Many of the Nobilitie of the *Gibelins* followed him, who being too apparenly declared for *Lodowike*, deſpaired to find pardon with the *French*. But as it was ſet downe in deſtinie, that in the calamitie of the two brethren, treaſon ſhould be mingled with euil fortune: ſo he hauing determined to repoſe himſelfe ſomwhat the night after at *Riuolta* in the countrey of *Plaiſance*, which is a borough appertaining at that time to *Conrard de Lande*, a gentleman of the citie of *Plaiſance*, his kinſman and ancient friend: the ſame *Conrard*, changing will with fortune, ſent preſently to *Plaiſance* for *Charles Vrſin* and *Sonzin Benzon*, who were then in the pay of the *Venetians*, to whom he deliuered the ſaid *Aſcanius*, and *Hermes Sforce* brother to the late Duke *Iohn Galeas*, with part of the Gentlemen that came with him; for the reſidue, being more happie or more wiſe, forbare their reſt that night, and paſſing further, preuented their perill. *Aſcanius* was immediatly led priſoner to *Venice*; but the *French* King conſidering how neceſſary

The Duke of Millan made priſoner by the treaſon of the Swiſſers.

Cardinall Aſcanius leaueth Millan abandoned.

Cardinall Aſcanius betraied and taken.

ſary it was for the ſuretie of the Duchie of *Millan* to be poſſeſſed of him, ſent for him to *Venice*, where finding ſome difficultie to deliuer him, he required him with proteſtations and threats, alledging that he appertained to him by right, for that he was taken in a countrey of his obedience. A requeſt, which albeit ſeemed very ſharp and vnworthy of the name of the *Venetian* ſtate, yet, to auoide the furie of his armies, it was granted; and together with him they deliuered all thoſe of *Millan* that were taken with him: yea, *Baptiſte Viſcounte* with other gentlemen of *Millan*, which were withdrawne for the ſame occaſion into the townes of *Guiaradadda* vnder ſafeconduct to remaine there in ſuretie with expreſſe mention of the *French*, were put into the Kings hands for feare of the *French* armies: ſo much did preuaile with the Senate of *Venice* the terrour of the *French* forces, more then the regard to the dignitie of their Commonweale. But the citie of *Millan* abandoned of all hope, ſent ſpeedie Embaſſadours to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* to ſolicite for pardon: who receiued them into grace, and pardoned the rebellion in the name of the King, but vnder this bond, to pay three hundred thouſand duckats, of the which notwithſtanding the King acquited them afterwards of the greateſt part; and likewiſe the Cardinall pardoned other townes that had rebelled, which he taxed according to their qualitie, making the victory profitable, and the tranſgreſſions of the offenders an increaſe of the Kings treaſure.

Cardinall Aſcanius deliuered ouer to the Frenchmen.

Thus the enterpriſe ſucceeding happily, and the regiments of men of warre diſmiſſed, the footmen of the foure Cantons of *Swiſſers* which be more neare then the others to the towne of *Belinzona* ſituated within the mountaines, ſurprized the towne as they returned to their countrey: which place the *French* King might haue drawne from them in the beginning for a very ſmall portion of money; but as he loſt oftentimes by the propertie of his nature occaſions of great things, by ſparing ſmall proportions of expences: ſo refuſing ſo to do, times and accidents came ſo about afterwards, that many times he would haue purchaſed it of them with a very great price, for that it is a ſtrait very conuenient to hinder the deſcending of the *Swiſſers* into the Duchie of *Millan*. *Lodowike Sforce* was caried to *Lions* where the King was, and entring the towne at noone dayes, an infinite multitude of people flocked to ſee a Prince, who, from ſuch a greatneſſe and maieſtie, and for his felicitie enuied of many, was fallen into ſo great a miſerie: and not being able to obtaine leaue to be brought to the Kings preſence, which he much deſired, he was conueyed within two dayes after to the Tower of *Loches*, wherein he remained priſoner about ten yeares, euen to the end of his life, the thoughts and ambition of him, which earſt could ſcarcely be contained within the limits of all *Italy*, being now incloſed in one ſtrait priſon: A Prince, certainly moſt excellent for his eloquence and induſtry, and for many gifts of nature and ſpirit, a creature of very rare perfection: and laſtly not vnworthy of the name of milde and merciſull, if the death of his Nephew had not blemiſhed that reputation. But on the other ſide, he caried a mind vaine, and full of thoughts buſie and ambitious, and nouriſhing alwayes intentions diſſembled, he kept no reckoning of his promiſes and faith. He alwayes preſumed ſo much of himſelfe, that ſeeming to be diſcontented when praiſes were giuen to the wiſedome and counſels of others, he perſwaded himſelfe to be able by his induſtry to alter the conceptions of euery one to what purpoſe he liſted. The Cardinall *Aſcanius* followed him a litle after, who being receiued with more honour and humanitie, and graciouſly viſited by the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, was ſent to the great Tower of *Bourges*, a priſon more honorable, wherein the King that ſent him, had bene reſtrained two yeares: So variable and miſerable is the deſtinie of man, and ſo incertaine to euery one what will be his condition in time to come.

The laſt act of the tragedie of Lodowike Sforce.

The end of the fourth Booke.

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THE warre of Piſa continueth: The Duke Valentinois purſueth his enterpriſe of Romagna: The Kings of Spaine and France invade ioyntly the kingdome of Naples: they occupie it, and deuide it betweene them, and afterwards make warre one vpon another. The Duke Valentinois putteth to death the Vrſins. The Swiſſers deſcend into the Duchie of Millan. The Spaniards remaine victors ouer the French at Corignolo, and take Naples.

THE abſolute and happie conqueſt of the Duchie of *Millan* did ſo increaſe the ambition and boldneſſe of the *French* King, that the ſelfe ſame ſommer he would haue proceeded to the enterpriſe of the kingdome of *Naples*, had not the feare which he had of the deſcending of the *Almains* reſtrained him. For, notwithſtanding he had the yeare before obtained a contract of truce of the Emperour *Maximilian*, wherein the Duchie of *Millan* was comprehended; yet, *Maximilian* conſidering better how much the maieſtie of the Empire would be diminiſhed by the alienation of ſo principall a Chiefe, and what diſhonour would follow him for ſuffering *Lodowike Sforce* to be ſo ſpoiled, who had put himſelfe vnder his protection, and repoſed wholly in the hopes which he gaue him, and of whom he had receiued great ſummes of money; he would no more heare the Embaſſadours of the *French*, nor thoſe of the *Venetians*, as vſurpers of that which belonged to the Empire: and laſtly, being the more inflamed for the miſerable calamities of the two brethren, together with the memory of the ancient iealouſies and iniuries done to him and his predeceſſors at ſundry times by the Kings of *France* and by the *Venetians*, he held many diots and aſſemblies, to ſtirre vp the Electors and other Princes of *Germany* to ioyne in reuenge of ſo great a wrong, committed no leſſe againſt him then againſt the whole *German* nation, to whom the Imperiall dignitie was proper: and likewiſe he layed before them the conſideration of the dangers that might happen, if the *French* King, preſuming more and more by ſo great a patience of the Princes of the Empire, and riſing into pride by ſo many fauors of fortune, would ſo far aſpire, as to ſet the Imperiall Crowne vpon the heads of the *French* Kings, as had bene done afore times: whereunto the Pope would conſent eaſily, partly by neceſſitie (not able to reſiſt his power) and partly for the deſire he had to raiſe his ſonne in greatneſſe and dignitie. This was the cauſe why the King, not knowing what would be the end of theſe practiſes, deferred till another time the execution of his thoughts touching the warre of *Naples*: by reaſon whereof, his men of warre being not employed in any other enterpriſe, he was content to giue to the *Florentines* thoſe bands which they demanded for the recouering of *Piſa* and *Pietraſanta*, and yet not without many doubts and difficulties; for that the *Piſans* together with the *Genowayes*, the *Siennoys*, and they of *Lucques*, made great inſtance to the contrary, offering to giue the King preſently an hundred thouſand crowns vpon condition that *Piſa*, *Pietraſanta*, and *Montpulcian* might be freed from the warres of the *Florentines*, and adding withall that they would pay him yearly fifty thouſand duckats for euer, if the *Piſans* by his means obtained the fortreſſes of the port of *Liuorne*, with all ỹ country of *Piſa*; to which offers it ſeemed the mind of the King was much inclined, by a couetous deſire of ỹ mony. Notwithſtanding (as was his familiar cuſtom in things of importance) he referred the reſolution of this matter to the Cardinal of *Amboiſe* who was then at *Millan*: afore whō did negociate for the *Piſans*, *Iohn Iaques Trimulce*, and *Iohn Lewis de Fieſquo*, they both deſiring to manage the iuriſdiction of *Piſa*, and in that reſpect offered to pay to the King for the grant, a great proportion of money, alledging withall,

withall, that it was an action meete for his suretie (hauing now the oportunitie) to hold vnder the *Florentines* and the other Potentates of *Italy*. But the Cardinall preferring integritie afore particular fauour, ioyned to the faith and promise giuen by the King, the consideration of the late merites of the *Florentines*; who, expressing a liberall and ready aide to his enterprise and conquest of *Millan*, conuerted at his request into bands and strength of men, the paiments of money which they were bound to pay in that case: and therefore it was resolued to refurnish the *Florentines* for the recouery of *Pisa* (besides the restitution of *Pietrasanta* and *Mutron*) with a regiment of sixe hundred Lances payed by the King, and fiue thousand *Swissers* vnder the Bailiffe of *Dion*, with a proportion of *Gascoins* at their owne charges, together with all such sorts of artilleries and munitions as should be necessary for that enterprise. They had also against the Kings will and their meaning, a strength of two thousand *Swissers* more (such is the custome of that nation,) of all which companies *Monsieur Beaumont* had the charge, for that the *Florentines*, retaining a memory of his ancient readinesse to render to them *Lauorne*, demanded him for their Generall, not considering, that in matters of enterprise, authoritie and knowledge in things of warre, is no lesse necessary in a Leader of an armie, then faith; although the King with a more sound and better counsell, had determined to giue them *Monsieur d'Alegre*, a Captaine of great experience, and to whom, for his nobleness of bloud and reputation of vertue, the armie would haue giuen a more ready and willing obedience. But the troubles and difficulties which accompanied the succours of the *French*, began already to appeare: for that the paiment of the footmen beginning from the first day of May, they had spent all that moneth in *Lombardy* in the seruice of the King, who desired by means of that marching to draw mony from the Marquis of *Mantua*, and the Lords of *Carpy*, of *Correge*, and *Mirandola*, to punish them for that they had ministred aide to *Lodowike Sforce*: in so much that the *Florentines* beginning to be suspitious by reason of their slow proceeding, and being of opinion likewise that they gaue too much time to the *Pisans* to fortifie and strengthen themselues, they were at a resolution to abandon the enterprise: but yet being very vnwilling to lose so faire an occasion, they furnished the second pay, and solicited them to come forward. At length the Lords of *Carpy*, of *Mirandola*, and of *Correge* (for whom the Duke of *Ferrara* made intercession) hauing compounded for twentie thousand duckats, and the labour being vaine to stay to force the Marquis of *Mantua*, who, on the one side fortified himselfe, and on the other side alledged his pouertie and want of money, and sending withall his Embassadours to the King to solicite his pardon; the armie went and incamped at *Montchiarucola*, a village in the countrey of *Parma* appertaining to the family of the *Torellies*, who had succoured *Lodowike Sforce*: and this was not so much for any desire they had to punish them, as to threaten *Iohn Bentiuole* by drawing vpon the limits of *Bologna*, hauing amongst the residue, bene a fauourer of *Lodowike Sforce*: who, to auoide the danger, agreed to pay fortie thousand duckats, and the King tooke him of new into his protection, together with the citie of *Bologna*; but with this expresse limitation, not to preiudice the prerogatiues or rights which the Church had there. After the contract of *Bologna*, and *Montchiarucola* being taken by force, the armie returned backe to passe ouer the *Appenin* by the way of *Pontremo*: and as they entred the countrie of *Lunigiana* (following more profite then honestie) at the instance of the *Fregoses*, they tooke the borough of *Massa* and other lands from *Aubry Malespina*, being vnder the protection of the *Florentines*. And passing further, they of *Lucques* (notwithstanding they were in great strife for the matter, the communaltie much impugning it) deliuered ouer *Pietrasanta* to *Monsieur Beaumont* in the Kings name, who leauing garrison in the Castle, tooke not away their officers of the towne, for that the Cardinall of *Amboise*, in whom remained small reckoning of the promises made to the *Florentines*, for that he had receiued a certaine proportion of money of the *Lucquoys*, had receiued them into the protection of the King, with agreement that his Maiestie should hold *Pietrasanta* in deputation vntill he had declared to whom the right did appertaine. But in the meane season the *Pisans* became the more resolute to defend themselues, and had by the helpe of *Vitellozze* (with whom they were entred into great coniunction, being also enemie to the *Florentines*) certaine enginists to dresse their fortifications, with whom trauelled both men and women in great abundance: and yet not forgetting to entertaine the *French* with their accustomed subtilties, by the generall consent of the people, they submitted the towne to the King, whereof they sent instruments autenticke not onely to *Monsieur Beaumont*, but also to *Philip Rauastin* gouernour for the King at *Genes*; who rashly accepted

Monſ. Beaumont a chiefe leader of the French armie.

them in the Kings name. And *Monſieur Beaumont*, ſending an Herald to *Piſa* to demand the towne, they made anſwer with many humilities, that they deſired nothing with greater affection then to liue vnder the Kings obedience, and that they were ready to giue themſelues vp to his deuotion, ſo that his Maieſtie would promiſe them, that he would not put them vnder the power of the *Florentines*; ſtriuing as well by the teares of women, as by all other meanes to perſwade the Herald, that their hearts, wils and affections were wholly dedicated to the Crowne of *France*, which had firſt put them in libertie. But *Monſieur Beaumont* denied to accept the offers of the Embaſſadours ſent to him from *Piſa*, and encamped before the towne the laſt day ſauing one of Iune, betweene the gate of *Plages* and the gate *Calceſana*, right ouer againſt the quarter called *Barbagianni*: and hauing battered all that night with great fury, and continued the action the moſt part of the day following, the artillery, both good of it ſelfe, and planted to all conueniencie, had made euen with the earth threeſcore cubites of the wall; and as ſoone as the battery ceaſſed to ſhoote, the horſemen and footmen mingled together, ranne without order of diſcipline to giue the aſſault, not conſidering in what ſort they might paſſe a deepe trench which the *Piſans* had made betweene the wall that was battered and the rampier that was within: in ſo much as when they had diſcouered the greatneſſe of it, and wondered much at the depth, they conſumed the reſidue of the day rather as beholders of the difficultie then diſpoſed to make good the aſſault. After which day, the hopes to carry *Piſa* diminiſhed dayly; partly for that the *French* men had loſt their courage, as well for the qualitie of the rampiers, as for the reſolution of thoſe in the towne; and partly for that by the practiſes and meanes which the *Piſans* dayly vſed, they had ſtirred vp the ancient inclination of the *French* towards them: in ſo much as the *French* men beginning to entertaine meetings and familiarities with thoſe within the towne, who continued the ſame offer to reſigne themſelues wholly to the Kings deuotion, vpon condition, not to be eſtſoones paſſed ouer to the oppreſſion of the *Florentines*; and many alſo entring ſecretly into *Piſa*, and paſſing out again as from a friend towne, the cauſe of the *Piſans* was fauoured through the whole campe, and oftentimes defended with ſuch declarations of good meaning euen afore the Captaines, that the greateſt part of the campe gaue them courage to maintaine their defence; wherein (beſides the incitation of the *French* men) they were ſpecially encouraged by *Francis Triuulce* Lieutenant of the regiment of *Iohn Iaques*, and by *Galeas Paluoiſin*, which led a band in the *French* campe. By the oportunitie of theſe diſorders, and ſufferance of the campe, *Tarlatin* (of the towne of *Caſtello*) entred into *Piſa* on that ſide towards the ſea, with certaine old ſouldiers which *Vitellozze* ſent to the ſuccors of *Piſa*; a man at that time obſcure and vnknowne, but aſpiring afterwards to the place of Captaine, he continued in the defence of that Citie to the end, to his great honour. To this common inclination, as well of horſemen as of footmen, were added many other inſolencies, for that, deſiring that the ſiege might be raiſed, they began to make ſpoile of the victuals that were brought to the campe: and ſo farre multiplied they all diſorders (the authoritie of the Generall being not ſufficient to reſtraine them) that the footbands of the *Gaſcoines* abandoned the armie in maner of tumult, whoſe example was followed of all the reſidue: and at parting, certaine footbands of the *Swiſſers* which were come from *Rome*, according to the Kings direction, ſtayed as priſoner *Luke d'Albiſſe* Commiſſary for *Florence*: the occaſion (as they alledged) was, for that their payes were detained which were due for a ſeruice they had bene at afore time within *Liuorne*. The *Swiſſers* and other footbands went away forthwith; onely the men at armes ſtayed ſomewhat neare about *Piſa*, where they had not ſpent many dayes in repoſing themſelues, but they returned into *Lombardie* without tarrying till they knew the Kings pleaſure; leauing the affaires of the *Florentines* in great diſorder, for that they had diſmiſſed all their footbands, to be more able to furniſh the payes of the *Swiſſers* and *Gaſcoines*. The *Piſans* not letting ſlip ſuch an occaſion, went and encamped afore *Librafatta*, which they tooke eaſily, no leſſe by the indiſcretion of the enemie, then by their proper ſtrength: for that whileſt the aſſault was in charging, all the footmen that were within running to the breach, ſome of thoſe of the campe by ſcaling ladders entred by the higheſt Iawne of the Caſtle which was not guarded. Which ſurpriſe both ſudden and terrible ſo aſtoniſhed the footmen, that they yeelded themſelues: and after that they drew their campe with preſent ſpeed afore the Baſtillion *Ventura*, and whileſt the aſſault was in action, the footmen yeelded, either by faintneſſe of courage, or by treaſon of the Captaine *S. Brandano* Conſtable of the *Florentines*, of nation a *Luequois*, and there remaining in garriſon: and the conqueſt

The French men afraid to aſſault Piſa.

The Piſans take Librafatta.

of

of theſe places was very profitable to the *Piſans*, for that by this meanes they had ſcope and libertie on that ſide towards the *Lucquoys*. This ſucceſſe of the things of *Piſa*, troubled not a litle the mind of the *French* King, who ſaw how much it would diminiſh the reputation of his army; and tooke it very impatiently, that one particular citie, ſupported onely by her inhabitants, and wherein was not any one Captaine of name, ſhould reſiſt the armies of *France*, which had run through all *Italy*, to the generall terrour and aſtoniſhment of all men: wherein as men in things that be grieuous to them, do oftentimes beguile themſelues, he occupied in himſelfe this perſwaſion, that the cauſe why *Piſa* was not taken, was for that the *Florentines* had not made due prouiſions of victuals, pioners, and munitions, as his people aſſured him for their diſcharge; beleeuing that all other things had rather failed in the armie then valour. He complained alſo, that by reaſon of the importunities of the *Florentines*, he had yeelded to commit ſo great an armie rather to *Monſieur Beaumont* then to *Monſieur d' Alegre*, which had bene the cauſe of many diſorders. And on the other ſide, deſiring to recouer the reputation loſt, he ſent to *Florence Monſieur de Corocu* his Chamberlaine, not ſo much to be informed if the reports of his Captaines were true, as to perſwade with the *Florentines*, that not loſing hope to haue hereafter better ſucceſſe, they would conſent that his men at armes might returne to lie in the countrey of *Piſa*, to the end to keepe that Citie for the Winter following in continuall feare, with intention in the Spring time to beſiege it with an armie more reaſonable and better prouided of Captains of experience and ſouldiers more obedient: which offer was refuſed of the *Florentines*, as deſpairing of any better iſſue by the aide of the *French* armies, which had already made worſe their condition. For, a bruite running in all places, that the King had left them, the *Genowayſ*, the *Lucquoys*, and the *Siennoys* began to miniſter openly to the *Piſans* both men and money, and whoſoeuer deſired to offend them, took courage. And euē at *Florence*, the diuiſions ſo increaſed among the Citizens, that they were not onely in diſabilitie to recouer the things loſt, but alſo they prouided not in any ſort for the diſorders that were in their iuriſdiction. For, at *Piſtoya* ſome particular factions falling into open armes, amongſt whom were done as well in the towne as in the fields, many hoſtilities and burnings, proceeding ſometimes with forreine aide, euen as if it were a warre ordained and ſet; they applied no order, to the great reproach of their Commonweale.

In this time *Ceſar Borgia* aduanced much his affaires: for though the King was much diſcontented with the Pope, for not aiding him to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, the ſame being the cauſe why his Maieſtie had deferred to ſend him bands of men to proſecute the enterpriſe begun againſt the Vicars of *Romagna*: yet the deſire he had to keepe amitie with him, for the feare he had of the deſcending of the *Almaines*, hauing no meanes to eſtabliſh an accord with the Emperor, made him change aduice: but much more the authoritie of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, for the ambition he had to obtaine the legation for the Realme of *France*. The Pope then promiſed the King to aide him with men, and with the perſon of his ſonne, whenſoeuer he would aduance the enterpriſe of *Naples*, and to endue the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* with the Legation of the Realme of *France* for eighteene moneths, which was eſteemed a great matter, as wel for that it was new and rare, as for that it diminiſhed much the doings and profits of the Court of *Rome* (although *Brittaine* were not compriſed.) And the King for his part, ſent to him vnder the leading of *Monſieur d' Alegre*, three hundred Lances and two thouſand footmen, making knowne to euery one, that what ſoule ſoeuer would oppoſe againſt the enterpriſe of the Pope, he would take it to heart, as if the iniurie were done to his proper perſon. With which reputation, ioyned to his proper forces, containing ſixe hundred men at armes and ſixe thouſand footmen, the Duke *Valentinois* entred already into *Romagna*, tooke without reſiſtance the cities of *Peſera* and *Rimini*, whoſe Lords and owners fled; and afterwards turned his force to *Faenza*, which had no other defence then of the people of the place: for, not onely *Iohn Bentiuole*, vnkle by the mothers ſide to *Aſtor* a litle child, contained himſelfe, as well for feare to ſtirre vp the armes of the Pope and his ſonne, as to obey a commandement he had receiued from the King: (the *Florentines* and the Duke of *Ferrara* doing the like for the ſame occaſions:) but alſo the *Venetians*, who were bound to defend him, ſignified vnto him (obſeruing the requeſt the King made to them) that they had renounced the protection of him; as they had likewiſe done afore for the ſame occaſion to *Pandolfe Malateſte* Lord of *Rimini*: and which more is, to make it the better knowne that they fauoured the Pope, they created at the ſame time the Duke *Valentinois* Gentleman of

The French King ſendeth aide to the Pope.

their Towne, an action not accuſtomed to that Commonweale, but for recompence of benefites receiued, or elſe in token of deare and ſtraite amitie. The Duke *Valentinois* entertained in his pay *Denis de Nalda* natiue of *Briſiquelle*, a man of great opinion in the Vale of *Lamona*; by whoſe meanes he tooke without any difficultie the towne of *Briſiquelle*, and almoſt all the valley: and hauing taken the old Citadell, he had the new Caſtle by accord made with the keeper: and had hope likewiſe to enter into the Caſtle of *Faenza* by meanes of a practiſe entertained by the ſaid *Denis* with the caſtle-keeper, who was of the ſame Valley, and had a long time gouerned the eſtates of *Aſtor*: but the intelligence being diſcouered, he was made priſoner by the *Fauentines*, who ſhewing no ſignes of feare, for that they were abandoned of euery one, nor yet for the loſſe of the Valley, which was of great importance; they determined to vndergo all dangers to maintaine themſelues in the ſubiection of the family of the *Manfredi*, vnder whoſe obedience they had liued a long time, and therefore looked carefully to the fortifying of their citie. From which diſpoſition, the Duke *Valentinois* being not able to turne them, neither by promiſes nor threatnings, he incamped neare the walls of their Citie, betweene the riuers of *Lamona* and *Maſſana*, and planted his artillery on that ſide that is towards *Furly*, which though it be incompaſſed with walls, is commonly called the Suburbes, where the *Fauentines* had erected a ſtrong Baſtillion: and hauing battered it with great fury, together with the poſterne that is betweene the ſuburbes and the towne, the fifth day he gaue the aſſault: but thoſe within making a braue defence, he ſounded the retrait, (his ſouldiers bringing away many wounds and maimes, and *Honorius Sauella* a principall man ſlaine in the action.) The campe ſuffered litle reſt all the reſidue of the dayes it remained there, as well for that they were continually beaten vpon by the artillery from the towne, as alſo for that the inhabitants, notwithſtanding they had a very ſlender ſtrength of forrein ſouldiers, yet made many ſallies and skirmiſhes with great courage. But aboue all other perplexities, (albeit the moneth of Nouember was not yet finiſhed) the time, which was more extreme then agreed with the cuſtome & nature of that ſeaſon, troubled him much, both for the great ſnowes that fell, and the intollerable cold, (grieuous impediments to the trauels of warre) and alſo for that his lodging was naked and open, (the *Fauentines* afore the campe came neare their walls, hauing burned all the houſes, and cut downe all the trees neare their Citie.) By reaſon of theſe difficulties the Duke *Valentinois* found himſelfe in ſuch a ſtrait, that he leuied his campe the tenth day, and diſperſing his regiments to winter in places thereabouts, he bare his fortune with manifeſt impatience, ſpecially for that beſides his *French* forces, he had an armie flouriſhing with Captaines and ſouldiers *Italians*, wherein were *Iohn Paul* and *Iulio Vrſins*, *Vitellozze*, and *Iohn Paul Baillon*, with many men of choiſe; and hauing promiſed himſelfe in his ambitious conceits, that neither the ſeas nor the mountaines had power to reſiſt him, he could not endure that the reputation of his firſt exploits of warre ſhould be obſcured by a people that had long liued in peace, and at that time had no other commander then a litle child: wherein he gaue ſuch libertie to his paſſion, that he ſwore, and that with many ſighes, that as ſoone as the ſeaſon would permit, he would returne to the ſame enterpriſe, with a reſolution of a man determined either to carry the victory, or to die in the action. In which time *Alexander* his father, to the end there might be a correſpondencie in all his actions, (hauing created the ſame yeare, to his great infamie, twelue Cardinals, not of ſuch as deſerued beſt, but of thoſe that offered moſt) to omit no meanes to get money, ſent out and ſowed through all *Italy*, and through ſtrange prouinces, the Iubiley, which was celebrated at *Rome* with great concourſe of people, euen of nations farre remote from *Italy*, giuing power to obtaine it, to all thoſe who not being able to come to *Rome*, ſhould giue a certaine ſumme of mony; the which, together with all other treaſures he could draw in what ſort ſoeuer, as well of the ſpirituall treaſures as of the temporall demaine of the Church, he ſent to the Duke *Valentinois*, who ſtaying at *Furly*, made preparation of things neceſſary for the ſiege of *Faenza*; the *Fauentines* being no leſſe carefull to fortifie their towne. Theſe things were done in the yeare 1500. But matters of farre greater importance were decreed by the *French* king for the yeare following: and to the end to haue the more libertie to execute them, he had ſought by continuall ſolicitation to haue vnitie with the Emperour, whereby obtaining the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, he might haue ſufferance to aſſaile the Realme of *Naples*: and to this purpoſe he vſed the helpe of the Archduke his ſon, who was well diſpoſed to peace, for that his peoples, fearing the entercourſe of merchandize would ceaſſe, brooked vnwillingly to heare of warre againſt the *French*: and alſo for that the

Duke Valentinois beſiegeth Faenza.

Duke Valentinois leuieth his campe.

Duke Valentinois diſdaineth to be repulſed.

The Pope createth twelue Cardinals at one time.

French

French King hauing no iſſue male, offered to giue in mariage his daughter Madame *Claude* to *Charles* ſonne of the Archduke, and to endue her with the Duchie of *Millan* for a dowrie when they had abilitie to conſummate the mariage, for neither of them had yet attained to three yeares of age. By whoſe interceſſion, (for that many difficulties which hapned in the negociation of the peace could not ſo ſoone be reſolued) the *French* King obtained in the beginning of the yeare 1501. of *Maximilian* a truce for many moneths, giuing him for the obtaining thereof a certaine ſumme of money. This truce was voide of all mention of the King of *Naples*, notwithſtanding that *Maximilian* in conſideration of fortie thouſand duckats, with bond, to miniſter to him monethly fifteene thouſand duckats (his neceſſities ſo requiring,) had promiſed to make no accord without comprehending him in it, and to vexe the Duchie of *Millan* with inuaſions and warre, when it ſhould be needfull to turne away the powers of the *French* king. Thus the King dwelling aſſured that the *Almaines* would not ſtirre, and hoping in ſhort time to make the peace abſolute, and to obtaine the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, by meanes of the ſame Archduke, he turned all his thoughts to the enterpriſe of the Realme of *Naples*; againſt the which enterpriſe, fearing leſt the King of *Spaine* would make ſome oppoſition, and that both the Pope and *Venetians* (iealous ouer his greatneſſe) would ioyne with him, he renewed the practiſes that had bene begun in the time of King *Charles* for deuiding of the ſame Realme, whereunto indeed *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine* pretended alſo to haue right. For albeit *Alphonſo* King of *Aragon* had conquered it with rights and titles ſeparate from the Crowne of *Aragon*, and therefore had diſpoſed it to the perſon of *Ferdinand* his baſtard ſonne as his owne; yet, *Iohn* his brother which ſucceeded him in the kingdome of *Aragon*, and *Ferdinand* the ſonne of *Iohn*, had alwayes ſecretly quarrelled that title as lawfully appertaining to the Crowne of *Aragon*, for that *Alphonſo* had conquered it with the armes and treaſures of the ſame Realme. Which quarrell *Ferdinand* had couered with a ſubtletie and patience of a *Spaniard*, not forgetting any thing that belonged to the dutie of a parent towards *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, and the others, but alſo more aſſuring and augmenting them with bonds of new affinitie, for that he gaue to *Ferdinand* for wife, *Iane* his ſiſter, and conſented afterwards that *Iane* the daughter of her, ſhould be maried to yong *Ferdinand*; and yet he could not carry the matter ſo, but that the Kings of *Naples* perceiued his couetouſneſſe long before. In ſo much as the *French* King and *Ferdinand* coeurring in one inclination, the one to remoue all impediments and difficulties, & the other to obtaine part of that he had long deſired, ſeeing there was no oportunitie offered to obtaine the whole, they made an agreement to inuade at one time the kingdome of *Naples*, and to deuide it betweene them, in this ſort: That the *French* King ſhould haue the Citie of *Naples*, with all the land of *Lauoro*, and the prouince of *Abruzzo*: and to *Ferdinands* part ſhould fall the prouinces of *Powilla* and *Calabria*: and that either one ſhould conquer his owne part by himſelfe, the other not being bound to help him, but onely not to hinder him. But ſpecially it was agreed, that this contract ſhould be holden very ſecret vntill the army which the *French* King ſhould ſend to that enterpriſe, were arriued at *Rome*: at what time the Embaſſadours of them both, alledging this contract to be made for the benefite of Chriſtendome, and to inuade the Infidels, ſhould require the Pope with a ioynt voice, to grant the inueſtiture according to the diuiſion that had bene made betweene them, receiuing *Ferdinand* into faith and homage, vnder the title of Duke of *Powilla* and *Calabria*, and the *French* King no more vnder the title of King of *Sicilie*, but of *Ieruſalem* and *Naples*: the which title of King of *Ieruſalem*, being come to *Federike* the ſecond, Emperour of *Rome* and King of *Naples*, by his wife, which was daughter of *Iohn* King of *Ieruſalem* (in name, but not in effect) was alwayes kept by the Kings following, although at the ſame time the Kings of *Cyprus*, being of the houſe of *Luſignan*, likewiſe pretending right to it, would appropriate it to them with a deſire as great as the reſt: So violent are the deſires of Princes to embrace colours whereby they may with any ſhew of honeſtie (albeit moſt often againſt all law and reaſon) torment and inuade the eſtates that are in the poſſeſſion of another. This capitulation was no ſooner eſtabliſhed betweene the two Kings, then the *French* king began openly to prepare his armie.

Truce betweene the French king and the Emperour. 1501.

The Kings of Spaine and France deuide betweene them the realme of Naples.

But whileſt this armie was in preparing, the Duke *Valentinois* working by intelligence, was returning by night in the firſt dayes of the new yeare to the ſuburbes of *Faenza*, with a great number of ſcaling ladders, aſſaying in vaine to poſſeſſe it; and repoſing no more hope in the treaſon, he tooke in few dayes after *Ruſſi*, with the other places of that countrey, and laſtly returned

eftſoones with his campe to *Faenza* in the beginning of the Spring: and incamping before the Caſtle, he battered the wall on that ſide, and followed the aſſault pell-mell with the *French* and *Spaniſh* that were in his pay; who going to the ſeruice in diſorder, retired without doing any thing. But three dayes after he gaue another aſſault with the ſtrength of the whole campe, of which aſſault, the firſt charge fell to *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, who hauing culled out the choiſe men of their bands, marched to the breach with a wonderfull boldneſſe, and in very good order, and were ſo forward, that they had hope at that time to carry the victory: but thoſe that were within, carried themſelues no leſſe valiantly, who ſo intrenched and fortified themſelues, that the aſſailants finding afore them a great ditch, and being beaten in the flanke with the fury of the artillery, were conſtrained to retire, *Ferdinand* of *Farneſa* remaining dead with many other men of marke, beſides a great number of others that were wounded in their bodies. The *Fauentines* notwithſtanding hauing receiued great harmes by this aſſault, began to take ſuch counſell of their preſent condition, that ſeeing on all ſides generall apparence of danger, and no expectation of ſuccours in a ſtate ſo abandoned, their confidence began to turne into feare: and as there was no poſſibilitie that their proper valours onely, without freſh ſuccours, could make long reſiſtance againſt ſo great an army alwayes renewed; ſo they ſaw that with increaſe of more harmes and worſe conditions, they ſhould in the end either be taken by force, or conſtrained as a laſt neceſſitie, to put themſelues vnder the power of the victors: and therefore a few dayes after they yeelded to the Duke, vpon couenant to haue their goods and liues ſaued, and that *Aſtor* their Lord ſhould remaine in his libertie, and that it ſhould be lawfull for him to go whither he would, enioying wholly the reuenue of his proper poſſeſſions. Theſe couenants the Duke kept faithfully on the behalfe of the people of *Faenza*: but *Aſtor* a yong man of eighteene yeares of age, & of an excellent beautie (his age and innocencie yeelding to the diſloyaltie and crueltie of the victor) was retained by the Duke with very honourable demonſtrations, vnder colour that he ſhould remaine in his Court: but within few dayes after being ſent to *Rome*, after ſome had ſatisfied their vile vnnaturall luſt on him, (ſo went the bruite) he was ſecretly put to death, together with his baſtard brother. The Duke *Valentinois* hauing gotten *Faenza*, marched towards *Bologna*, laying his plot not onely to occupie that Citie, but alſo afterwards to moleſt the *Florentines* which were now become much vnderfoote, there being ioyned to the firſt diſpleaſure of the *French* King, new occaſions of diſcontent: for, being weary of the huge expences which they had made, and were conſtrained ſtill to be at, by reaſon of their warre with *Piſa*, and hauing ſuſpition of the forces of the Pope and Duke *Valentinois*, they payed not to the King, notwithſtanding his great inſtance, the reſidue of the moneys which had bene lent them by the Duke of *Millan*, nor yet thoſe ſummes which he pretended to be due to him for the *Swiſſers* whom he had ſent againſt *Piſa*: for as much as the *Florentines* (contrary to their contract with the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*) refuſing to furniſh one pay for them to returne into their countrey, for that they departed long afore the terme of the ſeruice for which they had receiued pay was expired, the King, to entertaine alwayes that nation in his friendſhip, had payed them of his proper treaſure, which he demanded of the *Florentines* with ſharpe words, not admitting the excuſe of their inabilitie, which was made greater by the ciuill diſcords that tooke their beginning of the diſorders which were in the gouernment popular: wherein no man hauing a ſound care of the affaires, and many of the principall citizens being ſuſpected either for friends to the *Medices*, or as men deſiring another forme of gouernment, things were ouer-ruled more with confuſion then with counſell: by reaſon whereof no prouiſion being made to ſatisfie the demands of the King, but letting paſſe without effect, the reſpites and delayes which he had giuen them, they had made him much diſcontented; ſo that he required them further to prepare to pay him the moneys, and the aide which they promiſed for the expedition of *Naples*: and ſaid, that albeit they owed him none according to the couenants that were made betweene them, vnleſſe they had recouered *Piſa*, yet, in reſpect of him, they ought to hold it for recouered, ſeeing it was through their owne fault, that they obtained it not: and this was cauſed either through the deſire of money, which of his owne nature he loued much, or elſe for the diſcontentment, that they had not obſerued the reſpites he had granted them; or rather the opinion he had, that for the diſorders in their gouernment, and the great number of friends the *Medices* had in *Florence*, he was able to make no foundation in the occurrence of affaires: and to bring them by ſharpneſſe to that, which his authoritie could not leade them vnto, he deliuered publikely very angrie

Faenza yeeldeth to the Duke.

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termes to their Embaſſadour reſident about his perſon, whom he aſſured, that he was no more bound to their protection, for that they failing to accompliſh the capitulation made at *Millan*, in not making him ſatisfactiõ at the time appointed of the moneys promiſed in the ſame, he was at libertie from all right or lawes of obſeruation. By meanes whereof, *Iulian de Medicis* being gone to his Court with the priuitie and recommendation of the Pope, to beſeech his Maieſtie in his name, and in compaſſion of his brethren, to be reſtored to their countrey, promiſing him great quantities of moneys; he heard him willingly, and deuiſed continually with him of the meanes for their returne. And on the other ſide, the Duke *Valentinois* vſing the oportunitie of theſe occaſions, and puſhed forward withall by *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins* then in his pay, and who were great enemies to the *Florentines*, the one for the death of his brother, and the other for the coniunction he had with the *Medices*, had, for that cauſe, ſent afore to the ſuccours of *Piſa*, *Liuerot de Ferme* with an hundred light horſemen, and ſince the conqueſt of *Faenza* ſtood determined to moleſt them, although neither his father nor he had receiued of them any harmes, but rather pleaſures and commodities, ſeeing that at their requeſts, they had renounced the protection of them of *Riara*, whereunto they were bound, and had conſented to giue them paſſage of victuals continually through their lands to his campe. Being departed then out of *Romagna* in this deliberation, and ſince the conqueſt of *Faenza*, being declared by the Pope, with the approbation of the Conſiſtory, Duke of *Romagna*, whereof he obtained the inueſtiture, he entred with his armie into the territories of *Bologna*, with great hope to obtaine it. But the ſame day that he lodged in the borough of *S. Peter*, ſtanding almoſt vpon the confines betweene *Imola* and *Bologna*, he receiued commandement from the *French* King to proceed no further in the ſubduing of *Bologna*, nor to chaſe out of it *Iohn Bentiuole*, for that he had taken as well him as the Citie into his protection: alledging, that the expreſſe exception which he had made, not to preiudice the rights of the Church, ought to be vnderſtood of thoſe rights and preheminences which the Church did then enioy; for that being conſtrued without diſtinction, and not according as the words ſounded, as the Pope pretended, it had bene a thing vaine and of no moment for the *Bolognoys* and for the *Bentiuoleys* to be receiued into his protection. Therefore the Duke *Valentinois* leauing for that time, with no ſmall complaints of the Pope and himſelfe, the ambitious hopes he had conceiued, made a couenant with *Bentiuole* by the meanes of *Paul Vrſin*, which bare theſe articles: That they of *Bologna* ſhould giue him libertie of paſſage and victuals: That he ſhould pay to him yearely nine thouſand duckats: That he ſhould ſerue him with a certaine proportion of men at armes and footmen for his expedition into *Tuſcane*: and to leaue him *Caſtelbologna*, a place betweene *Imola* and *Faenza*, and of the iuriſdiction of *Bologna*, which he gaue to *Paul Vrſin*. When this accord was made, *Bentiuole*, either for a fearfull ſuſpition he had of himſelfe, or for that the Duke *Valentinois* (as the ſaying was) to make him more hateſull in that Citie, had told him that the family of the *Mariſcotti* (a faction very puiſſant in friends and partakers, who for that reaſon, and for their inſolencie were much ſuſpected of him) had deſired him to make the enterpriſe of *Bologna*; he cauſed preſent ſlaughter to be made of almoſt all that family that were within *Bologna*, vſing for miniſters in that crueltie, together with his ſon *Hermes*, many noble yong gentlemen, to the end that for the memory to haue defiled their hands in the bloud of the *Mariſcotti*, and by that meanes become enemies to that family, they ſhould be conſtrained to deſire the preſeruation of his eſtate. The *French* bands followed no further the Duke *Valentinois*, but ſtayed to ioyne with the armie of the King, which contained a thouſand Lances and ten thouſand footmen, marching vnder *Monſieur d'Aubigny* to the enterpriſe of *Naples*. But the Duke *Valentinois* tooke his way through the countrey of *Bologna*, to the lands of the *Florentines*, with ſeuen hundred men at armes and fiue thouſand footmen of choiſe, and with fiue hundred men of armes and two thouſand footmen, which *Bentiuole* gaue him vnder the leading of his ſonne the Pronotary. And hauing ſent to demand of the *Florentines* paſſage and victuals through all their lands, he marched on without tarrying their anſwer, entertaining with gracious words the *Florentine* Embaſſadours vntill he was paſt the *Appenins*: But as ſoone as he was arriued at *Barberina* (his curteſie turning into churliſhneſſe) he required that they would make confederation with him: and that they would take him into their pay with ſuch regiments of men at armes and other conditions agreeable with the greatneſſe he held. And that changing the preſent gouernment, they would eſtabliſh another, ſuch a one as he might repoſe more in. And that which gaue him the boldneſſe to demand theſe things, was not

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so much his power or strength (for he had no great armie or artilleries to batter walls) as the ill estate of the *Florentines*, who had very few men at armes, and no other footmen then those of the countrey, whom they commanded dayly: besides, the feare, suspition, and great disagreements that were in *Florence*; for that he had in his armie *Vitellozze* and the *Vrsins*, and for that by his direction *Peter de Medicis* was abiding at *Loiana* in the countrey of *Bologna*: and lastly, for that the people were full of iealousies, by an opinion they had conceiued, that the greatest citizens had procured his coming, to the end to erect a gouernment according to their fancies. Notwithstanding the Duke *Valentinois* had no great desire to set vp againe *Peter de Medicis*, for that he esteemed not the greatnesse of the *Vrsins* and *Vitellozze* conuenient for his enterprise, with whom he knew that *Peter* had great affinitie vpon his returne into his countrey. And besides this, I haue vnderstood by men worthy of credite, that he kept fixed in his mind the memorie of an ancient indignitie offered him, when being Archbishop of *Pampeluna*, and his father not yet Pope, he studied the common lawes in the schooles of *Pisa*; for that being come to *Florence* to speake with *Peter* touching a certaine crime committed by one of his familiars, after he had in vaine waited many houres to haue accesse to him (being occupied either in his affaires or pleasures) he returned to *Pisa*, not so much as speaking with him, esteeming himselfe much disgraced and iniured. And yet he made other semblance to the *Vitellies* and *Vrsins*, rather to entertaine them in deuotion, then that his thoughts were simple: but much more to augment the mutinies and disagreements of the *Florentines*, by the which he hoped either to range them to better conditions, or to be able to occupie some place of importance in their iurisdiction. But being already in great doubt, that the *French* King brooked not his entrie in that sort into their countrey, when he came to *Campy*, sixe miles from *Florence*, he accorded with them in this sort: That betweene the Commonweale of *Florence* and him, there should be a confederation indifferent for the defence of their estates, with prohibition to aide rebels either of the one or other part; and chiefly, that the Duke should not succour the *Pisans*: That the *Florentines* should pardon to whomsoeuer, all faults committed by his coming, and should not oppose themselues against him in defence of the Lord of *Plombin*, who was vnder their protection: That they should entertaine him for three yeares with three hundred men at armes, and a pay of sixe and thirtie thousand duckats for euery yeare, and he to send that aide to them as often as they should haue need, either for their owne defence, or to offend others. After this accord was ratified, he went to *Signa*, marching by easie iourneys, and remaining certaine dayes in euery reposing place, did great harmes in the countrey by fire and robberies, no otherwise then if he had bene an enemie professed. He demanded besides (according to the custome in the payes of men at armes) the fourth part of the money due for one yeare, and that they should prepare for him artilleries for the enterprise of *Plombin*. The one of which demands the *Florentines* denied him flatly, as being not bound vnto it; the other they deferred, for that they determined not to obserue that which they were compelled by force to promise: and following the aduertisements of their Embassadour with the *French* King, they hoped to be deliuered from those oppressions by his authoritie. A hope which they found not altogether vaine; for that it was very pleasing to the King that the Duke should threaten them, but not that he should assaile them: as well for that the change of the present gouernment would haue bene to his discontentment, as also though he could haue wished another forme of gouernment, yet it would haue greatly displeased him, if it had bene introduced with other forces, or other authoritie then his owne: and therefore as soone as he vnderstood that the Duke *Valentinois* was entred vpon the dominions of the *Florentines*, he charged him to depart thence with speed, and commanded *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, who was then in *Lombardie* with the armie, that in case he would not obey, he should go against him with the whole armie to compell him to depart. By reason whereof the Duke without receiuing a quarters pay, or any furniture of artillery, tooke his way towards *Plombin*, and gaue order that the *Pisans*, who by meanes of *Vitellozze*, whom he had sent thither for artillery, were incamped before a borough of the *Florentines*, should raise their siege.

Capitulations betweene the Duke Valentinois and the Florentines.

Being entred into the territories of *Plombin*, he tooke *Sugeretta*, *Scarlina*, and the Ile of *Elba* and *Pianosa*, and furnishing euery peece with sufficient garrison, as well for the defence of the places already occupied, as to entertaine continuall vexation vpon them of *Plombin*, he returned to *Rome* with the residue of his regiments, to follow the Kings armie that marched to the enterprise of *Naples*; whereof one part led by *Monsieur d'Aubigny* was entred into *Tuscane* by the

the way of *Caſtroeare*, and the other followed by the countrey of *Lunigiana*: and the whole armie aſſembled in one ſtrength, contained a thouſand Lances, foure thouſand *Swiſſers*, and ſixe thouſand footmen as well *French* as *Gaſcoines*, to whom was ioyned (according to their maner) a great quantitie of artilleries: and one thing was notable, that that part which came by the country of *Lunigiana* paſſed very friendly by the citie of *Piſa*, with great reioycing as well of the *French* as of the *Piſans*. About the ſame time alſo, the armie by ſea departed out of *Prouence* for the ſame expedition, vnder the leading of the Lord of *Rauaſtin* Gouernour of *Genes*, wherein were three Caricks of *Genes* and ſixteene other ſhips, together with many other ſmall veſſels fraught with bands of footmen. Againſt theſe preparations of warre, King *Federike* (ignorant that the *Spaniſh* armies vnder ſhadow of friendſhip were prepared againſt him) ſolicited *Gonſaluo* (abiding in *Sicilia* with the regiments of the *Spaniards*, and making ſemblance to ſuccor him) to come to *Caietta*, after he had put into his hands certaine places of *Calabria* which he demanded, to the end to make more eaſie the conqueſt he intended, but vnder colour that it was for the ſuretie of his people. King *Federike* made his reckoning, that *Gonſaluo* being ioyned to the armie, his ſtrength in particular would containe ſeuen hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen, compounded vpon bodies, partly entertained already by him, and partly of ſuch as the *Colonnoys* leuied at *Marina*: a force which he ſuppoſed ſufficient to reſiſt the *French*, without being conſtrained to incloſe himſelfe in townes, although he were out of all hope to receiue any aide from the Prince of the *Turkes*, of whom he had required ſuccours with no ſmall inſtance, ſhewing him that he had more reaſon to feare perill by the victory of the preſent King, then of the late King his predeceſſor. And to preuent treaſons, he apprehended and put in priſon the Prince of *Biſignan* and the Count of *Melete*, being accuſed afore him to haue had ſecret intelligence with the Count *Caiazze* who was in the *French* armie. With theſe hopes (hauing alſo ſent *Ferdinand* his eldeſt ſonne, being very yong, to *Tarenta*, more for his ſuretie if things ſucceeded ill, then to defend the Citie) he incamped with his army at *S. Germein*, where attending the ſuccors of *Gonſaluo* and the bands which the *Colonnoys* leuied, he hoped to obtaine a more happie ſucceſſe in the defence of the entrie into the kingdome, then *Ferdinand* his nephew had againſt the enterpriſe of King *Charles*. In this eſtate of affaires, all the regions of *Italy* were repleniſhed with incredible doubts and perplexities, euery one iudging that this enterpriſe would be a beginning of moſt great calamities: for that the preparations of the *French* King ſeemed not ſo mightie, as to be able to ſurmount the ioynt forces of King *Federike* and *Gonſaluo*, and therefore it was iudged, that the ſpirits of ſo mightie Kings beginning once to waxe angrie, both the one and the other partie would continue the warre with far greater forces, which would eaſily ſtirre vp through all *Italy* both great and dangerous emotions, by reaſon of the diuers inclinations of the other Potentates. But as ſoone as the *French* armie was arriued at *Rome*, the world ſaw eaſily into the vanitie of thoſe diſcourſes: for that the Embaſſadours of *France* and *Spaine*, entring together into the Conſiſtory, made publication afore the Pope and Cardinals, of the league made betweene their Kings, intending chiefly (as they ſaid) to an expedition to be made againſt the enemies to Chriſtian Religion: and demanding the inueſtiture of the kingdome according to the tenor of the conuention made, it was agreed vnto by the Pope with the ſame ſpeed it was required. In ſo much as no man doubting now what would be the end of this warre, the feares of men were conuerted into admiration, euery one taxing the *French* King, for that he was more willing that the one halfe of the Realme ſhould fall into the hands of the King of *Spaine*, bringing into *Italy* (where before he was the onely Arbitrator of all things) another King his corriuall, to whom all his enemies and ſuch as ſhould be diſcontented with him, might haue recourſe, and who was alſo ſtraightly allied to the Emperour by many bonds of affinitie; then to endure that King *Federike* might remaine Lord of the whole, acknowledging to hold it of him, and paying him tribute for it, as by ſundry meanes he had ſought to obtaine it. But all men in their minds condemned the vnfaithfulneſſe of *Ferdinand*, maruelling much that by an ambitious luſt to occupie one part of the kingdome, he had conſpired againſt a King of his bloud; and to draw him the more eaſily to his ruine, had alwayes entertained him with falſe promiſes to ſuccour him; defacing the glory of the title of King Catholicke, which he and Queene *Elizabeth* his wife had obtained certaine yeares before of the Pope; and that renowme and glorie which held their names raiſed vp to the heauens, for driuing the *Moores* out of the Realme of *Granado*. To theſe accuſations againſt both the

The computation of the French armie.

The Pope giueth the inueſtiture of the kingdome of Naples to the French and Spaniard indifferently.

the one and the other King, there was answered no other thing for the *French* King, but that his power was sufficient to remedy all these disorders in conuenient season. But for *Ferdinand*, it was said, that albeit King *Federike* had giuen him iust occasion to be moued against him, as knowing that he had long time before practised secretly with the *French* King to his preiudice; yet that had not stirred him, but in regard the King had determined in what sort soeuer to vndertake the enterprise of *Naples*, he was constrained either to defend it, or abandon it: and in taking vpon him the defence thereof, he should kindle so great a fire, that it could not but be very dangerous to the common weale of Christendome, chiefly the *Turkes* armies being so mightie against the *Venetians* both by sea and land; and if he should abandon it, he knew his Realme of *Sicilia* stood in manifest perill; and also that it was a thing that would turne to his great detriment, that the *French* King should occupie the Realme of *Naples*, which of right belonged to him, and might eftsoones reuert to him by new rights, if the line of *Federike* should faile: and therefore amidst so many difficulties, he had chosen the way of deuiding, with hope that by the ill gouernment of the *French*, their moytie might also descend to him in time: and that in this case, as the regard of publike vtilitie counselled him, which he had alwayes more highly esteemed then his proper profite, he might either keepe it in himselfe, or restore it to *Federike*, or rather to his children, for that he denied not that he held his name almost in horror; for that he knew, that afore the *French* King did any action vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, he had practised with the *Turkes*. The report of this contract betweene the two Kings, brought such an astonishment to *Federike*, that although *Gonsaluo*, seeming to despise that which was published at *Rome*, promised him with great protestations to go to his succours: yet he forsooke his first determination, and retired from *S. Germein* towards *Capua*, where he expected the bands which according to his direction were leuied by the *Colonnois*: who, leauing garrison within *Amelia*, abandoned all the residue which they held in the territory of *Rome*, for that the Pope, by the consent of the *French* King, had taken armes to occupie their estates. But in the end, when *Gonsaluo* vnderstood that the *French* armie was passed *Rome*, he discouered his commissions; and sending to *Naples* sixe galleys to bring away the two old Queenes, the one sister, and the other neece to the King, in these difficulties *Prosper Colonne* aduised King *Federike* to retaine the galleys, and drawing all his power into one strength, to make resistance to the enemies in the plaine field: for that in making triall of fortune, there would be some hope of victory, the issues of battels being farre more incertaine, then all other humane actions: and that otherwise it was most certaine that he had no abilitie to resist two so mightie Kings, inuading him in diuers parts of his kingdome. But *Federike* iudging this counsell to be of litle hope, determined to looke to the guard of his townes. Therefore, *S. Germein* with other peeces neare about it, being already drawne into rebellion, yea euen before *Monsieur d'Aubigny* parted from *Rome*, he determined to make the first defence in the towne of *Capua*, wherein he bestowed *Fabricio Colonne* with three hundred men at armes, certaine light horsemen, and three thousand footmen, and ioyned with him *Rainuce de Marciano*, whom he had newly taken into his pay. He left *Prosper Colonne* for the guard of *Naples*, and himselfe, with the residue of his companies, entred *Auerso*. But *Monsieur d'Aubigny* in his marching from *Rome*, burned *Marina* and *Caua*, with certaine other peeces of the *Colonnois*, being angry that *Fabricio* had caused to be slaine in *Rome*, the messengers of certaine Barons of the Realme holding with the *French*, which were gone thither to contract with him. Afterwards he tooke his way to *Montfortin*, where he thought *Iulio Colonne* would make resistance: but hauing left it abandoned with very litle honour, *Monsieur d'Aubigny* passing further, commanded all the places which be along the way to *Capua* vnto the riuer of *Vulturno* neare *Capua*; where the riuer being too deepe for the armie to wade ouer, he marched vp more high towards the mountaine to passe them ouer there: whereof *Federike* being aduertised, he retired to *Naples*, and abandoned *Auerso*, which with *Nola* and many other places gaue themselues to the *French*, whose whole strength was now brought into the confines of *Capua*, where they encamped, some on this side, some beyond the riuer, on the vpper side where the riuer beginneth to runne neare the towne: and hauing violently battered it on all parts, they charged it afterwards with a furious assault, which though it succeeded not well vnto them, being constrained to retire from the walls with many harmes; yet it was of such great danger to the defendants, that the minds of the Captains and souldiers began to incline to accord, perceiuing the people of the Citie to begin to draw into mutinie, together with the countrey people, who were retired thither

Prosper Colonne aduiseth King Federike to aduenture the battell.

thither in great numbers. But *Fabricio Colonne*, the eighth day after the campe was planted, hauing begun to parley with the Count *Caiazze* vpon a Baſtillion, the negligent guard of thoſe that were within (as often hapneth when men be neareſt accord) gaue occaſion to the enemies to enter: who for the greedineſſe of pillage, and deſire to reuenge the harmes receiued at the firſt aſſault, put the whole towne to ſacke, and made a wonderfull ſlaughter, retaining for priſoners ſuch as remained free from their crueltie: neither ſhewed they any pitie towards women of any ſort or qualitie, not ſparing the virgins in religion, whoſe bodies were a miſerable prey to the luſt and auarice of the ſouldiers; and many of them were ſold afterwards at *Rome* for a very ſmall price: and the report goeth, that at *Capua*, ſome of them leſſe fearing death then the loſſe of their honour, threw themſelues ſome into wels, and ſome into the riuers. It is ſaid further, that beſides other abhominations worthy of perpetuall infamie, many of the women which had eſcaped the firſt furie, being withdrawne into a Tower, the Duke *Valentinois* who followed the army as the Kings Lieutenant, went to take a view of them all, accompanied onely with the Gentlemen of his houſe and his guard; and after he had diligently conſidered them, he retained for his owne vſe fortie of the faireſt of them. *Fabricio Colonne*, *Dom Hugo* of *Cardonna*, and all the other Captaines and men of eſtimation, were made priſoners, amongſt whom *Rainuce de Marzano*, who at the aſſault had receiued a wound with a croſſebow ſhot, being in the keeping of the ſouldiers of the Duke, died within two dayes, not without ſuſpition of poiſon.

Great cruelties of the French.

The infatiable luſt of Duke Valentinois.

The loſſe of *Capua* cut off all hopes to King *Federike* to be able hence forward to defend any thing. *Caietta* yeelded with as great ſpeed: and *Monſieur d'Aubigny* being come with his armie to *Auerſo*, *Federike* abandoning *Naples*, which made compoſition for threeſcore thouſand ducats, he retired into the new Caſtle, and a few dayes after agreed with *Monſieur d'Aubigny* to deliuer vp within ſixe dayes all the townes and forts which he held, appertaining to that moytie of the diuiſion which ſhould deſcend to the *French* King: reſeruing onely for ſixe moneths the Ile of *Iſchia*, during which time it ſhould be lawfull for him to go whither he would, except into the Realme of *Naples*; and to ſend an hundred men at armes to *Tarenta*: That he might take out of the new Caſtle and the Egge Caſtle what he would, except the artilleries of King *Charles* which remained there: That free pardon ſhould be giuen to all men for all faults committed ſince the late King *Charles* conquered the Realme of *Naples*: and that the Cardinals *Colonne* and *Aragon* ſhould ſtill enioy thoſe Eccleſiaſticall reuenues which they had in the kingdome. But in the rocke of *Iſchia* were truly ſeene (as a miſerable ſpectacle) all the infelicities of the line of the old *Ferdinand* heaped together: for that beſides *Federike*, newly depriued of ſo noble a Realme, and more grieued for the hard fortune and ill condition of ſo many litle children of his, together with his eldeſt ſonne, who was ſhut vp in *Tarenta*, then for his owne calamitie; *Beatrice* his ſiſter was alſo in the ſame rocke; who after the death of her late husband *Matthias* that renowmed King of *Hungarie*, hauing receiued promiſe of mariage of *Lancelot* King of *Bohemia*, inducing her to aide him in the conqueſt of that Realme; ſhe was refuſed by him with great ingratitude, after he had obtained his deſire, who afterwards maried another by the diſpenſation of Pope *Alexander*. In this infelicitie was alſo concurrant *Iſabel* aforetime Ducheſſe of *Millan*, but now no leſſe wretched then the others, for that almoſt at one time, ſhe ſuffered priuation of her husband, of her eſtate, and of her onely ſonne. Amongſt theſe tragicall accidents, I may not forget this notable example of the affection of a ſonne to his father, a matter ſo much the more ſtrange, by how much in thoſe times the loue of children was rare towards their fathers. One of the ſonnes of *Gilbert de Montpenſier* being gone to *Pozzuolo* to viſite the ſepulcher of his father, was ſo ouercome with paſſion, that after he had vnmeaſurably ſhed teares, he fell downe dead vpon the ſepulcher. Now *Federike* being reſolued, by reaſon of the ſetled hatred he bare to the King of *Spaine*, to recommit himſelfe rather to the clemencie of the *French* King, he ſent vnto him to demand ſafe conduct; and hauing obtained it, he left all the reſidue in the rocke of *Iſchia*, where remained alſo *Proſper* and *Fabritio Colonne*, who hauing payed a ranſome, were deliuered by the *French*: and the Ile remaining as it did before vnder the gouernment of the Marquis of *Guaſt* and the Counteſſe of *Franqueuille*, after he had ſent part of his people to the defence of *Tarenta*, he went into *France* with fiue light galleys: a counſell very ill taken, for that if he had bene in a place of libertie, ſeeing to what termes the warres grew afterwards betweene thoſe two Kings, he might haply haue had many occaſions afterwards to returne into his kingdome: but chuſing a more quiet life, and peraduenture iudging that to be his beſt courſe, he accepted ſuch

The ſorrowes of King Federike redoubled.

A ſtrange affection of a ſon.

Federike in mind to commit himſelfe to the honour and clemency of the French king.

conditions as were offered him by the King; who gaue him, to the end he might remaine in *France*, the Duchie of *Anioy*, with ſo liberall a penſion, that it amounted euery yeare to thirtie thouſand duckats: and he ſent order to thoſe in whom he had left the gouernment of *Iſchia*, that they ſhould deliuer it vp to the gouernment of the *French* king; who refuſing to obey his commandement, kept it a long time, vnder the pretext notwithſtanding of *Federike*. *Gonſaluo* was marched at the ſame time into *Calabria*, where albeit almoſt all the people of the countrey deſired to liue rather vnder the rule and Lordſhip of the *French*, yet, for that they had no body to defend them, all the townes receiued him willingly, except *Manfredonia* and *Tarenta*. But after he had forced *Manfredonia* and the Caſtle, he incamped with his army in the confines of *Tarenta*, where albeit he found greateſt difficulties, yet in the end he had it by accord, for that the Count *Potenſo*, to whoſe guard the yong Duke of *Calabria* had bene recommended by his father, and Frier *Leonard* of *Naples*, Knight of *Rhodes*, and gouernour of *Tarenta*, ſeeing no hope or poſſibilitie of further defence, compounded to giue vp the Citie and Caſtle, if within foure moneths they were not ſuccoured. In which compoſition they receiued of him a ſolemne oath vpon the Sacrament, that he would leaue in libertie the Duke of *Calabria*, who had ſecret commandement from his father to come to him into *France* when he could no more reſiſt his fortune. But both the feare of God, and the regard to his honour, had leſſe force then the intereſt of the eſtate. For *Gonſaluo*, iudging it a matter of great importance for the time to come, if the perſon of the Duke were not in the power of the King of *Spaine*; making no reckoning of his oath, would not ſuffer him to depart, but as ſoone as he could, ſent him well accompanied into *Spaine*; where the King receiued him, and retained him neare about him in high familiaritie and honours due to his greatneſſe. In theſe ſeaſons the affaires of the Pope proceeded with a proſperitie accuſtomed, for that he had eaſily got all the eſtates which the *Colonnois* and *Sauelles* held in the confines of *Rome*, part whereof he diſpoſed to the *Vrſins*. And the Duke *Valentinois* continuing his enterpriſe againſt *Plombin*, ſent thither *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Paul Baillon* with new regiments: for whoſe comming, *Iaques Appian* the naturall Lord, leauing the towne and Caſtle manned with garriſons, went by ſea into *France*, to ſee if he might obtaine of the King (who long afore had receiued him into his protection) that for the regard of his owne honour, he would not ſuffer him to periſh: whereto the King, without couering his infamie by art, anſwered very roundly, that he had promiſed the Pope not to oppoſe againſt him, and that he could not oppoſe againſt him, without doing him great wrong. But whileſt the miſerable Lord of *Plombin* was in vaine ſoliciting for ſuccours, the towne rendered to the Duke *Valentinois* by the meanes of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, and within few dayes after the Caſtle did the like. In this courſe of the Popes felicities, he maried his daughter *Lucrecia* (wife afore to three husbands, and now widow by the death of *Giſmon* Prince of *Viſelle*, baſtard ſonne to *Alphonſo* King of *Naples*, whom the Duke *Valentinois* had ſlaine) to *Alphonſo* eldeſt ſonne to *Hercules d'Eſte*, with a portion of an hundred thouſand duckats in ready money, and many other gifts of great value. To this marriage, vnworthy of the houſe of *Eſte*, which was wont to ſeeke ſocietie with the families moſt noble, *Hercules* and *Alphonſo* conſented, for that the *French* King deſiring to ſatisfie the Pope in all things, was an importunate procurer of it; but they were chiefly incited hereto by a deſire they had by this mean (if againſt ſo great a diſloyalty there be any ſurety ſufficient) to aſſure themſelues frõ ỹ armes & ambition of the Duke *Valentinois*; who being of great power by reaſon of the treaſure and authoritie of the ſea Apoſtolike, ioyned to the fauors which the *French* King bare him, was now greatly feared throughout the greateſt part of *Italy*, euery one knowing that his ambition was infinite, and his couetouſneſſe without limite. At this time the *French* King continued with great diligence the negociation of peace with the Emperour, not onely for the hopes he had to ſhake off by that meanes expences and ſuſpitions, and to obtaine of him the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan* which he deſired much; but alſo to haue oportunitie to offend the *Venetians*, being incited thereto for that he knew well that his proſperities were grieuous to them, and withall nouriſhing this opinion, that they laboured ſecretly to breake the peace betweene the Emperour and him. But that which moſt ſtirred him to this inclination, was a deſire (as well of himſelfe, as at the perſwaſions of the *Millanois*) to recouer *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*, townes which himſelfe had accorded to them a litle before: and alſo to get againe *Breſſe*, *Bergame*, and *Crema*, ancient appertenances of the Duchie of *Millan*, and lately poſſeſſed by the *Venetians* in the warres which they had with *Philip Maria Viſconte*. And to bring theſe things to good effect,

The eldeſt ſon of king Federike ſent into Spaine.

and

and to ordaine neceſſary prouiſions for the expedition of *Naples*, he had long time before ſent to *Millan*, the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, the tongue and authoritie of whom, were the proper tongue and authoritie of the King, and who had remained there many moneths, being not able, for the ordinary variations of the Emperour, to eſtabliſh any thing with him. About this time, the *Florentines* ſolicited by meanes of the Cardinall, to be receiued of new into the Kings protection, but without any effect, for that the King propounded vnto them very hard conditions, and ſhewed himſelfe to be eſtranged in mind from them: and pretending to be no further bound to the couenants made at *Millan*, he cauſed to be aſſigned ouer to the *Lucquoys* (receiued of new into his protection) *Pietraſanta* and *Mutron*, as being ancient members of that Citie; but not without the ſumme of foure and twentie thouſand duckats, which he receiued of them as Lord of *Genes*, for that the *Lucquoys* ancient owners of *Pietraſanta*, had by reaſon of ſome neceſſities engaged it for the like ſumme to the *Genowayes*, from whom it was deſcended afterwards to the *Florentines* by force of armes. Beſides, the Cardinall treated with them of *Sienna*, *Lucques*, and *Piſa*, to knit them all together for the reeſtabliſhing of *Peter de Medicis* in *Florence*: wherein the Cardinall caſt his plot, that the King ſhould obtaine by this action a round ſumme of money of euery of them; which practiſe tooke ſuch proceeding, that they were almoſt at accord, and yet the deuice diſſolued without effect, for that they were not reſolued to pay the proportion of money that he demanded. At length the Cardinall had a more certaine hope then before to contract ſome accord with the Emperour: and in that regard he went to *Trent*, to communicate with him, where they treated of many things concerning the order for the mariage of Madame *Claude* the Kings daughter, with *Charles* the eldeſt ſonne to the Archduke, with conceſſion of the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan* to both the one and other of them. They treated alſo to leuie warre againſt the *Venetians*, to recouer thoſe places which either of them pretended to be vſurped vpon them: and laſtly, they conſulted to call a generall Councel to reforme the Church, not onely (as they ſaid) in her members, but alſo in her head: to which motion the Emperour made ſemblance of conſent, to giue hope to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* to obtaine the Popedome, whereunto he aſpired with manifeſt ambition, the King his maiſter being a ſpeciall furtherer of the action, for the intereſt of his proper greatneſſe. On the behalfe of the *French* King, it was accorded in that contract, that what confederation or alliance ſoeuer he made, it ſhould be vnderſtood with this clauſe, Sauing the rites of the Empire; by meanes whereof it ſhould be lawfull to the Emperour to cauſe it to be acknowledged as well by thoſe that ſhould be now named of the King, as by ſuch as he had afore taken into his protection. There reſted onely the principal difficultie touching the inueſtiture, for that the Emperor refuſed to grant it to the iſſue males if the King ſhould haue any: and they ſtood alſo vpon ſome difficultie for reſtitution of the exiles of the Duchie of *Millan*; which being inſtantly demanded by the Emperour, the King refuſed flatly to grant; for that they were many in number, and perſonages of importance and authoritie. Yet conſtrained by his importunities, he was content to deliuer Cardinall *Aſcanius*, and gaue hope of the like grace to *Lodowike Sforce*, with aſſignatiō of a penſion of twentie thouſand duckats by yeare, wherewith he might liue honeſtly in the Realme of *France*. By reaſon of theſe difficulties, they fell not otherwiſe to accord, then with hopes to be able to introduce ſome conuenient forme, and therefore the truce being eftſoones prolonged, the Cardinall returned into *France*, holding almoſt for certaine, that the matters which they had debated, would with ſpeed diuolue to their perfection. Which opinion was augmented by reaſon that a litle after, the Archduke, before he went into *Spaine* to receiue in his perſon, and the perſon of *Iane* his wife eldeſt daughter of the King there, the oath of fidelitie of the peoples, as ordained to that ſucceſſion: he made his way by land, accompanied with his wife, and met at *Blois* with the *French* king, who receiuing him with many honours, they reſted agreed touching the mariage of their children. In this yeare died *Auguſtin Barbarig* Duke of *Venice*, who caried himſelfe ſo proſperouſly, that in many things he ſurpaſſed the degree of his predeceſſors. The power therefore of his ſucceſſors being limited by new lawes, *Leonard Loredan* was elected in his place, the Commonweale feeling no change in publike things, neither by the death of the Duke, nor for the election of a new: ſo excellent was the forme of their gouernment. In this yeare the *Florentines* and the *Piſans* (contrary to the cuſtome of the former yeares) did no great matters one againſt the other: for that the *Florentines* being no more vnder the protection of the *French*, and ſtanding in continuall ſuſpition of the Pope and the Duke *Valentinois*, ſtudied more to keepe their owne,

The death of Auguſtin Barbarig Duke of Venice.

then to offend others: and the *Piſans* not hauing of themſelues any power to vexe them, had leſſe poſſibilitie to do it by the aide of others, for that there were none that ſtirred otherwiſe in their fauour, but onely to ſuſtaine them when they were in perill of ruine. But in the yeare
1502. 1502 might be ſeene a recontinuation of their actions accuſtomed, for that the *Florentines*, almoſt in the beginning of the yeare, contracted of new with the *French* King, after they had ouercome all difficulties, more by the benefite of fortune then by the fauour of the King, or other occaſions: ſeeing that the Emperor (ſince the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* departed) being entred into new thoughts and purpoſes, and refuſing the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan* to the *French* King, yea euen to his daughters maried, had ſent as his Embaſſadours into *Italy*, *Hermes Sforce*, whom the King had acquited of his impriſonment at the requeſt of the Empreſſe, ſiſter of the ſaid *Sforce*, and the Prouoſt of *Breſſina*, to deale with the Pope and the other Potentates touching his deſcending into *Italy*, to take the Crowne of the Empire: who hauing ſoiourned certaine dayes in *Florence*, obtained promiſe of that Citie to contribute to his aide, with an hundred men at armes and thirtie thouſand duckats, as ſoone as he was entred into *Italy*: and therefore the *French* King who feared leſt the *Florentines*, deſpairing of his friendſhip, would turne their fauours to *Maximilian*, was content to qualifie the immoderate demands he had made to them, and contracted an accord vnder conditions more tollerable: the ſubſtance whereof
Accord betweene the French King and the Florentines. was this: That the King receiuing them into his protection, ſhould be bound for three yeares following, to defend them with armes at his proper expences, againſt who ſoeuer would directly or indirectly moleſt them touching the ſtate and dominions which at that time they poſſeſſed: That the *Florentines* ſhould pay to him within the ſaid three yeares, ſixe ſcore thouſand duckats, euery yeare a third part: That all other capitulations made betweene them, with all bonds and promiſes depending on the ſame, ſhould be voide: That it ſhould be lawfull to the *Florentines* to proceed with armes againſt the *Piſans*, and all others that occupied their lands. In regard of which confederation, the *Florentines* taking heart againe, determined to make ſpoile of the corne and graine of the countrey of *Piſa*, to the end that by time and famine, they might reduce the towne of *Piſa* to their obedience, ſeeing they had with ſo many misfortunes aſſayed to force them by ſiege. This counſell was propounded in the firſt yeare of their rebellion by a certaine well experienced citizen, alledging that by thoſe meanes, more certaine, though not ſo ſpeedie, they ſhould afflict and conſume the *Piſans* with litle expences and leſſe danger: for that in regard of the preſent conditions of *Italy*, much troubled, if they would make ſtore of their treaſures, they might make good vſe of them in many occaſions; but if they would ſeeke to force them, it would proue a difficult enterpriſe, that Citie being ſtrongly walled, and full of inhabitants well reſolued to defend it: and alſo for that as often as there ſhould be perill to loſe it, it would be reſcued by all thoſe that deſired to ſee it preſerued, which were many in number: in ſo much as the expences would be great, and the hope ſmall, yea with euident danger to raiſe new troubles. The which counſell being at the firſt reiected as hurtfull, after the courſe of many yeares, was found profitable, but in a time when they had waſted huge expences, and attempted the victory with many dangers. After they had ſpoiled their corne, hoping that in regard of the Kings protection, no man would ſtirre againſt them, they planted their ſiege before *Vicopiſan*, for that not many dayes before, the *Piſans* had taken it from them by treaſon of certaine ſouldiers that were therein; and the Captaine of the Caſtle not abiding for the ſuccours which ſhould haue arriued within few houres, did render it to them with great cowardize: and they made no doubt to carry it, knowing well that there was not victuals therein to ſuffice for fifteene dayes; and they had good confidence to let that none ſhould enter, for that by the benefite of their Baſtillions, which they had builded ſeparate vpon the mountaines, they commanded all the paſſages: and in the ſame ſeaſon being aduertiſed that *Fracaſſe*, being but poore and without pay, was going with a few horſemen to enter *Piſa*, in the name and with letters of *Maximilian*, they gaue direction that he ſhould be charged on the way, where he was made priſoner as he fled, ſeeking his ſafetie in a Church within the iuriſdiction of the Duke of *Ferrara*. Theſe things were done in *Tuſcan*, no man as yet perceiuing what would happen, contrary to the expectation of euery one.

The French & the Spaniards do diſagree vpō the deuiding of Naples.

But more great and farre more dangerous emotions, and which would produce effects of right great importance, began to be diſcloſed in the kingdome of *Naples*, by the diſcords which hapned the yeare paſſed, betweene the *French* and *Spaniſh* Captaines: which tooke their beginning

ning, for that in the diuiſion made betweene both the Kings, the countrey of *Lauoro* and *Abruzzo* being adiudged to the one, and to the other *Powilla* and *Calabria*, the confines and limites of the prouinces were not well expreſſed in the diuiſion: in ſo much as either of them began to pretend, that that part which is called *Capitanato* did appertaine to him. To this controuerſie gaue a great occaſion the alteration and change made by *Alphonſo* of *Aragon* King of *Naples*, firſt of that name, of the ancient denomination of the prouinces: who intending to make eaſie the exaction of reuenues, deuided all the kingdome into theſe ſix principall prouinces, *Lauoro*, *Principato*, *Baſilicato*, *Calabria*, *Powilla*, and *Abruzzo*: of theſe *Powilla* was diſtinguiſhed into theſe three members, *Ottranto*, *Bary*, and *Capitanato*, which *Capitanato* adioyning to *Abruzzo*, and deuided from the reſidue of *Powilla* by the riuer *Lofanto*, anciently called *Aufido*, the *French* men taking rather the aduantage of the ancient diuiſion, then ruled by the late denomination, pretended that either *Capitanato* was not comprehended vnder any of the foure prouinces deuided, or elſe that it was rather part of *Abruzzo* then of *Powilla*: and the importance of the countrey moued them not ſo much, as for that not poſſeſſing *Capitanato*, they had no part in the reuenue which was drawne of the tribute of cattell, a reuenue of greateſt profite in all the Realme of *Naples*; and for that *Abruzzo* and *Lauoro* being made naked of graine and corne which came to *Capitanato*, thoſe prouinces in time of ſterilitie might be eaſily reduced into great extremities, as oftē as the *Spaniſh* wold make reſtraint that none ſhould be fetched out of *Powilla* and *Sicilia*. But it was alledged on the contrary, that *Capitanato* could not appertaine to the *French*, for that *Abruzzo* which is ended in the high places, ſtretcheth not ſo farre as the plaines: and for that alſo in caſes of differences of the names and limites of prouinces, the preſent vſe is alwayes to be conſidered. By reaſon of theſe controuerſies they were content, for the yeare before, to deuide equally the reuenue of the cattell; but in the yeare following, not contenting themſelues with ſuch ſharing, either partie tooke as much as he could get, whereunto alſo were added afterwards new quarrels, nouriſhed till that time (as the bruite went) more by the wils of the Captaines, then by the conſent of their Kings. For the *Spaniards* pretended that *Principato* and *Baſilicato* were included in *Calabria*, which is deuided into two parts, *Calabria Citra* and *Calabria Vltra*, that is, the one higher and the other lower: and alſo that the valley of *Beneuent* which the *French* held, was part of *Powilla*; and therefore ſent officers to keepe Courts of iuſtice at *Tripaldo*, which is within two miles of *Auelino*, where were reſident the *French* magiſtrates. Theſe beginnings of open diſſention being troubleſome to the principall Barons of the Realme, they interpoſed betweene *Gonſaluo* and *Lewis d'Armignac*, Duke of *Nemours*, Viceroy for the *French* King; and by their meanes *Lewis* being come to *Melfe*, and *Gonſaluo* to *Atelle* a towne of the Prince of *Melfe*, after the trauell of certaine moneths (in which time the two Captaines ſpake together) finding in them no maner of accord, they agreed to expect ſuch reſolution as their Kings ſhould ſet downe, and that in the meane time they ſhould forbeare to innouate any thing. But the Duke of *Nemours* preſuming much that he was the mightier in power, within few dayes after publiſhed another declaration, proteſting to make warre vpon *Gonſaluo*, if he would not vpon the ſight leaue *Capitanato*; and preſently after he made his ſouldiers runne vp euen to *Tripaldo*. Of which inuaſion, which was made the nineteenth day of Iune, the warre tooke his beginning, wherein the *French* perſeuering ſtill, they endeuoured without regard, to occupie by force in *Capitanato* and other quarters, the townes which the *Spaniſh* held. The *French* King in ſtead of putting remedy hereto, being aduertiſed that the *Spaniſh* meant not to yeeld him *Capitanato*, diſpoſed himſelfe wholly to the warre; and ſending by ſea, for the ſtrength of his people, two thouſand *Swiſſers*, he kept ſtil entertained in his pay the Princes of *Salerne* and *Biſignian*, and ſome other of the principall Barons. Beſides, the King came to *Lyons*, to the end in his owne preſence to furniſh more conueniently the prouiſions neceſſary for the conqueſt of the whole kingdome, whereunto (not content with the places in queſtion) he now aſpired manifeſtly, with intention to paſſe into *Italy* if need required: which he was quickly conſtrained to do, by reaſon of the new tumults hapned in *Tuſcan*, to the which *Vitellozze* gaue beginning, with the priuitie and conſent of *Iohn Paul Baillon* and the *Vrſins*, but eſpecially by the counſell and authority of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, who all deſired that *Peter de Medicis* might be reeſtabliſhed in the eſtate of *Florence*. Of this began the mutinie: *William Paſſi* Agent for the *Florentines* in *Aretze*, being aduertiſed that certain of the citizens had conſpired with *Vitellozze* to ſtirre the Citie to rebellion againſt the *Florentines*, not beleeuing that the minds of euery one were corrupted, and perſwa-

The beginning of warres in Naples vnder King Lewis the twelfth.

Aretze rebelleth againſt the Florentines in fauor of Peter de Medicis

ding himſelfe that the authoritie of the name publike, would ſupply the want of forces, (without looking to make ſufficient prouiſion to ſuppreſſe the conſpirators, and ſuch as meant to reſiſt him, as he might quickly haue done) he ſodainly made priſoners two of the acceſſaries to the treaſon: by reaſon whereof the reſidue of the conſpirators hauing raiſed the people, the moſt part of whom bare no great good will to the *Florentines*, the two priſoners were reſcued in that tumult, and the Agent made priſoner, together with the reſidue of the officers; and the whole Citie publiſhing the name of libertie, made manifeſt declaration of rebellion, the Citadell onely remaining in the deuotion of the *Florentines*, to the which, in the beginning of the tumult, was retired *Coſma* Biſhop of the ſame place, and ſonne to the Agent. After this the men of *Aretze* ſent ſpeedily to *Vitellozze*, who was not well content that the matter was burſt out afore the time he had agreed with the conſpirators, for that he had not yet ſent downe ſufficient direction for the prouiſions he meant to make to reſiſt the bands of the *Florentines*, if (as was very likely) they made any attempt to enter *Aretze* by the Citadell. For which feare, although he went ſuddenly from *Citta de Caſtello* to *Aretze*, with his men at armes and a choiſe ſtrength of footmen, and *Iohn Paul Baillon* ſent to him from *Perouſa*, and *Pandolfe Petrucci* furniſhed him ſecretly with money; yet leauing his companies there, and leauing order that they ſhould looke diligently to hold thoſe in the Citadel ſtraitly incloſed, to the end that through it there might be no entrance made into the Citie, he returned eftſoones to *Citta de Caſtello*, promiſing to come againe with the ſame ſpeed, but with a greater ſtrength. But at *Florence* thoſe to whom it appertained to prouide for this miſchiefe, conſidered not well in the beginning of what importance it was: for that the principall citizens, by whoſe counſell the weightie affaires of the Citie had wont to paſſe, giuing this direction, that the regiments which were incamped before *Vicopiſan* (a number ſo ſufficient, that marching with diligence they might haue vanquiſhed all reſiſtance) ſhould be conuerted to *Aretze*, many others which occupied the greateſt roomes and offices (their knowledge being leſſe then their authoritie) crying out that it was a matter but of ſmall moment, and that it might be redreſſed with the forces of their other ſubiects, neighbours to the ſame Citie; and thoſe whoſe mindes were eſtranged from the preſent gouernment, making the danger farre greater then it was, for a deſire they had to hinder the action of *Vicopiſan*, and by that meanes to take away the oportunitie to recouer *Piſa*: they deferred ſo long to ſend ſtrength thither, that *Vitellozze* taking courage by their delayes, returned to *Aretze* with an increaſe of forces, drawing thither after him with other bands *Iohn Paul Baillon*, *Fabio* the ſonne of *Paul Vrſin*, *Peter de Medicis*, and the Cardinall; who hauing receiued munitions from *Sienna*, they began to batter the Citadell, wherein (according to the cuſtome of many which are more carefull to erect new fortifications, then diligent to preſerue thoſe already built) was no leſſe want of victuals, then of all other prouiſions neceſſary for defence; and beſides they enuironed it ſtraightly with trenches and mounts on the out-ſide to giue impediment that no ſuccours might enter, in ſuch ſort that all neceſſary prouiſion failing them within, and knowing that the forces of the *Florentines* led by *Hercules Bentiuole*, arriued at laſt at *Quarate*, which is a borough neare *Aretze*, deſpairing of ſuccour, durſt paſſe no further, they rendred by neceſſitie, the fourteenth day after the rebellion, making this agreement, that the reſidue remaining in libertie, the Biſhop with eight others which they of *Aretze* would chuſe, ſhould abide priſoners, to exchange them for ſome of their citizens which were priſoners at *Florence*. The commons of *Aretze* diſmanteled the Citadell; and the army of the *Florentines*, fearing leſt *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Paul*, who were farre ſtronger then they, would charge them, retired to *Monteuarcho*, leauing to the diſcretion of the enemies all the places thereabout. It was beleeued, that this enterpriſe was made without the priuitie or knowledge of the Pope and Duke *Valentinois*, in whom was no contentment that *Peter de Medicis* ſhould returne to *Florence*, for that he was ſtraightly allied with *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, whom they had ſecretly determined to oppreſſe: and yet hauing alwayes giuen them hope of the contrary, they conſented that *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Paul*, and *Fabio*, mercenary in their pay, ſhould proſecute this enterpriſe: yea they did not diſſemble, that they were very glad of the rebellion of *Aretze*, hoping, that by thoſe diſpleaſures done to the *Florentines*, it might happen, that either they might get ſome part of their dominion, or at leaſt conſtraine them, for their profit, to ſome hard condition. But the *Florentines* not beleeuing but that they were the authors of the whole miſchiefe, were ſo much the more terrified, and therefore repoſing litle in the remedies which of themſelues they were able to apply, for that, by the ill diſpoſition of the Citie, they had in their

pay

pay but a very ſmall proportion of men at armes, and not being able to refurniſh their power ſo ſoone as the neceſſitie of their danger required; they had ſpeedy recourſe to the *French* king, laying afore him not onely that which concerned his honour, binding himſelfe ſo lately to their defence, but alſo the apparent danger to the Duchie of *Millan*, if the Pope and Duke *Valentinois* (againſt whom was no litle ſuſpition to be the kindlers of this commotion) became Lords ouer *Tuſcane*: That they were mightie in armes, hauing an army compounded of excellent Captains and ſouldiers of choiſe; and that now it appeared plainly, that neither *Romagna* nor *Tuſcane* would ſuffice their infinite ambition, aſpiring into matters more ample and immoderate: And laſtly, ſeeing they had offended the honour of the King, by inuading ſuch as were in his protection, neceſſitie now conſtrained them to thinke no leſſe vpon their owne ſuretie, then to take from him the meanes to be reuenged of ſo great an iniury. Theſe reaſons moued the King not a litle, who had already begun to diſlike the inſolencie and ambition of the Pope and his ſonne; and conſidering that the warre was begun in the kingdome of *Naples* betweene him and the *Spaniſh*, and the negociation of accord with *Maximilian* broken, and laſtly that he was not (for many reaſons) to truſt the *Venetians*, he began to doubt leſt the inuaſion of *Tuſcane* (practiſed by the ſecret counſell of others) ſhould turne to his great diſaduantage. In which opinion he was confirmed greatly by certaine aduertiſements from *Charles d'Amboiſe* the Cardinals Nephew, and Lieutenant to the King in all the Duchy of *Millan*, who ſuſpecting ſuch innouations, perſwaded the King to prouide carefully for his proper danger: and therefore hauing determined to paſſe into *Italy* with all poſſible ſpeed, and to ſuccour readily the *Florentines*, he gaue charge to the ſaid Lord *Charles*, to ſend forthwith to their reſcues, foure hundred Lances, and diſpatched in all haſte *Normandie* his Herald in poſt to command not onely *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Paul*, *Pandolfe* and the *Vrſins*, but alſo the Duke *Valentinois*, to forbeare to offend any more the *Florentines*; wherein himſelfe made great inſtance to the Popes Embaſſadour, and threatned with very ſharp words *Iulian de Medicis*, and the agents of *Pandolfe* and *Vitellozze* which were in his Court.

The Florentins haue recourſe to the French King.

But at this time the Duke *Valentinois*, who ſince the accident of *Aretze*, was come out of *Rome* with his army, making ſemblance to take *Camerin*, whither he had ſent before the Duke of *Grauino* and *Liuerot de Ferme* with part of his bands, to make ſpoile and hold it beſieged, but in true meaning to ſurpriſe vnder that ſemblance the Duchie of *Vrbin*: after he had aſſembled the reſt of his army vpon the confines of *Perouſa*, he demanded of *Guidobald* Duke of *Vrbin*, money and artillery: which was eaſily condeſcended vnto, for that it was neither for his ſuretie to refuſe a Prince who had his ſtrength ſo neare, and alſo for that hauing a litle before compounded with the Pope touching the controuerſie of a tribute, he had no occaſion to feare: and hauing by this meanes made him leſſe able to defend himſelf, he departed ſuddenly from *Nocere*, and marching with ſuch diligence, that he gaue his men no leiſure to repoſe or baite, he arriued the ſame day at *Cagly* a towne of the Duchie. The ſuddenneſſe of whoſe comming, and againſt a people vnprouided, brought ſuch a generall amaze, that the Duke and *Francis Maria de la Rouero* Prefect of *Rome* his nephew, had ſcarce leiſure to find ſafetie in flying; ſo that the Duke *Valentinois* obtained in very few houres a victory of all that ſtate, except the Rocke of Saint *Leon*, and *Mariuola*, to the great diſpleaſure and feare of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, who now began plainly to diſcerne their proper perils by the harmes of another. After the conqueſt of the Duchie of *Vrbin*, the Duke *Valentinois* had diuers thoughts; ſometimes he determined to make an end of the enterpriſe of *Camerin*, and ſometimes he reſolued to inuade openly the *Florentines*. In which counſell he had ſtood ſetled, if the commandement he receiued from the *French* King had not reſtrained him, beſides his certaine knowledge, that notwithſtanding the Popes trauell to alter him, his Maieſtie had ſent men at armes in fauour of the *Florentines*, and was reſolutely determined to defend them; and that which moued him moſt, was the Kings inclination to paſſe in perſon into *Italy*. He being in this doubt, ſtayed within *Vrbin* to conſider what he had to do, and what would be the ſucceſſe of things: during which time the Pope and he ſolicited many matters with the *Florentines*, hoping to bring them ſomewhat to condeſcend to their deſires: and on the other ſide, he ſuffered many of his ſouldiers to go continually to the campe of *Vitellozze*; who hauing aſſembled an army of eight thouſand horſmen and three thouſand footmen, and for the better reputation of his doings, calling his army the Campe Eccleſiaſticall, had, ſince the rendring of the Citadell of *Aretze*, occupied Mount *S. Souin*, *Chaſtillon d'Aretze*, and the Citie of *Cortono*, with all the other townes and boroughs of *Valdichiano*: of

Duke Valentinois takes the Duchie of Vrbin.

the which, not one of them tarried an assault, both for that they saw the succours of the *Florentines* not in readinesse, and also, the time seruing them to gather the fruites, it stood not with their abilities to lose the profite of their reuenues, alledging that in that respect they were not rebels to the *Florentines*, seeing *Peter de Medicis* was in the army, for whose restoring it was said that enterprise was made. And it is not to be doubted, that if *Vitellozze*, after the taking of *Cortona*, had suddenly entred the country of *Casentin*, but it had bene in his power to haue marched euen to the walls of *Florence*, both for that the *French* bands were not yet come, and also the most part of the *Florentine* footmen were dispersed, for that almost all the townes being lost, the occasion of seruice ceassed, and they were returned to their houses. But the desire he had to win for himselfe the borough of *S. Sepulcher* (a place neare to *Citta de Castello*) hindered the better counsell, notwithstanding (to couer his couetousnesse) he alledged that it was not sure to leaue behind his backe any place that was enemy; therefore he returned towards *Anguiaro*, which place hauing onely this constancie to abide till the artilleries were planted, hauing no meanes of defence, yeelded to discretion, without excepting any thing. From thence he marched to the borough of *S. Sepulcher*, which he tooke by accord, and so drawing towards *Casentin*, and arriuing at the village of *Rassina*, he sent to summon the towne of *Poppie*, of strong situation, but wherein were very few souldiers: but the reputation of the *French* armes supplied their want of forces, for that two hundred Lances arriued already neare *Florence* vnder Captaine *Imbault*, and not daring for lacke of footmen to affront the enemy, were marched to *S. Iohn d'Arno*, with intention to reassemble in that place all the bands. Which being knowne to *Vitellozze*, and fearing lest his absence would be inconuenient for them of *Aretze*, he retired with great diligence from *la Vernia* to the hill called *Ciciliana*, within two miles of *Quarata*, and from thence drawing on three miles further, to declare that he feared not the enemy, and to assure *Rhondina* with other places thereabouts, he incamped in a strong place on that side to *Rhondina*, hauing left certaine bands of footmen for the guard of *Ciuitella* and *Gargonse*, which were the wayes by the which the *Florentine* bands might enter into the countrey. These companies (there being also arriued two hundred Lances more vnder Captaine *la Hire*) assembled betweene *Montcuarche* and *Laterina*, with intention, that as soone as they had gathered a strength of three hundred footmen, to go incampe neare *Vitellozze* vpon some high hill: whose coming he not purposing to attend, being neither able to keepe that place, nor leuie his campe without great danger, he retired neare to the walls of *Aretze*. But the *French* taking the field with their whole army, and incamping right ouer against *Quarata*, he was driuen to retire within *Aretze*; and though he had alwayes said, that he would performe a notable defence therein, yet new accidents hapning, he was constrained to turne to new thoughts. For *Iohn Paul Baillon* was come to *Perouse* with his regiment, fearing (by that that was done to the Duke of *Vrbin*) lest he should fall into the like danger. By reason of which example, and no lesse for that which hapned in *Camerin*, *Vitellozze*, *Pandolfe Petrucci*, and the *Vrsins*, fell into great confusion of mind: for, in the very time that the Duke *Valentinois* communed of accord with *Iules de Varana* Lord of *Camerin*, he surprised that Citie by subtle meanes; and hauing *Iules* in his power with two of his sonnes, he caused them to be strangled with the same inhumanitie which he vsed against others. But that which most amazed *Vitellozze*, was, that the *French* King, already come to *Ast*, had sent *Lewis Trimouille* into *Tuscan* with two hundred Lances, and a great strength of artilleries; who already arriued at *Parma*, expected there three hundred *Swissers*, which the King sent, for the recouery of *Aretze*, at the charges of the *Florentines*: for that being much moued against the Pope, he purposed to despoile the Duke *Valentinois* of *Romagna* with other estates occupied by him; and for that effect had sent for all those that either feared his power, or had bene offended by him, whom he assured that he would execute that intention in person, and protested publikly with great affection, that it was an enterprise no lesse full of pietie and deuotion, then if the action were prepared against the *Turkes*. He laid also his plot, at that time to chase out of *Sienna Pandolfe Petrucci*, for that he had sent money to *Lodowike Sforce* when he returned to *Millan*, and alwayes had made open profession to be for the Emperour. But the Pope and Duke *Valentinois* knowing that they were not able to resist so great a storme, had recourse to their subtleties and accustomed crafts, excusing themselues that the action against *Aretze* was done by *Vitellozze* without their knowledge, and that their authoritie sufficed not to restraine him, and much lesse to keepe from aiding him, the *Vrsins* and *Iohn Paul Baillon*, who albeit they were in their pay, yet they were ouer-

Tyrannicall murther vpon the Lord of Camerin and his two sonnes by Duke Valentinois.

ruled

ruled with the regard to their proper intereſts: and the better to bring the mind of the King to moderation, the Duke *Valentinois* ſent to tell *Vitellozze*, that if he reſtored not *Aretze* and the other places of the *Florentines*, he would come with his whole army, and compell him. Which ſummons ioyned to the conſideration of the preſent eſtate of their affaires, bred no litle aſtoniſhment in the mind of *Vitellozze*, fearing leſt (as hapneth for the moſt part) that the ſtrongeſt being reconciled among themſelues, the indignation of the King would turne againſt him, which was the weaker in ſtrength: and therefore he called into *Aretze* the Captaine *Imbault* (contrary notwithſtanding to the wils of the *Florentines*, who defired that the townes loſt might be redeliuered freely in the field) who compounded that *Vitellozze* departing immediatly with all his companies, ſhould conſigne *Aretze* with all the other places to the *French* Captaines to hold them in the Kings name, vntill the Cardinall *Vrſin*, who went to the King, had ſpoken with his Maieſtie: and that in the meane while, there ſhould enter into *Aretze* no other companies then one of the *French* Captaines with fortie horſemen; for whoſe ſuretie, and no leſſe for obſeruation of the articles promiſed, *Vitellozze* ſhould giue two of his Nephewes in hoſtage to Captaine *Imbault*. But as ſoone as the accord was paſſed, he went with all his companies and artillery from *Aretze*, leauing to the *French* men the whole poſſeſſion of all the other places, which were preſently by the Kings commiſſion deliuered ouer to the *Florentines*, who found true the anſwer that Captaine *Imbault* made whileſt the parley of accord continued, flowting at their complaints; who ſaid, that he could not diſcerne wherein conſiſted that famous wiſedome of the *Florentines*, ſeeing they knew not, the ſooner to aſſure the victory without difficultie and expences, and to auoide the perill of other diſorders, which by the nature of the *French* might happen by want of victuals or by other meanes; that they ought to deſire that *Aretze* in any ſort might fall into the hands of the King, who was not bound to beare regard (but in ſuch ſort as he thought good) to the promiſes made by his Captaines to *Vitellozze*. But the *Florentines* being deliuered with great facilitie, but not without huge expences, of ſo terrible and vnlooked for an aſſault, began to looke to the redreſſing of the policie of their Cõmonweale; by the confuſion and diſorders whereof, experience had made knowne, yea euen to the eſtate of the communaltie, that they were fallen into ſo great dangers, for that by the often change of magiſtrates, and for the name of a few that were ſuſpected to the people, there was not one, whether he were a publike or a priuate perſon, in whom reſted a perpetuall care of the affaires. But for that tyrannie was abhorred almoſt of the whole Citie, and the authoritie of perſonages moſt honeſt was ſuſpected of the multitude, it being not poſſible to ordaine with common deliberation a perfect forme of gouernment, the ignorant ſort and incapable being not able to be conuinced with reaſon; it was determined to introduce for the time, this onely new thing, that the *Gonfalonnier* of iuſtice, chiefe of the dominion, and whoſe creation (together with it) was for the time of two moneths, ſhould be choſen hereafter for his whole life, to the end that ſo he might haue a continuall ſtudy and care ouer the publike affaires, ſo that through negligence they might not fall eſtſoons into ſo great dangers. And it was hoped, that with the authoritie which the qualitie of his perſon would giue him, and for that he was to remaine perpetually in ſo great dignitie, he ſhould winne ſuch opinion of faith and credite with the people, that with time he might eaſily reeſtabliſh the other parts of the gouernment; and withall, placing citizens of greateſt condition in ſome degrees honorable, he might conſtitute a meane betweene himſelfe and the communaltie, by the which the ignorance and libertie popular being tempered, and all ſuch bridled as ſhould ſucceed him in the ſame dignitie, if they would aſpire or riſe too high, he might leaue eſtabliſhed a wiſe and honorable gouernment, with many good circumſtances to containe the Citie in peace. After this deliberation was well debated and reſolued, there was choſen for *Gonfalonnier*, by the great Councell, with a concourſe and conſent of almoſt all the Citizens, *Peter Soderin*, who was a man of ripe yeares, of great wealth, and noble parentage, bearing a reputation of integritie, continencie, and to haue alwayes nouriſhed great care of the publicke buſineſſe; and he was alſo without children, a point not of the leaſt conſideration, for that they might breed occaſions to lift vp his thoughts to ambitious purpoſes.

Diſorder in Florence touching the gouernment.

Peter Soderin choſen chiefe magiſtrate during his life.

But now to returne to the affaires common and generall: As ſoone as the *French* King was come to *Aſt*, all the Princes and free cities of *Italy* (according to their cuſtome) ranne to him, ſome in perſon, and ſome by Embaſſadours; amongſt whom was the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua* (who was but litle truſted, and as litle welcome,) and *Baptiſtin Vrſin* Cardinall,

The French king in Aſt.

nall, who went thither againſt the Popes will, to iuſtifie his brethren and *Vitellozze* touching the action of *Aretze*, and to ſtirre vp the King againſt the Pope and the Duke *Valentinois*, againſt whom (conſidering the vehemencie ſhewed afore by the King) all *Italy* expected with great deſire, that the *French* forces might be oppoſed. But experience declareth this to be true, that that which many deſire, ſucceedeth rarely; for that the effects of humane actions depending ordinarily of a few, & the intentions and ends of them differing from the meanings and ends of many, hardly can things ſucceed otherwiſe then according to the intention of thoſe that plotted them. Euen ſo it happened in this caſe; for intereſts and ends particular induced the King to make deliberations contrary to the deſire vniuerſall: and that which moued the King, was not ſo much the diligence of the Pope, (who ceaſſed not, by the negociation of men ſpeciall, to labour to appeaſe him) as the counſell of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who nouriſhed a perpetuall deſire to maintaine amitie between the Pope and the King, induced perhaps thereunto (beſides the weale and vtilitie of his King) for his owne particular profite; both for that the Pope continued vnto him his legation ouer the Realme of *France* for eighteene moneths, and alſo for that ſtudying carefully to lay foundations to raiſe himſelfe to the Popedome, he ſought to obtaine of him the promotion of his kindred and dependants whileſt he was in the Cardinalſhip; and withall he iudged that to haue the reputation to be a louer and protector of the eſtate Eccleſiaſtike, was a thing that might much ſerue to his intention. Touching theſe deuices, the conditions of the time preſent were very conuenient to draw the King to fauour his counſels, for that he was in ſuſpition with the Emperour, who could not be appeaſed nor kept in quiet, hauing of new ſent to *Trent* many bands of horſemen with a certaine proportion of footmen, and made alſo great offers to the Pope to aide him to paſſe into *Italy* to take the Crowne Imperiall; and euery enterpriſe of the Emperour fell into more great conſideration, for that the King knew that it ſtood not with the liking of the *Venetians*, that the Duchie of *Millan* and Realme of *Naples* ſhould be in his poſſeſſion. To this was added the controuerſie which he had with the foure Cantons of the *Swiſſers*, who required him to giue vp to them the rights he had to *Bellinzone*, and withall to redeliuer into their poſſeſſion *Voltelino*, *Schafouſe*, with other immoderate demands, threatning him that otherwiſe they would enter confederation with *Maximilian*: which difficulties ſeemed to the King ſo much the more great, by how much he was out of all hope at that time to accord with the King of *Spaine*. For, albeit the *French* King had made motions to haue *Federike* reſtored to the kingdome of *Naples*, and for that cauſe had brought him with him into *Italy*, and that the negociation ſtill continued to eſtabliſh a truce for a time, euery one retaining that he poſſeſſed; yet both in the one and the other practiſe, there concurred ſo many difficulties, that the *French* King with great diſcontentment diſmiſſed from his Court the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours. For which reaſons the Pope hauing ſent to his Maieſtie, one *Trochio* his Chamberlein, in whom he had put great confidence, and as well he as the Duke *Valentinois* promiſing to aide him with all their power in the warre of *Naples*, he determined to remaine in the amitie of the Pope: and therefore vpon the returne of *Trochio* to *Rome*, the Duke *Valentinois* following the anſwer he brought, went ſecretly in poſt to find the King, arriued then at *Millan*; of whom, contrary to the common expectation, and no leſſe to the diſpleaſure of all men, he was receiued with honours and entertainments farre greater then was the Kings cuſtome. By reaſon whereof, the King holding it now no more neceſſary to keepe his army in *Tuſcan*, ſent a countermand to haue them come into *Lombardie*, hauing afore receiued into his protection the *Sienneys* and *Pandolfe Petrucci*, with condition to pay him fortie thouſand duckats at dayes limited. After this the ſtirres of *Maximilian* began to grow cold, in ſo much as the Kings thoughts had now no other exerciſe, then to deuiſe vpon the things of *Naples*, which till then ſeemed to haue ſucceeded happily to him, there being yet for the time to come hopes of greater proſperitie. For, he was no ſooner come into *Italy*, then he diſpatched thither by ſea two thouſand *Swiſſers*, and more then ten thouſand *Gaſcoines*, who ioyning to the ſtrength of the Viceroy (occupying already all *Capitanato* except *Manfredonia* and *S. Ange*) incamped before *Canoſa*, which *Peter* of *Nauarre* kept with ſixe hundred *Spaniards*; who, after he had made a valiant reſiſtance for many dayes, and receiuing direction from *Gonſalue*, not to abide the extremitie of dangers, for feare to loſe ſo many well trained and reſolute bodies, rendred the towne to the *French*, their goods and liues ſaued. By reaſon of this accident, the *Spaniards* holding now no more place neither in *Powilla*, *Calabria*, nor *Capitanato*, beſides the peeces afore named, and *Barletto*,

Duke Valentinois with the French king.

Iesto, *Andria*, *Gallipoli*, *Tarenta*, *Cosenze*, *Quierace*, *Seminare*, and a few others by the sea; and being farre inferiour in strength and numbers, *Gonsalue* retired with the army to *Barletto*, without money, with scarcitie of victuals, and with no lesse want of munitions. But touching the last want, he was somewhat recomforted by a secret consent of the *Venetians*, who did not restraine him to buy at *Venice* a great quantitie of saltpeter: whereof the *French* King complaining, was answered, that it was an action without their knowledge done onely by certaine particular merchants; and that at *Venice*, which is a free Citie, it was neuer forbidden to any to exercise their negociation and traffike for merchandize. When *Canosa* was taken, the *French* Captaines (debating the present difficulties, but chiefly that for want of water the whole army could not continue incamped about *Barletto*, an opinion maintained against the counsels and protestations of *Monsieur d'Aubigny*) determined that one part of their people, which they said were in number twelue hundred Lances, and ten thousand footmen of all natures, should remaine still to continue a forme of siege about the confines of *Barletto*, and the other part should be employed to recouer the residue of the Realme: a deliberation (in the coniectures of wise men) which, ioyned to the ordinary negligence of the *French* nation, brought great hurt to their enterprise. The Viceroy immediatly vpon this resolution, made himselfe Lord of all *Powilla*, except *Tarenta*, *Otrante*, and *Gallipoly*: after which successe he returned to the siege of *Barletto*, and *Monsieur d'Aubigny* at the same time entring into *Calabria* with the other part of the army, sacked the Citie of *Cosenze*, the Rocke remaining still in the power of the *Spanish*; and afterwards all the *Spaniards* that were in that prouince, ioyning with the other bands that were come from *Sicilia*, were broken by *Monsieur d'Aubigny* in one encounter. These prosperities being all happened, or vpon the point to succeed whilest the *French* King was in *Italy*, made him not onely negligent in the continuation of necessary prouisions (by the benefite whereof he might easily haue chased the enemies out of the whole kingdome,) but also tooke from him all doubt to returne into *France*, and that so much the more, by how much he hoped to obtaine (which hope was not in vaine) a long truce with the Emperour. But at his departure out of *Italy*, men began to discerne, to their great maruell, what had bene treated vpon with the Duke *Valentinois*, whom (accepting his iustification touching the action of *Aretze*) he had not onely receiued againe into grace, but also in recompence of the oath and promise made by the Pope and him to aide his Maiestie in the warre of *Naples* when need should be, he had for his part giuen them promise to support the Duke with three hundred Lances to conquer *Bologna* in the name of the Church, and to oppresse *Iohn Paul Baillon* and *Vitellozze*: being drawne to beare such immoderate fauours to the greatnesse of the Pope, either for the ill aduised opinion he had to make him his whole and true friend by so great benefites, which would be a meanes that not one durst offer to attempt any thing against him in *Italy*; or else for that he did not so much assure himselfe of his friendship, as he feared his ill will. To these respects were adioyned, the particular disdaine which he bare against *Iohn Paul*, *Vitellozze*, and the *Vrsins*, for that they made no reckoning of the authority of his commandements to forbeare to offend the *Florentines*: and *Vitellozze* in particular, had refused to restore the artilleries he tooke at *Aretze*, and also hauing demanded safe-conduct to come to the Kings presence, and obtained the same, did after refuse to go. Besides all these, the King held it a thing not vnprofitable to the course of his affaires, to hold the *Italian* Captaines oppressed; besides that either by the subtiltie of the Pope and the Duke *Valentinois*, or by the perswasions of some others, he began to feare lest they and the *Vrsins* might in the end embrace the faction of the *Spanish* King, and enter into his pay. Then the Duke *Valentinois* hauing leaue of the King at *Ast*, returned into *Romagna*, notwithstanding the King afore had giuen hopes to such as feared his ambition, that for the common suretie, he would take him with him into *France*. His returning touched not onely the minds of those against whom were kindled his former indignations, but also of many others, for that the same feare occuped *Pandolfe Petrucci* and the *Vrsins*, who were conioyned almost in one selfe cause with *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Paul Baillon*: and the Duke of *Ferrara* had more feare for the infidelitie and ambition both of him and his father, so that he had no assurance in regard of kindred: and the *Florentines*, notwithstanding they had recouered their places by the Kings fauour, had no lesse feare then the others (being ill prouided of men at armes) for that the King reposing no trust in the Marquis of *Mantua*, for the intelligences he had with the Emperour, at such time as he had feare of his armes, and albeit at *Millan* he receiued him to reconcilement and grace; yet would he neuer consent

Duke Valentinois in grace with the French king againe.

that

that they ſhould entertaine him as their Captaine generall: knowing withall by many ſignes, that the Pope and the Duke *Valentinois* continued in the ſame inclination which they had againſt them, and ſpecially, for that (to keepe them in perpetuall ſuſpition) they gathered together all the exiles of *Aretze* and the other townes. And the feare of all theſe increaſed, when they conſidered how mightie ſuch enemies were in armes, in money, and in authoritie, how much in all actions fortune had bene fauourable vnto them; and that notwithſtanding the great riches they had gotten by their victories, their couetouſneſſe was neuer the more ſatisfied, nor moderated, but (like vnto a fire continually nouriſhed with wood) it became infinite and vnmeaſurable. Beſides, it was feared leſt they abuſing the reſpect the King bare them, wold riſe into boldneſſe to attempt any thing euen againſt his wil; wherein both the father & the ſon publiſhed now with open mouth, that it repented them too much of the great regard and doubt they had vſed touching the action of *Aretze*, being aſſured that the King, according to the *French* nature, and by the many fauours and meanes they had in his Court, would alwayes beare with any thing they ſhould do, notwithſtanding they were to his diſliking. And thoſe that were occupied with theſe feares, could promiſe themſelues no ſecuritie for being taken into the Kings protection; for that of very late and freſh memory, notwithſtanding his promiſe, he had ſuffered the Lord of *Plombin* to be deſpoiled, and was nothing moued at the wrong that was done to the Duke of *Vrbin*, whom he had taken into his defence, when he ſent his army to *Naples*, becauſe he furniſhed him with fiftie men at armes for his ſeruice in that warre. But the example of *Iohn Bentiuole* was more freſh, and gaue them more cauſe of feare: for, notwithſtanding his Maieſtie in the yeares before, had commanded *Valentinois* not to moleſt thoſe of *Bologna*, alledging that the bonds and couenants which he had with the Pope, were not to be vnderſtood but touching the preheminence and authoritie which the Church had there at that time that the confederation was made betweene them: yet in that very ſeaſon, *Bentiuole* hauing recourſe to his Maieſtie for ſuccours, fearing the great preparations that were made againſt him, the King changed the interpretation of the words according to the diuerſitie of his ends and intentions, and making gloſes vpon the capitulations paſt, rather like a Lawyer then a King, he anſwered, That the protection by the which he was bound to defend him, hindred not the Popes enterpriſe, but touching his perſon and goods particular: for that notwithſtanding the words were generall, yet they were expreſſed with this relation, not to preiudice the rights of the Church, to the which it could not be denied but that the Citie of *Bologna* did appertaine: and for that alſo, in the confederation he had made with the Pope, which was the firſt which he contracted in *Italy*, he was bound that what couenants ſoeuer he ſhould make with others, they ſhould be without conſtruction of preiudice to the rights of the Church. In which deliberation he continued with ſuch impudencie, that by the perſwaſion of the Cardinall *Amboiſe*, contrary to the aduice of all the reſidue of his Councell, he ſent an expreſſe meſſenger to ſignifie at *Bologna*, that that Citie appertaining to the Church, he could not, nor would not deſiſt from fauouring the enterpriſe of the Pope: and that in vertue of his protection, it ſhould be ſuffered to the *Bentiueles* to remaine at *Bologna* as priuate perſons, enioying their particular goods. And this ſo great proſperitie of *Valentinois*, was not onely ſuſpected to theſe men, but euen the *Venetians* alſo began to enter into iealouſie ouer his ambition, being offended with him for that not many moneths afore, ſhewing that he litle eſteemed the authoritie of that Senate, he had rauiſhed the wife of *Iohn Baptiſta Caracciolle* the Generall of their footmen, as ſhe paſſed from *Vrbin* through *Romagna* to ſeeke her husband. Therefore, to giue occaſion to the King to proceed more moderately in his fauour, ſhewing that the reſpect that led them, was the amitie they bare him, and the iealouſie of his honour, they put him in remembrance by their Embaſſadours with words worthy of the grauitie of ſuch a Commonweale: That he ought to conſider what a charge it was to ſupport ſo greatly *Valentinois*, and how ill it became the nobleneſſe of the houſe of *France*, and the glorious title of Chriſtian King, to fauour ſuch a tyrant, ſeeking the ruine of peoples and prouinces, and thirſting ſo ſtrongly after mans bloud, that he might ſerue for an example to all the world of moſt horrible crueltie and infidelitie; by whom, as by a publicke thieſe (notwithſtanding faith giuen) had bene ſlaughtered ſo many Lords and Gentlemen: and not abſtaining from the bloud of his brethren and neareſt kindred, ſometimes by the ſword, and ſometimes with poiſon, he had ſtretched forth his crueltie euen ouer ſuch, who for their age would haue moued the moſt barbarous hearts of the *Turks* to compaſſion. To which words (the interceſſion of the *Venetians* making

him

him perhaps more firme in his opinion) the King answered, that he neither would nor ought to restraine the Pope to dispose according to his wil, of the places that appertained to the Church: in so much as where others abstained in his regard, to oppose against the armes of the Duke *Valentinois*, such as were neareſt the danger determined to prouide for themselues. Therefore the *Vrsins*, *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Paul Baillon*, and *Linerot de Ferme*, who albeit as souldiers of the Duke (who made shew as though he aimed onely at *Bologna*) they had newly receiued mony of him, yet they retired seuerally their companies into places of surety, with intention to knit themselues together for a common defence: to which deuice gaue speedy furtherance, the losse of the Castle *S. Leo*, which reuerted into the power of the Duke of *Vrbin*, by the meanes of a peasant hauing the guard of a certain wall. After which beginning, their naturall Duke being called home by almost all the people of that estate, and coming by sea from *Venice* (whither he was retired) to *Sinigalle*, he quickly recouered all the Duchie, except the fortresses. *The Duke of Vrbin recouereth his estate.*

Then the Cardinall *Vrsin*, who since the Kings departure, fearing to come to *Rome*, stayed at *Montrotonde*, *Paul Vrsin*, *Vitellozze*, *Iohn Paul Baillon*, *Linerot de Ferme*, *Hermes* the sonne of *Iohn Bentiuole*, and in the name of the *Siennois*, *Anthonie de Venafre*, in whom *Pandolfe Petrucci* reposed much, assembled together at *Maisons*, which is a towne in the countrey of *Perousa*, where, after they had discoursed of their manifest dangers, and of the oportunitie they had by the rebellion of the state of *Vrbin*; and for that *Valentinois* (whom they had abandoned) had now but small forces, they made a confederation for their common safetie, against *Valentinois*, and for the succours of the Duke of *Vrbin*, binding themselues one to another, to put into the field seuen hundred men at armes, and nine thousand footmen, with couenant that *Bentiuole* should make warre in the territories of *Imola*, and the others with a greater strength should draw towards *Rimini* and towards *Pesere*. In which league the confederates hauing great care not to incense the mind of the *French* King, and hoping that haply it would not much displease him, that *Valentinois* were vexed by the armes of others, they declared vnder an expresse article, that they both meant and would be bound to rise readily in their proper persons and with their ioyne forces, to obey any commandement or request of his against all men. And for that occasion, they did not admit into that vnion the family of the *Colonnoys*, notwithstanding they were great enemies of the Pope, who had alwayes tormented them. Besides all these, they sought to haue the fauour of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*, offering the *Florentines* to procure restitution of *Pisa*, which they said was in the deuotion of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, for the authoritie he had with the inhabitants. But the *Venetians* remained in suspence, as expecting first what would be the inclination of the *French* King: which also the *Florentines* did, both for the same occasion, and also holding both the one and the other partie as enemie, they feared the victory of either of them. This accident vnlooked for, hapned to the Duke *Valentinois*, in a time wherein he being vpon the point to vsurpe the estates of others, he thought nothing lesse then that others would make inuasions vpon him. But he for the greatnesse of his perill, lost neither courage nor counsell, and reposing much (as he said) in his good fortune, he looked with great diligence into the remedies that were conuenient: and specially for that he saw himselfe almost disarmed, he sent to solicite succours of the *French* King, declaring to him how much it imported him in all aduentures, to serue his turne rather of the Pope and him, then of his enemies, and how fraile was the confidence of *Vitellozze*, and of *Pandolfe*, who, besides that he was the chiefest counseller and inducer of the residue, had in times past giuē many demonstrations of an ill mind to his Maiesty, as in ministring aide to the Duke of *Millan*, and entertaining intelligences with the Emperour. All this notwithstanding he forgat not carefully to make leuies of new companies, his father and he not forgetting in the meane while their old subtilties and ambushments: for the Pope sometimes excusing things that were too apparent, and somtimes denying such as might be doubted, labored with great study to appease the mind of Cardinall *Vrsin* by the trauell of his brother *Iulius*: and the Duke *Valentinois* with disguised apparences and faire promises, sought to appease now one and then another of them, as well to hold them negligent in making their prouisions, as in hope that those practises separate, wold in the end breed them some suspition and disagreement among them, determining not to depart from *Imola* afore he were furnished with a mightie army, but to keepe it and the other places of *Romagna* from giuing succours to the Duchie of *Vrbin*: in which determination he gaue direction to *Dom Hugues de Cardona*, and *Dom Michel*, (who were for him in those quarters with an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horse- *Confederation against Valentinois.* *Duke Valentinois demādeth succours of the French king.*

horſemen, and fiue hundred footmen) to returne to *Rimini*, a commandement which they refuſed to obey, following another occaſion preſented to them to recouer and ſacke *Pergola* and *Foſſambrona*, whereunto they were induced by the caſtle-keepers of thoſe places. But it was eaſily diſcerned by the effect, how much better it had bene to them to haue followed the deliberation of the Duke, for that as they marched towards *Cagly*, they encountred neare *Faſſambrona*, *Paul* and the Duke of *Grauina* (both of the family of the *Vrſins*) with whom there were ſixe hundred footmen of *Vitellozze*, and coming to blowes, the troupes of the Duke *Valentinois* were ouerthrowne, of whom many remained ſlaine, among whom was *Bartholomew Capraniquo* Captaine of threeſcore and ten men at armes, and many were led away priſoners, as *Dom Hugues de Cardona*: *Dom Michel* fled to *Fano*, from whence by the commandement of *Valentinois* he retired eſtſoones to *Peſere*, leauing *Fano* as a place moſt faithfull in the power of the people, for that his ſtrength was not ſufficient to miniſter defence to both the places. In the ſelfe ſame ſeaſons, the regiments of the *Bolonnois* which were incamped in the borough of *S. Peter*, made incurſions to *Doccio* neare to *Imola*. And truly the affaires of *Valentinois* had bene brought into hard ſtraits, if the Coufederates had bene more diligent to offend him: but whileſt they ſtood in expectation one of another, either for that the regiments of men agreed vpon at the dyot, were not yet ready, or elſe that the practiſes of accord held them in ſuſpence; the occaſion, which at the beginning ſeemed fauourable towards them, began to vaniſh: for that the *French* King had giuen direction to *Monſieur Chaumont* to ſend foure hundred Lances to the Duke *Valentinois*, and to aduance beſides, all his other meanes to reduce his affaires into reputation: which being knowne to the Confederates, and they not a litle confuſed and amazed with it, euery one began to looke to his owne buſineſſe. Therefore the Cardinall *Vrſin* continued the practiſes he had begun with the Pope, and *Anthonie de Venafra* (ſent by *Pandolfe Petrucci*) went to *Imola* to ſolicite with *Valentinois*: with whom likewiſe treated *Iohn Bentiuole*, hauing at the ſame time ſent an Embaſſadour to the Pope, and cauſed to be reſtored the things that were robbed at *Doccio*. Theſe practiſes were nouriſhed with wonderfull art by the Duke *Valentinois*, who, iudging that *Paul Vrſin* would be a good meanes to diſpoſe the reſidue to him, he made as though he repoſed great confidence in him, and ſent for him to come to *Imola*, and for his ſuretie, the Cardinall *Borgia* went to the lands of the *Vrſins*. The Duke *Valentinois* vſed very gracious words to *Paul*, complaining not ſo much of him and the reſidue, (who hauing ſerued him long with ſo great fidelitie, were of late eſtranged from him for ſome vaine ſuſpitions) as of his owne indiſcretion, being himſelfe the very occaſion of their iuſt iealouſies, and the onely inſtrument of that diſtruſt that had bene nouriſhed betweene them: but he hoped that this contention and alienation of affection, growing by no other occaſion, would turne it ſelfe into another habite, and in place of grudge and ill will, would breed betweene them and him, a perpetuall and indiſſoluble friendſhip, ſince they might now perceiue they could not oppreſſe him, ſeeing the *French* King was ſo well determined to ſupport his greatneſſe: and he on the other ſide, being made wiſer by the experience of harmes paſt, confeſſed frankly, that all his felicities and reputation proceeded of their counſels and vertue: and therefore deſiring aboue all other things to returne to that ancient faith with them, he was ready to aſſure them in what ſort they would, and alſo to make them iudges (ſo that there were regard had to his dignitie) of the quarrels that were betweene him and the *Bolonnois*. To theſe words appertaining generally to them all, he added particular demonſtrations of the great confidence he had in *Paul*, whom he filled ſo full of hopes and peculiar promiſes, and with ſo great cunning, that he eaſily perſwaded him to beleeue all that he ſaid: a thing eaſie to the Duke by the propertie of his nature, and no leſſe familiar, by the quickneſſe of his wit. But whileſt theſe things were in ſolicitation, the people of *Camerin* called home againe *Iohn Maria de Varana*, ſonne of the late Lord of *Camerin*, who was in *Aquilea*; and *Vitellozze*, with the great complaint of *Valentinois* and *Paul Vrſin*, tooke the Rock of *Foſſambrona*: and the Caſtle of *Vrbin* being likewiſe loſt, with the fortreſſes of *Cagly* and *Agobbio*, there remained no more to him in that ſtate, but Saint *Agatha*, hauing alſo loſt all the countrey of *Fano*. And yet *Paul* continuing the practiſe begun, after he had gone many times from *Imola* to *Bolognia*, to eſtabliſh ſome forme to the affaires of the *Bentiuoles*, who were his kinſmen (for his daughter was married to *Hermes* the ſonne of *Iohn*,) he contracted with *Valentinois* in this ſort; but with this condition, if the contract ſhould be approued by the Cardinall *Vrſin*, by whoſe aduice all the reſidue were gouerned: That all old grudges ſhould be forgot-

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ten, together with the memory of all iniuries paſt: That the ancient payes ſhould be confirmed to the Confederates, with further obligation to go as ſouldiers with Duke *Valentinois* to the recouering of the Duchie of *Vrbin*, and other eſtates which were rebelled: but, for their ſuretie, they ſhould not be bound to ſerue in perſon, otherwiſe then one at a time, nor the Cardinall *Vrſin* to remaine in the Court of *Rome*: That touching the matters of *Bolognia*, there ſhould be made a compromiſe in the perſons of the Duke, Cardinall *Vrſin*, and *Pandolfe Petrucci*. With this concluſion, *Paul Vrſin* (aſſuring himſelfe euery day more and more of the good intention of *Valentinois*) went to find the reſidue, to induce them to ratifie the articles. But *Bentiuole* holding it neither honorable, aſſured, nor reaſonable, that the arbitration of his affaires ſhould be paſſed ouer to another, ſent the Pronotary his ſonne to *Imola*, and receiuing hoſtages from *Valentinois*, he made an accord with him and the Pope, whereunto they condeſcended ſo much the more eaſily, by how much they conſidered that the *French* King coming better to conſider either what an infamy it would be to him, or how much it would import him, that the Citie of *Bolognia* were in their deuotion, would alter his firſt deliberation, and not ſuffer them to obtaine it. Theſe were the conditions of the accord: That there ſhould be a perpetuall confederation betweene the Duke *Valentinois* on the one part, and the *Bentiuoles* together with the communaltie of *Bolognia* on the other part: That the Duke ſhould haue of the *Bolonnois*, appointment of an hundred men at armes for eight yeares, which ſhould be conuerted into the pay of twelue thouſand duckats by the yeare: That the *Bolonnois* ſhould be bound to ſerue him with an hundred men an armes, and an hundred Crosbow ſhot on horſebacke, but onely for the yeare to come: That the *French* King and the *Florentines* ſhould promiſe obſeruation for both the one and other parties: That for the better aſſurance of the peace, the Biſhops ſiſter of *Luna* (who was Nephew to the Pope) ſhould be married to the ſonne of *Annibal Bentiuole*.

Capitulation betweene the Vrſins & Duke Valentinois.

But for all this, the Duke *Valentinois* ceaſſed not to ſolicite the coming of the *French* bands, and the three thouſand *Swiſſers* which he had taken into his pay, vnder colour that he would not employ them againſt the Confederates, but for the recouery of the Duchie of *Vrbin* and *Camerin*, for that the Confederates were already at a point to ratifie the accord paſt. The Cardinall *Vrſin* being then at *Hoſpitalet* in *Sienna*, was ouer-ruled by the perſwaſion of *Paul*, and much prouoked by *Pandolfe Petrucci*: whereunto (although after long contradiction) conſented alſo *Vitellozze* and *Iohn Paul Baillon*, who held the faith of *Valentinois* much ſuſpected. After the ratification of theſe men, the Pope hauing likewiſe ratified, the Duke of *Vrbin*, notwithſtanding the importunities of his people not to go from thence, (promiſing to die at his feet) yet hauing more feare of his enemies then confidence in their popular voices, he returned to *Venice*, and gaue place to the fury of the enemies, hauing firſt diſmantled all the fortreſſes of that ſtate, except thoſe of Saint *Leo* and of *Maiuola*: and the people (*Anthonie Sanſouin* who was afterwards Cardinall, going thither with commiſſion from *Valentinois* to pardon them) agreed to returne vnder his obedience. The Citie of *Camerin* did the like, for that their Lord was fled into the kingdome of *Naples*, being in great feare for that *Vitellozze* and the others, hauing ſent for their bands which were in the countrey of *Fano*, prepared to go againſt him as ſouldiers to *Valentinois*. At which time the Pope made the campe march to *Palombaro*, which the *Sauelles* had recouered, together with *Senzana* and other places appertaining to them, and that by the occaſion of the armies leuied by the Confederates. But the Duke *Valentinois* minding to put to execution his moſt ſecret thoughts, went from *Imola* to *Ceſena*; where he was no ſooner arriued, then the *French* men at armes who were come thither a few dayes before, called backe by *Monſieur Chaumont*, departed ſuddenly from thence, not by commiſſion from the King, but (as was ſuppoſed) for a particular indignation which hapned betweene him and *Valentinois*, or perhaps at his requeſt, to the end he might be leſſe fearfull to thoſe whom he deſired greatly to aſſure. At *Ceſena*, he looked to redreſſe his bands, which were ſtronger then the report went of them, for that expreſly he had made very few great leuies of men, but well payed, and entertained continually many Lanceknights and particular Gentlemen. At the ſame time *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, being ſent by his direction to encampe afore *Sinigalle*, tooke the towne and caſtle, from whence the widow of the Prefect, ſiſter to the Duke of *Vrbin*, fled, being left abandoned and deſolate, notwithſtanding her litle ſonne was vnder the protection of the *French* King, who excuſed himſelfe, for not giuing aide, in that ſhe was a competitor to the league made at *Maiſons*. After the taking of *Sinigalle*, *Valentinois* went to *Fano*, where after he had ſtayed certaine dayes,

to bring all his companies together, he aduertiſed *Vitellozze* and the *Vrſins*, that the day following he would come to lodge at *Sinigalle*, and that in that regard they ſhould beſtow the ſouldiers that were with them within the towne, abroad in the plaines; which was executed according to his direction, the footmen being lodged in the ſuburbes of the towne, and the men at armes diſperſed ſeuerally in the countrey. The ſame day that the Duke came to *Sinigalle*, there went to meete him, *Paul Vrſin*, the Duke of *Grauina*, *Vitellozze*, and *Liuerot de Ferme*, who being receiued by him with very great entertainment, they accompanied him to the gate of the towne, afore the which all the bands of *Valentinois* were beſtowed in order: a maner of dealing, which they could not but ſuſpect, ſpecially to behold a ſtrength greater then they looked for: and when they offered to take their leaue to withdraw to their lodgings which were without the towne, they were deſired to enter with him into the towne, ſeeming to haue need to communicate with them in ſome priuate matter: which they being not able to refuſe, although they began almoſt to deuine of the miſchiefe that was prepared for them, they followed him to his lodging: and being retired with him into a chamber, after he had held them a litle in talke, (for he left them preſently, vnder colour to go ſhift his apparell) he ſent men into the chamber to apprehend them all priſoners, and at the ſame inſtant appointed other companies to ſtrip their ſouldiers. The day following being the laſt of December, to the end that that yeare 1502 might determine with this tragedie, retaining the other priſoners, he cauſed *Vitellozze* and *Liuerot de Ferme* to be ſtrangled in a chamber, whereof the one had no power to eſcape the deſtinie of his houſe, to die a violent death, as all his other brethren had done, after they had won great experience and reputation in armes, the miſchiefe hapning to one after another according to the order of their ages. *Iohn* hauing bene ſlaine by a Canon ſhot, in the campe which Pope *Innocent* ſent againſt *Oſima*; *Camille* being in the pay of the *French*, by a blow with a ſtone before *Circelle*, and *Paul* beheaded at *Florence*. But touching *Liuerot*, no man could denie that he had not an end worthy of his wickedneſſe, being but iuſt and reaſonable, that he ſhould die by treaſon, who a litle before had killed by treaſon (to make himſelfe great in the Citie of *Ferme*) his owne Vnkle, together with many of the principall citizens, whom he had inuited to come banquet with him. That yeare brought forth no other thing worthy of memory, ſauing that *Lodowike* and *Federike* who were of the family of the *Piques*, Counts of *Mirandola*, being chaſed afore by *Iohn Franciſco* their brother, and pretending (notwithſtanding his prerogatiue of yeares and age) that they had the ſame rights that he had, expulſed him by force by the helpe of the Duke of *Ferrara* and *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* father in law to *Lodowike*: a matter not ſo much worthy of memory for it ſelf in particular, as for that in times after, the quarels of theſe brethren ingendred effects of ſome conſequence. The yeare following was farre more full of things memorable and accidents more notable, then any of the former yeares: to the which the diſloyaltie and impietie of the Prince of Chriſtian religion gaue beginning, not knowing what was to happen that yeare as well to his perſon as to his affaires. For the Duke *Valentinois* hauing aduertiſed his father (according to a priuate reſolution betweene them) how well his ambuſhes had ſucceeded with him at *Sinigalle*, the Pope for his part, holding ſecret the aduertiſement, preſently called to the Pallace of *Vatican* vnder colour of ſpeciall occaſions, the Cardinall *Vrſin*, who, truſting in the ſuretie of the accord that was made, and in the faith of him, whom all the world knew neuer to keepe faith with any man, and being driuen more by his deſtinie then by reaſon, was a litle afore gone to *Rome*; and entring the Pallace, he was ſodainly made priſoner: and at the ſame time were alſo taken in their houſes *Renald Vrſin* Archbiſhop of *Florence*, the Pronotary *Vrſin*, the Abbot *Aluiano* brother to *Bartholomew*, and *Iaques de S. Croix* a *Romane* Gentleman, one of the principalleſt of that faction: and after they were led to the Caſtle *S. Ange*, the Pope ſent his ſonne the Prince of *Squillace* to take poſſeſſion of the lands of *Paul* and the others, and with him went the Pronotary, and *Iaques de S. Croix* to make deliuery of them, who were afterwards returned vnder the ſame guard. Then the Pope gibing with a *Spaniſh* ſubtiltie at the traine which his ſon had made, ſcoffed and ſaid, that *Paul Vrſin* and the others being the firſt that had falſified their faith to him, (for that they were bound to go to him but one at once, and came notwithſtanding all together) it was no leſſe lawfull to him to breake his promiſe with them. The Cardinall remained priſoner about twentie dayes, the Pope alledging that he had impriſoned a Cardinall ſo ancient in place, in age, and in authoritie, for many reaſons: but at length the bruite running that the Cardinall was ſicke, he died in the Pallace, of poiſon, as is aſſuredly beleeued: and the Pope, to take away the

Vitellozze and the Vrſins made priſoners by treaſon.

Vitellozze and Liuerot de Ferme ſtrangled.

1503.

Cardinal Vrſin made priſoner.

the opinion, albeit it was his custome not to care for infamies, caused the dead body to be caried to his graue in the broad day, and all bare, accompanied with the kindred of his house, and all the other Cardinals: and the other prisoners were deliuered a litle after, giuing caution to returne when they should be called. *The death of Cardinal Vrsin*

But the Duke *Valentinois*, seeking to ioyne recompence to his wickednesse, departed immediatly from *Sinigalle*, and addressed himselfe to the towne of *Castello*, where finding that such as yet remained of the family of the *Vitelles* had abandoned the citie, he continued his way to *Perousa*; from whence *John Paul* fled, who, destinated to a more slow, but to a greater punishment, being held backe by suspition, was made wiser then the residue touching his going to *Sinigalle*. The Duke left both the one & other cities vnder the name of the Church, hauing placed within *Perousa*, *Charles Baillon*, the *Oddies*, and all the other enemies of *John Paul*. And purposing with so great an opportunitie to ally, to make himselfe Lord ouer *Sienna*, being followed by certaine exiles of the same Citie, he went with the whole army (wherein were newly arriued the aides promised by *Bentiuole*) towards the borough of *Pisa*, where knowing that the Cardinall *Vrsin* was prisoner, he caused the Duke of *Grauina* and *Paul Vrsin* to be strangled, and sent Embassadours to *Sienna* to warne them of the towne to chase out *Pandolfe Petrucci* as his enemy, and the common troubler of the tranquillitie of *Tuscan*; promising that as soone as they had expulsed him, he would returne to *Rome* with his armie, forbearing to do any other oppression to their frontiers. And on the other side, the Pope and he burning in desire, that as *Pandolfe* had bene a companion to the others in life, so he might be also in death, they studied to lull him asleepe with the same subtilties wherewith they had gulled all the others, writing to him billets and letters full of humanitie, and sending to him by messengers expresse, embassages full of affection and kindnesse: But the suspition that occupied the people of *Sienna*, that the Dukes intention was to vsurpe that citie, made his enterprise against *Pandolfe* more hard; for that albeit many of the citizens were oftentimes ill contented with the gouernment of *Pandolfe*, yet they held it better to temporize vnder the tyrannie of a citizen, then to fall into the seruitude of a stranger: so that at the beginning he could obtaine no answer by the which he might hope that *Pandolfe* would depart thence: and yet *Valentinois* continuing vnder the same semblance, that he desired no other thing but that, he won dayly on them, hauing passed *Picnsa* and *Chiusa*, with other places neare to *Sienna*, which yeelded to him by composition. By reason whereof, feare increasing in *Sienna*, and not onely the people, but also some of the chiefest, giuing out, that it was not reasonable, that to support one citizen, the whole citie should suffer so great a danger: *Pandolfe* determined to do that with the good liking and fauour of euery one, which he feared to be constrained to do in the end with the vniuersall hatred of the citie, and his owne greater danger: and therefore by his consent it was signified to *Valentinois*, in the publike name of the Citie, that they were content to gratifie his demands, so that he would retire with all his armie from off their lands. This resolution was accepted (notwithstanding the Pope and he were fixed vpon an action of greater importance) for that they knew how hard a matter it would be to take *Sienna*, both for the greatnesse and strong seate of the towne, and also for the vertue of *John Paul Baillon* commanding within it, who with the souldiers and naturall people of the place, would ioyne in one strength to resist him, if they were once assured that his intentions were contrary to the publication of his promises. To this were added, that the Pope held it necessary for his proper suretie, that his sonne should retire his armie into *Rome*, where he was iealous of some conspiracie, for that *Iulio* and others of the *Vrsins* with many horsemen were withdrawne into *Petillano* and *Fabio*, and *Organtin Vrsin* into *Ceruetre*; and *Mutio Colonno* newly come from the Realme of *Naples*, was entred into *Palombaro* to succour the *Sauellies*, who were newly entred into alliance with the *Vrsins*, and had intelligence with them. But that which tooke from the one and the other, the hope to occupie *Sienna*, was, that it was now manifestly perceiued (although from the beginning men perceiued that he was in great doubt) that the enterprise was directly displeasing to the *French* King: for albeit he could haue wished that *Vitellozza* and the other Confederates should be kept vnder, yet he saw that their whole ruine, ioyned to the conquest of so great estates, made the Pope and *Valentinois* too mightie: and the Citie of *Sienna* and *Pandolfe*, being vnder his protection, and no member of the Church, but an appertenance of the Empire, he thought he might with good reason oppose himselfe against such a conquest. They had hope also that the remouing of *Pandolfe* would cause some confusion in the gouernment *Paul Vrsin strangled.*

of that Citie, and that by that meanes, time would breed occaſion to giue ſome colour to their enterprife. Then *Pandolfe* departed out of *Sienna*, but left there the ſame guard, and the ſame authoritie to his friends and dependants, in ſo much as there appeared no ſigne of alteration in the gouernment. *Valentinois* tooke his way to *Rome*, to deſtroy the *Vrſins*, who, with the *Sauellies*, had won the bridge *Lamentano*, and runne ouer the whole countrey: but they ſtayed from further action, becauſe of the arriuall of the Duke *Valentinois*, who ſuddenly aſſailed the eſtates of *Iohn Iordan*, without any regard that he was not declared againſt him: that he had the Order of *S. Michael*: that he was in the protection of the *French* King, and at that time in the kingdome of *Naples* in his ſeruice. The which action the Pope ſeeking to iuſtifie before the King, alledged that he was not moued by any deſire to deſpoile him of his eſtates, but for that there being ſo great quarels and offences betweene him and the family of the *Vrſins*, he could not ſafely haue him his ſo neare neighbour; and that therefore in recompence of his harmes, he was content to giue him the principalitie of *Squillace*, with other lands of the ſame value and reuenue. But the *French* King not taking theſe reaſons for paiment, was much grieued for that inuaſion, not ſo much for that the regard to his protection preuailed more with him then of cuſtome; but becauſe his affaires in the kingdome of *Naples* ſucceeded not ſo proſperouſly as they had wont to do, he began to hold for ſuſpected the pride and inſolencie of the Pope and his ſonne, calling to mind how in the yeare paſt they had aſſailed *Tuſcan*, and that which afterwards they had aſſayed againſt *Sienna*, notwithſtanding he had promiſed to protect it: and conſidering that by how much the more they had already obtained of him, and for time to come might obtaine, by ſo much the more was their ambition growne great, and hereafter would grow more great, he ſent to command *Valentinois* with a ſharpe meſſage to forbeare to moleſt the ſtate of *Iohn Iordan*, who was come to *Bracciano* by wayes vnknowne, not without great perill. And further, conſidering how neceſſary it was to be aſſured that there ſhould riſe no commotion in *Tuſcan*, ſpecially for that he vnderſtood that in *Sienna* there was ſome beginning of ciuill diſcords; he began by the counſell of the *Florentines* to ſolicite that *Pandolfe Petrucci* (who was retired to *Piſa*) might returne eftſoones to *Sienna*; and that betweene the *Florentines*, *Siennois*, and *Bolonnois*, might be contracted an vnitie for their common defence, rendring *Montpulcian* to the *Florentines*, to take away all occaſion of diſſention: and that euery one of them, according to his power, ſhould make prouiſion of men at armes for their common defence, to the end to take from the Pope and his ſonne, all meanes to ſtretch further their iuriſdiction into *Tuſcan*. In this meane while the Duke *Valentinois*, with one part of his armie, had taken *Vicouaro*, wherein were ſixe hundred men for *Iohn Iordan*: but hauing receiued the commandement from the *French* King, he left (to the great diſpleaſure of the Pope and him) the enterpriſe of *Bracciano*, and went to incampe afore *Cery*, where, with *Iohn Vrſin* Lord of the place, were *Ranſe* his ſonne, with *Iulio* and *Francis* of the ſame family: and at the ſame time his father proceeded by way iudiciall againſt all the houſe of *Vrſins*, except *Iohn Iordan* and the Count *Petillane*, againſt whom the *Venetians* would not endure that any wrong ſhould be done. *Cery* is a towne very ancient, and no leſſe notable for the ſtrong ſituation, for that it is ſeated vpon a litle hill, or rather vpon a litle rocke which is all of one onely ſtone, whither the ancient *Romanes* after their ouerthrow by the *French* men, neare the riuer of *Alie*, now called *Caminate*, deſpairing to be able to defend *Rome*, ſent for this cauſe their Veſtall virgins, and the moſt ſecret and celebrate images of their gods, with many other things ſacred and religious, as into a place of ſpeciall ſuretie: and for the ſame reaſon in the times following, it was free from violation in the rage of the *Barbarians*, at ſuch time as by the declination of the *Romane* Empire, they ranſackt all *Italy* with wonderfull furie. By meanes whereof, as well by his naturall ſtrength, as for that it was manned with a reſolute companie, the enterpriſe was hard to *Valentinois*, who, to obtaine it, forgat no diligence nor induſtrie, vſing, beſides the ordinary engines of warre, certaine inſtruments of wood to ſurmount the height of the walls. But whileſt he was there, *Francis Nardy* (ſent to *Sienna* by the *French* King) publiſhed his Maieſties intention, that *Pandolfe* ſhould returne, of whom he had receiued promiſe before to continue in his deuotion, and for his ſuretie to pay to him that which was due of the reſidue of the fortie thouſand duckats which had bene accorded, and to reſtore *Montpulcian* to the *Florentines*, to ſend his eldeſt ſonne into *France*: a reſolution plauſible to them of *Sienna*, who, becauſe there ſhould be no impediment to the coming of *Pandolfe*, ioyned to the reputation of the Kings name, the open fauours of the *Florentines*, and the diſpoſition

of

of thoſe in the towne that were his friends, who drawing into armes and ſtrength the night before he ſhould come, held ſuppreſſed, or at leaſt kept in a compelled quietneſſe all ſuch as were of the contrary opiniõ. This hapned to the great diſpleaſure of the Pope, whoſe affaires in other places ranne in a happie courſe, for that *Palombare* with other peeces of the *Sauelleis*, were rendred to him: and thoſe that were within *Cery*, ſuffering many and continuall afflictions of warre, after the fury of ſundry aſſaults, at laſt yeelded, with couenant that the Pope ſhould pay a certaine proportion of money to *Iohn* who was Lord of the place, and to let go with him in ſafetie all the reſidue within *Petillane*; which was ſincerely obſerued, contrary to the cuſtome of the Pope, and againſt the expectation of all men.

The affaires of the *French* in the kingdom of *Naples*, proceeded not with ſuch good ſucceſſe, being incumbred with many difficulties euen from the beginning of the yeare. For, the Count *de Melete* being incamped at *Villeneufue* with the regiments of the Prince of *Salerne* and *Biſignian*, *Don Hugues de Cardona* paſſed from *Meſſina* into *Calabria* with eight hundred footmen *Spaniſh*, (who hauing bene in the pay of *Valentinois*, he had brought from *Rome*,) and with an hundred horſemen, and eight hundred other footmen as well *Calabrians* as *Sicilians*, and being arriued at *Seminare*, marched towards *Villeneufue* to reſcue it: which as ſoone as the Count *Melete* vnderſtood, he raiſed his ſiege from before *Villeneufue*, and went to meete him. The *Spaniards* marched along a plaine, ſtrait and narrow, betweene the mountaine and a brooke, where was not much water, but is ioyned to the way with a litle riſing: and the *French* men who were the greater number, marched right to them beneath the brooke, deſiring to draw them into a large place; but ſeeing how they marched cloſe and in firme order, and fearing that if they cut not off their way, they would get in ſafetie into *Villeneufue*, they paſſed ouer to the other ſide of the brooke to charge them: in which encounter they were broken, the valour of the *Spaniſh* footmen no leſſe then the aduantage of the place, helping indifferently to the victory. Soone after arriued by ſea out of *Spaine* at *Meſſina*, two hundred men at armes, two hundred horſemen mounted vpon Iennets, and two thouſand footmen, led by *Manuel de Benauide*, with whom came into *Italy* *Anthonie de Leua*, at that time a meane ſouldier, but afterwards riſing by all degrees of warre, to the eſtate of Captaine generall, he obtained in *Italy* many goodly victories. Theſe companies being paſſed from *Meſſina* to *Regge* in *Calabria*, which the *Spaniſh* had taken before, (*Monſieur d'Aubigny* being then in the other part of *Calabria*) and from thence incamped at *Loſarna*, within fiue miles of *Calimere*: into which place *Ambricourt* was entred two dayes before with thirtie Lances, and the Count *de Melete* with a thouſand footmen, and preſenting themſelues the morning following by breake of day before the walls of the towne, wherein were no gates but barres onely, they forced it at the ſecond aſſault, although thoſe within defended themſelues valiantly. Captaine *Eſprit* remained dead, and *Ambricourt* made priſoner; but the Count *de Melete* in flying to the rocke, found ſafetie, the victors retiring forthwith to *Villeneufue* for feare of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, who came on marching with three hundred Lances, three thouſand footmen ſtrangers, and two thouſand of the countrey. After which accident, *Monſieur d'Aubigny* incamping at *Poleſtrina* within two miles of them, and their perill increaſing by neceſſitie of victuals, they diſcamped ſecretly in the night to go to *Quiercy*: but being followed by the bands of *Monſieur d'Aubigny* vnto the riſing of a crabbed mountaine, they loſt threeſcore men at armes and many footmen: and of the *French* was ſlaine Captain *Grigni* putting himſelfe too forward, whom they eſteemed much, leading the regiment that had bin vnder ỹ Count *Caiazze* who died by a natural death a litle afore the taking of *Capua*. At the ſame time came out of *Spaine* by ſea into *Sicily* theſe new companies, two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen, gouerned by Captaine *Porto Carrera*, who dying at *Regge* as he paſſed with his regiment, the charge remained to *Fernand d'Andrado* his Lieutenant: for the arriuall of whom, the *Spaniards* that were retired to *Quiercy* tooke new courage, and returned to *Villeneufue*, where they fortified themſelues in that part of the towne which they held ioyning to the Caſtle, which is at the entry of a valley, whereunto is conioyned the reſidue of the towne: and this they did, and not in vaine, for the feare they had of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*; who being come from *Poleſtrina* with great diligence, was incamped in that part which was not holden by the *Spaniſh*, euery one planting barres and fortifications requiſite for their proper ſafetie. But *Monſieur d'Aubigny* vnderſtanding that the *Spaniſh* regiments that were deſcended to *Regge*, drew neare to make one ſtrength with the other bands, retired to *Loſarno*, and the enemies following

lowing the commoditie of victuals, put themſelues altogether within *Seminare*. Whileſt things went in this ſort in *Calabria*, the Viceroy for the *French* returning towards *Barletto*, lodged at *Matera*, and diſperſed his bands in ſeuerall places thereabouts, to giue impediments that no victuall ſhould enter *Barletto*, and hoping that by reaſon of the plague and ſcarſitie of victuals which was therein, the *Spaniſh* could not remaine there long, nor reduce themſelues into *Trany* where the ſame difficulties raged. But in ſuch incommodities and dangers, their reſolution was wonderfull, confirmed by the vertue and diligence of *Gonſaluo*, who ſometimes giuing them hopes of a ready arriuall of two thouſand Lanceknights, which he had ſent *Octauian Colonne* into *Almaine* to leuie, ſometimes promiſing other ſuccours, and laſtly cauſing a bruite to be publiſhed that he would go to *Tarente* by ſea, he entertained them in their courage, but much more by his owne example, chearfully ſuffering in his owne perſon all their trauels, with the great want of victuals and other neceſſaries. The warre brought to this paſſe, thoſe that till that day had bin inferiours, began now by the negligence and inſolencie of the *French*, to become ſuperiours. For, the men of *Caſtellanetto*, a place neare to *Barletto*, becoming deſperate for the oppreſſions & wrongs which fiftie men at armes of the *French* which were lodged there, did them, drew into armes by common aſſent, and ſtripped them. And not many days after, *Gonſaluo* being aduertiſed that *Monſieur de Paliſſa* remaining with an hundred lances and three hundred footmen in the towne of *Rubos*, twelue miles from *Barletto*, ſtood negligently vpon his guard, he marched one night from *Barletto* to *Rubos*, where hauing with a wonderfull diligence, planted certaine peeces of artillery, which he had eaſily brought thither, by reaſon of the plainneſſe of the way, he aſſaulted the towne with ſuch a fury, that the *French* (who looked for nothing leſſe) being aſtonied at ſo ſodain and vnexpected an aſſault, after a weak reſiſtance, rendred the place,

Monſ. de Paliſſa made priſoner.

Monſieur de Paliſſa with the reſidue remaining priſoners; and the ſame day *Gonſaluo* returned to *Barletto*, without danger to receiue in retiring any domage by the Duke of *Nemours*, who a litle before was come to *Canoſa*, for that his companies being diſpoſed into ſeuerall places to keep *Barletto* beſieged on many ſides, and haply for their greater commoditie, could not be aſſembled in ſufficient time: and beſides that, fiftie *French* Lances, ſent to make prey of certaine money caried from *Trany* to *Barletto*, were ouerthrowne by ſuch as *Gonſaluo* had ſent for the ſuretie of the treaſure. To theſe alſo might be added another accident, which diminiſhed greatly the valour of the *French* men, and which was the proper worke and effect of valour, and not to be attributed to the iniquitie of fortune. For a Trumpet going to *Barletto* to ſolicite the ranſome of certaine ſouldiers taken at *Rubos*, certaine ſpeeches were vttered againſt the *French*, by ſome of the *Italian* men at armes, which being carried by the Trumpet to the *French* campe, and anſwer eſtſoones returned to the *Italians*, bred ſuch enuie in both parts, that to iuſtifie the honour of their ſeuerall nations, they agreed that thirteene men at armes of the *French* and thirteene *Italians* ſhould fight in combat to the vtterance within liſts, vntill the one or the other were maſters; and that the place of the combat ſhould be aſſigned in a champaine betweene *Barletto*, *Andria*, and *Quadrato*, where they ſhould be accompanied with an equall number of attendants. Neuertheleſſe to aſſure them from ambuſcados, the Captaines with the greateſt part of both the armies, accompanied their Champions to the mid way, comforting them, that for that they were choſen out of the whole armie, they ſhould with action and courage anſwer the expectation that was had of them, the ſame being ſuch, that in their hands and vpon their valour was repoſed by common conſent, the honour of ſo noble nations. The Viceroy of the *French* declared to his, that their aduerſaries were the ſelfe ſame *Italians*, who hauing no courage to abide the *French* men, had alwayes made them way, without expreſſing any triall of their vertue ſince they had runne euen from the *Alpes* to the vtmoſt limites of *Italy*: and that they were not now puſhed forward with any other nobleneſſe of ſpirit, or new reſolution of mind; but being mercenary to the *Spaniards* and ſubiect to their commandements, they had no libertie to reſiſt the will of thoſe men, whoſe cuſtome being to fight not with valour but with ambuſhes, made them ſelues beholders and idle lookers on the dangers of others: and that aſſoone as the *Italians* ſhall be entred into the liſts, and ſee before them the armes and fury of ſuch as had alwaies ouercome them, returning to their accuſtomed feares, they will not haue the courage to fight, or fighting fearfully, ſhould eaſily become their prey; the foundation layed vpon the vaine brags and braueries of the *Spaniſh*, being no ſufficient target againſt the weapons of the victorious. On the other ſide, *Gonſaluo* kindled the minds of the *Italians* with perſwaſions no leſſe forcible, reducing

A combat of thirteene Frenchmen againſt thirteen Italians.

to

to their remembrance the ancient honours of that nation, and the reputation and glory of their armes, wherewith they had heretofore tamed the whole world: That it was now in the power of a few, (not being inferiour to the vertue of their elders) to make knowne to all men, that though *Italy*, whose valour had vanquished the most regions of the world, had bene of late yeares ouerrunne by forreine armies, it was by no other occasion, then the indiscretion of her Princes, who by ambition disagreeing among themselues, had called in strange armies to ruinate one another: That the *French* had neuer obtained any victory in *Italy* by their owne strength or vertue, but by the aide of the counsell or armes of the *Italians*, who had suffered them to passe so farre into the bowels of their countrey, not by the terrour or agilitie of their armes, but by the fury of their canons, which were fearfull, being new and vnaccustomed in *Italy*: That they were now to fight with the force and vertue of their proper persons, and that not onely in the presence of so great a Nobilitie of their owne side, but also in the spectacle and eye of the principall nations of Christendome; who, as well of the one part as of the other, had an honourable desire of their victory: That they had to remember that they were brought vp by the most famous Captaines of *Italy*, and by them continually trained in armes, and that euery one of them had in many actions giuen an honorable experience of their vertue: and that therefore either the honour to readdresse the name of *Italy* with that glory wherein it had bene not onely in the yeares of their elders, but also in their owne times, was by destinie appointed to them; or else (so great an honour not being won by their hands) there could be no expectation, that *Italy* should remaine in any other state, then dishonorable and in perpetuall seruitude. And the other Captains and particular souldiers of both the armies, did no lesse encourage the parties appointed for the combat, vehemently vrging them to shew themselues such as they were, to raise by their proper vertue the noblenesse and glory of their nation. With these perswasions being brought into the field full of courage and eagernesse, and the one part being placed on the one side of the Palissado, directly opposite to the place where their aduersaries were placed; when the signe was giuen, they ranne together furiously with their Lances; at which encounter no aduantage inclining to either part, they shewed the same emulation of mind in the action of their other weapons, euery one of them excellently shewing what he could do; so as it was secretly confessed by all those that were lookers on, that out of all the armies on both factions, could not be chosen more valiant and worthy souldiers to performe so glorious a proofe. But when they had fought a good space of time, the ground being couered with tronchions and peeces of their armours, and somewhat dyed with the bloud that dropped from all parts, without that the aduantage of the fight could be iudged; as they were beholden with a wonderfull silence by such as were present, and almost in no lesse trauell and passion of mind, then if they themselues had bin the combatants, it hapned that *William Albemont* one of the *Italians* was striken from his horse by a *French* man, who as he ran furiously to kill him, *Francis Salamone* running hastily to help his companion, killed the *French* man with a wonderful blow; who vsing all his diligence to dispatch *Albemont*, tooke no heed to the other: and then together with *Albemont* who was gotten vp againe, and *Miale* who was on foote sore hurt, taking in hand their bore-speares which they had brought thither for that purpose, they killed many of their enemies horses, by meanes whereof the *French* men beginning to decline, were all made prisoners, some to one, some to another of the *Italians*: who being receiued of their companies with great ioy, and meeting afterward *Gonsaluo*, who attended them in the mid way, were welcomed of him with such honours, as appertained to their merites: and being congratulated of all, as men whose valours had restored *Italy* to her former glory and honour, they entred *Barletto* in triumph, their prisoners being led afore them, the aire resounding with the sound of Drummes and Trumpets, with the noise of the artillery, and with the clapping of hands and military cries, deseruing that euery *Italian* should do his best endeuour to perpetuate their memory, by publishing the same in writing. These were their names, *Hector Fieramosque* of *Capua*, *Iohn Cappocio*, *Iohn Bracalone* and *Hector Iuuenal Romanes*, *Marke Carellario* of *Naples*, *Marian* of *Sarni*, *Romanello* of *Furly*, *Lodowike Aminale* of *Terni*, *Franciscque Salamone* and *William Albemont Sicilians*, *Miale* of *Troy*, and the Captaine *Riccio* and *Fanfulle* of *Parme*, all brought vp in armes, either vnder the King of *Aragon* or vnder the *Colonnois*. And it is incredible, how much this victory diminished the courage of the *French* armie, and caused boldnesse in the *Spaniards*, euery one construing this experience of a few, to a prophesie of the absolute issue of the whole warre.

About

Deſcending of the Swiſſers into the Dutchy of Millan.

About this time the *French* King was moleſted in *Lombardie* by the *Swiſſers*, the matter being begun not by the whole nation, but by thoſe three *Cantons* which had occupied *Bellinzone*, who ſeeking to induce him to conſent that that place might remaine to them in proper, aſſailed *Locarne* and the Wall. This wall is of great length vpon the lake *Maior* neare to *Locarne*, and giues impediment to deſcend from the mountaines to the plaine, by any other way then through a gate which onely is in that wall. And albeit they could not carry it in the beginning for the defence which the *French* garriſon made, (*Monſieur de Chaumont* lying at *Vareſo* and *Galero* with eight hundred Lances, hoping well alſo of the abilitie and defence of the place,) yet the number of the *Swiſſers* increaſing afterwards, being ſuccoured by the *Griſons*, after they had giuen many aſſaults in vaine, diuers regiments of them climing a great mountaine which commanded the wall, they compelled ſuch as kept the place to abandon it: and taking afterwards the borough of *Locarne*, but not the Caſtle, their ſtrength increaſed dayly, for that the other nine *Cantons*, notwithſtanding in the beginning they offered men to the King for the alliance they had with him, began afterwards to giue ſuccours to the other three *Cantons*, alledging that they durſt not faile to ſuccour their companions, being thereunto bound by the ancient leagues that were betweene them, which were to be preferred afore all the obligations they had with any other. And whileſt they had an armie of fifteene thouſand about the Caſtle, the *French* not being able to reſcue it for the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſages, and for the good guard that was made there, they ſpoiled the countrey thereabout: and being wrath becauſe the caſtle-keeper of *Muſocquo* (a place appertaining to *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*) refuſed to lend them artillery to batter the caſtle of *Locarne*, they ſacked the towne of *Muſocquo*, forbearing to vexe the caſtle for that it was inexpugnable. On the other ſide, the *French* men, whom this emotion did not a litle import, aſſembled all the ſtrength which they had in *Lombardie*, and hauing obtained ſuccours from *Bolognia*, from *Ferrara*, and from *Mantua*, required the *Venetians* to furniſh that proportion of men, which they were bound vnto for the defence of the ſtate of *Millan*, which they very readily promiſed, but there was vſed ſo great intermiſſion to ſend them, as they ſerued to no purpoſe. *Monſieur de Chaumont* who had well furniſhed the Caſtles that were in the mountaines, kept his regiment in the plaine, hoping that the *Swiſſers*, who hauing neither horſe nor artilleries, durſt not deſcend into places diſcouered, would in the end be annoyed with want of victuals, and for that they were without money, and had ſmall hope to do any thing that was of importance. In which eſtate the *Swiſſers* hauing remained many dayes, and the want of victuals increaſing, (for the *French* with their nauie had ſunke many barkes, which brought victuals to the *Swiſſers*, and reſtrained the courſe of any by the lake,) the ſouldiers began to nouriſh faction among themſelues, for that the enterpriſe appertained not but to the *Cantons* which poſſeſt *Bellinzone*, and the Captaines alſo being corrupted by the *French* moneys, they were content in the end to retire themſelues, reſtoring (except *Muſocquo* as not appertaining to the King) all the places which they had taken in that expedition, obtaining promiſe of the King not to moleſt them of *Bellinzone* vntill a certaine time. And the *French* were ſo farre eſtranged from any euill will to the *Swiſſers*, that they were not aſhamed, not onely in that time when they had warre with the King of *Spaine*, and that they feared the Emperour, and held the *Venetians* for ſuſpected, but alſo in all other ſeaſons, to buy the friendſhip of that nation, enduing them with yearly penſions both publike and priuate, and to make contracts with them vnder vnworthy conditions: being hereunto moued, both by the ſmall aſſurance they had in the footmen of their owne nation, and for that they knew that he makes warre to his great diſaduantage, that vexeth a people that hath nothing to loſe. The King deliuered thus from the warre of the *Swiſſers*, had no leſſe hope at the ſame ſeaſon to free himſelfe of the warres in the kingdome of *Naples*; for that after many practiſes of peace without any profite, *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtrich* and Prince of *Flanders*, minding to returne from *Spaine* into *Flanders*, determined to paſſe by land, notwithſtanding the contrary deſires of his father and mother in law, of whom he obtained free power and commiſſion to contract a peace with the *French* King, which he had ſolicited whileſt he was in *Spaine*: but he was accompanied with two Embaſſadours which they ſent on their part, with whom he was to communicate in all actions, and without whoſe counſell he would not treate or conclude any thing. It is incredible with what magnificence and honour he was receiued by the Kings appointment, through all the Realme of *France*, not onely for the deſire he had to make him fauourable in the practiſe of peace, but alſo to bring into perpetuall friendſhip that

Diuers cauſes of the retraite of the Swiſſers.

Philip Archduke of Auſtrich in Fraunce.

yong

yong Prince, who was to become mightie & great, being the next ſucceſſor to the *Romane* Empire, and to the kingdomes of *Spaine*, with all their dependances. All ſuch likewiſe as had grace or authoritie about him, were honored with the ſame liberalitie, and receiued preſents of great price. To which demonſtrations was anſwerable the magnanimitie and royall behauiour of *Philip*: for that as the *French* King, beſides his word and faith giuen for his ſure paſſage through *France*, had ſent into *Flanders* many of the Nobles of his Realme for the ſafetie of *Philip*: ſo *Philip*, as ſoone as he was entred *France*, to declare that he repoſed wholly in the Kings faith, gaue order that the hoſtages ſhould be deliuered. And theſe ſo great demonſtrations of amitie, were not accompanied (as much as was in them) with leſſe effects. For aſſembling at *Bloys*, after they had ſpent certaine daies in diſcourſe and diſputation of things, they concluded a peace in this ſort: That the kingdome of *Naples* ſhould be poſſeſſed according to the firſt diuiſion; but that there ſhould be left in deputation to *Philip*, the Prouinces for the which they firſt fell to difference and armes: and that from thenceforth, *Charles* his ſonne and Madame *Claude* the Kings daughter (betweene whom the motion of mariage which had bene afore ſolicited, was confirmed) ſhould be intituled Kings of *Naples*, and Dukes of *Pouilla* and *Calabria*: That that part which appertained to the King of *Spaine*, ſhould from thenceforward be gouerned by the Archduke; and the partition deſcending to the *French* King, to be ordered by the proper deputies of his Maieſtie: but that the one and the other part ſhould be holden vnder the name of the two children, to whom, at the time of the conſummation of mariage, the King ſhould giue his part for the dowrie of his daughter. This peace was ſolemnly publiſhed in the great Church of *Bloys*, and ratified by oathes of the King and of *Philip*, as agent to the King and Queene of *Spaine* his parents in law: a peace truly of great conſequence, if it had ſorted to effect. For, not onely armes had ſurceaſſed betweene ſo mightie Kings, but alſo peace would haue followed betweene the Emperour and the *French* King: which would haue bred new proiects againſt the *Venetians*; and the Pope, being of all men ſuſpected, and of whom the whole world had a very ill opinion, would not haue bene without feare of Councels and other actions which might bring diminution to his authoritie. But the King and the Archduke ſending with expedition to publiſh the peace in the Realme of *Naples*, with direction to the Captaines to forbeare to moleſt one another, attending the ratification of the *Spaniſh* King, and in the meane while their poſſeſſion of things to continue; the Generall for the *French* offered to obey his King, but the *Spaniard* (either for the hope he had of the victory, or for that he would not be contented with the onely authoritie of *Philip*) anſwered, that he could not diſcontinue the warre, vnleſſe he had receiued expreſſe commandement from his Kings: for the continuation whereof, he was ſo much the more encouraged, by how much the *French* King, gouerned by his hopes both in the practiſe and concluſion of peace, eſteeming for certaine that which was yet vncertaine, had not onely dallied in all other prouiſions of warre, but alſo had foreſlowed the leuying of three thouſand footmen which ſhould haue bene embarked at *Genes*, and three hundred Lances appointed to be led to that enterpriſe vnder *Monſieur de Perſie*: and of the contrary were arriued at *Barletto* the two thouſand *Almain* footmen, which being leuied with the fauor of the Emperour, and embarked at *Trieſte*, were paſſed in ſuretie by the gulfe of *Venice*, not without the great complaint of the *French* King. By reaſon whereof, the Duke of *Nemours* hauing no aſſurance of the surceaſſing of armes, and being made weake by the harmes he had receiued a litle before, (that he might be of ſufficient ſtrength, if either occaſion or neceſſitie compelled him to fight with his enemies) ſent for all the *French* bands that had bin diſperſed into diuers places, together with all the aides of the Barons of the Realme, except thoſe Lords and regiments which made warre vnder *Monſieur d'Aubigny* in *Calabria*: but in aſſembling them, he found Fortune contrary. For, the Duke of *Atry*, and *Lewis d'Ars* one of thoſe *French* Captaines which had their companies beſtowed vpon the lands of *Otranto*, determining to march together to ioyne with the Viceroy, for that they were aduertiſed that *Peter* of *Nauarre* with many *Spaniſh* footmen, was in place apt to diſtreſſe them if they went ſeparate: it hapned that *Lewis d'Ars* ſeeing an oportunitie to paſſe ſurely, departed, without being carefull of the danger of the Duke of *Atry*, who being left alone, marched alſo with his companies, being aduertiſed that *Peter* of *Nauarre* was gone to *Matero* to ioyne with *Gonſaluo*. But the counſels of men were not ſufficient to reſiſt Fortune; for that the men of *Rutiliano* (a towne in the countrey of *Bary*) who at the ſame time were reuolted againſt the *French*, calling vpon *Peter* of *Nauarre*, and he in that regard altering his way from

Peace between the K. of Spain and France.

from *Matero* towards *Rutiliano*, encountred the Duke of *Atry*, who being astonished with this accident, began to doubt what were fit for him to do: but in the end, seeing no suretie in retrait, and reposing much in this, that though he had lesse footmen, yet he was the stronger in horsemen, and supposing the *Spanish* footmen to be ouer-wearied by the trauell they had made that night, he vndertooke the battell, wherein euery one expressing his valour on both sides, his people at last were broken, his vnkle *John Anthony* being slaine, and himselfe taken prisoner. And as it seldome hapneth, that one ill fortune goeth without another, so foure *French* galleys vnder the gouerning of *Preian* of *Prouence* a Knight of the *Rhodes*, arriued in the hauen of *Otrante* vnder licence of the *Venetian* magistrate, who promised to defend them from the inuasions of the *Spanish* nauie, which vnder the Captaine *Villemarino* wafted in the creekes thereabouts. But after *Preian* was entred a litle further in the hauen, his forces litle, and his fortune farre inferior to his enemies, he began to feare to be enuironed; and therefore to preuent that his losse should not turne to the profite of his enemies, after he had deliuered the slaues and sunke his galleys, he saued himselfe and his people by land.

The ouerthrow of the Duke of Atry.

The *French* King gaue commandement to his Captains to stand onely vpon their guard, and not to seeke their enemies, assuring them that with speed they should either receiue the confirmation of the peace, or sufficient succours. But the armies being so mightie and so neare one to another, it was very hard to bridle the furie of the *French* men, or to bring them to this patience to draw the warre in length: but it was decreed in destinie, that without any more delay, all this businesse should now be decided, the beginning whereof hapned in *Calabria*. For after the *Spaniards* were ioyned in one strength at *Seminaro*, *Monsieur d'Aubigny* hauing assembled all his companies, & the power of the Barons that held the *French* part, he bestowed his footmen within the towne of *Gioia* three miles from *Seminare*, and sent his horsemen to *Losarne* three miles from *Gioia*: and fortifying himselfe with foure peeces of artillery vpon the shore of the riuer whereupon *Gioia* is seated, he stood prepared to oppose against his enemies if they should enterprise to passe the riuer. But the intention of the *Spanish* was other then he supposed, for the day they determined to passe, they caused their vantguard to march directly to the riuer, where *Manuel de Benauide* (who had the leading of them) being vpon the shore, began to parley with *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, who had led all his army to the opposite banke: and at the same instant, the reareguard of the *Spanish* being followed with the battell, tooke another way to passe the riuer a mile and an halfe aboue *Gioia*; which being discerned of *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, he went in great haste without artillery to affront them afore they had all passed. But afore his coming, they were all passed ouer, and ranged (albeit without artillery) in firme and set battell: and with that aduantage marched forth against the *French* men; who, by reason of their haste, either keeping no order at all, or at least by their small numbers, not able to resist so great a strength, were there broken before the vantguard of the *Spanish* could passe the riuer: in which conflict *Ambricourt* was made prisoner with certaine other *French* Captaines, and the Duke of *Somme* with many Barons of the kingdome: and albeit *Monsieur d'Aubigny* tooke the rocke of *Angitole* for his safetie, yet hauing no meanes to issue out, he was constrained to yeeld himselfe prisoner, being ouerthrowne and taken euen in the selfe same places where not many yeares before he had with great glory ouercome King *Ferdinand* and *Gonsaluo*; so inconstant are the prosperities of fortune. In this conflict nothing was more hurtfull to *Monsieur d'Aubigny* (who was one of the most excellent Captaines that King *Charles* had brought into *Italy*, and of a free and noble spirit) then his owne too forward inclination, which carried him too farre into hope of the victory: a matter which likewise was very hurtfull to the Viceroy in *Powilla*, who haply was the more transported by the report of the accident hapned in *Calabria*. For *Gonsaluo* not hearing of the victory of his people, and not able by the importunitie of hunger and plague to remaine longer in *Barletto*, marched out of it, leauing there a very weake garrison, and tooke his way to *Cirignole*, a towne ten miles from thence, and almost in a triangle betweene *Canosa* (where the Viceroy was) and *Barletto*. The Viceroy had before debated with his Captaines, whether were better to follow or flie the occasion of battell: and many of his Captaines were of opinion, that (in regard the *Spaniards* were increased in numbers, and his bands fallen into great weakenesse and disorders, hapned first at *Rubos* and at *Castellanet*, and then in the countrey of *Otrante*, and lastly in *Calabria*) it was against policie to commit any thing to hazard, but to retire into *Melfe* or some other strong towne well prouided of things necessary, there to expect either a new succour out

Monsieur d'Aubigny ouerthrowne and taken prisoner.

of

of *France*, or elſe the confirmation of the peace: a maner of temporiſing, which he was alſo bound to vſe by commandement, which he had newly receiued from the King. But there were many of the contrary opinion, to whom it ſeemed a thing dangerous, to tarry till the armie already victorious ouer *Calabria*, ſhould ioyne with *Gonſaluo*, or elſe to ſeeke to execute any enterpriſe of importance where there would be found no man to reſiſt him. They ſhewed what profite there came by the armie of *Monſieur Montpenſier*, chuſing rather to retire into townes then to fight: and that the examples of times paſt, admoniſhed them what hope they might haue of the long and vncertaine ſuccours of *France*. And (things being doubtfull) if neither *Gonſaluo* would conſent to giue ouer the war, nor the King of *Spaine* accept of the peace, it muſt needs be that now they had great hope of the victory: That their army was nothing inferiour either in force or vertue to the army of the enemie: and that the diſorders that had hapned by negligence, ought not to be compared to the experience which would be ſhewed in plaine field, with weapons and valours of men, and not with ſleights or ſubtilties: That it was a more ſure and honorable way, at the leaſt being equall, with hope to make triall of fortune, then eſchuing the battell, and conſuming by degrees, to giue the enemy the victory without blood and without danger: That touching the late meſſage of the King, it was to be conſtrued rather as an aduertiſement, then as a commandement, which if *Monſieur d'Aubigny* had followed, he had done well: but now the ſtate of the warre being changed by ſuch a diſorder, it was neceſſary likewiſe that the deliberations ſhould alter. This laſt opinion preuailed, and therefore hauing aduertiſement by their eſpials, that the *Spaniſh* bands either all or part were iſſued out of *Barletto*, *Monſieur de Nemours* in like ſort tooke his way towards *Cirignole*, a way very inconuenient both for the one and other army, for that the countrey was barren of freſh waters, and the ſeaſon more hote then it was wont to be in the beginning of May. It is reported, that in that day there died many ſouldiers of drought by the wayes, both of the one and the other army; and the *French* knew not whether the whole or part of the *Spaniſh* army were in the field, for that both *Fabritius Colonne* with his light horſemen, tooke away the certaine knowledge, and the Lances of the men at armes holden vpright, and the ſtalkes of fennels growing high in that countrey, dimmed their ſight that they could not well diſcerne. The *Spaniards* were the firſt that arriued at *Cirignole* which the *French* men kept, and lodging among certaine vines, they enlarged (by the aduice of *Proſper Colonne*) a ditch or trench which was at the entry of their campe. Whileſt they were dreſſing their lodgings or campe, the *French* came vpon them, and night drawing on, they ſtood doubtfull whether they ſhould ſo ſuddenly ioyne battell, or deferre it till the day following. *Iues d'Alegre* and the Prince of *Melfe*, perſwaded to put it off till the next day, in which time they hoped the *Spaniards* would be conſtrained by neceſſitie of victuals to remoue their campe: and they were of this opinion, as well for that the night approched, as in conſideration of the diſaduantage to ſet vpon them in their lodgings, ſpecially being ignorant of the diſpoſition thereof. But *Monſieur de Nemours* by his raſh inclination deſpiſing the ſafe counſell of others, the *Spaniards* were charged with great fury, as well by the *French* as by the *Swiſſers*: and the fire hauing taken the powder of the *Spaniards*, either by chance or by other meanes, *Gonſaluo* making vſe of that accident, cried with a reſolute courage, The victory is ours, God declares it by manifeſt tokens, giuing vs to vnderſtand, that we haue now no more need of the ſeruice of artillery. There be ſundry opinions of this battell: the *French* publiſh, that in the firſt encounter they brake the *Spaniſh* footmen, and coming to the artillery, they had won it, and ſet the powder on fire; but the night coming on, their men at armes, by negligence and misknowledge, had charged their owne footmen, by which diſorder the *Spaniards* tooke heart. But others ſay, that for the difficultie to paſſe the ditch, the *French* men beginning to intangle themſelues, fell to flying, no leſſe by their proper diſorder, then by the vertue of their enemies, being moſt of all amazed for the death of *Monſieur de Nemours*, who entring with the firſt into the fury of the fight, as he was encouraging his men to win the trench, was ſtriken dead with a bullet. There be others, who diſcourſing more particularly, ſay, that *Monſieur de Nemours* deſpairing to be able to paſſe the ditch, and labouring to turne his ſtrength towards the flanke of the campe, to aduenture to enter on that ſide, cried that they ſhould giue backe; which voice, to thoſe that knew not the occaſion, gaue a ſigne to flie, which ioyned to the chance of his death in the firſt ſquadron, hapning alſo at the ſame time, cauſed all the army to turne to manifeſt flight. Some acquit the Viceroy for vndertaking the battell againſt the counſell of o-

The ouerthrow and death of Monſieur de Nemours.

thers, and do lay the blame vpon *Iues d' Alegre*, who, although the Viceroy had no intention to fight that day, reprehending him of fearfulneſſe, induced him to do the contrary. The battell was of very ſmall continuance, and albeit the *Spaniſh* paſſing ouer the ditch followed the chaſe of their enemies, yet by reaſon it was now darke night, there were very few that were either taken or ſlaine, ſpecially of the horſemen, of whom *Monſieur Chandieu* was one. The reſidue with loſſe of their cariage and artillery, ſaued themſelues by flying: the Captaines and ſouldiers being diſperſed into many ſeparate places. Men ſay, that *Gonſaluo* when he ſaw not *Proſper Colonne* after the *French* were put to flight, enquired diligently for him, doubting leſt he had bene ſlaine in the battell; and that *Fabricio* to taxe him of cowardize, anſwered him merily, that it was not to be doubted that *Proſper* ſhould fall into any danger. This victory was gotten the eight day after the ouerthrow of *Monſieur d' Aubigny*, and both vpon Friday, a day which the *Spaniards* haue obſerued to be happie vnto them. The *French*, after the chaſe, being reaſſembled againe, debated of many deuices: Sometimes they thought beſt to ioyne with the reſidue of the armie in ſome place conuenient, to take from the victors all meanes to go to *Naples*; and eſtſoones they iudged it moſt conuenient for their ſafetie, to ſticke to the defence of *Naples*: and yet (as to men in aduerſitie feares grow dayly greater, and difficulties to the vanquiſhed) none of theſe deuices were put in execution: for that they had no great meanes to be able to ſtay elſewhere, neither was there poſſibilitie to defend *Naples* for the ſcarſitie of victuals: for the prouiſion and furniſhing whereof, the *French* had ſent afore to *Rome* to buy a great quantitie of corne, which they could not tranſport, either for the impediments of the people ſeeking to haue their towne ſtand in good prouiſion, or rather by the ſecret perſwaſion of the Pope, which was not the leaſt credible. Therefore *Monſieur d' Alegre*, the Prince of *Salerne*, and many other Barons, retired between *Caietta* and *Tracetto*, where they reaſſembled vnder their names, the moſt part of the reſidue of the armie: but *Gonſaluo* after he had obtained ſo faire a victory, following his good fortune, tooke his way with the armie towards the towne of *Naples*, and as he paſſed by *Melfe*, he made offer to the Prince to leaue him poſſeſſed of his whole eſtate, ſo that he would remaine at the deuotion of the *Spaniards*: but he rather chuſing to go his way with his wife and children, went to ioyne with *Lewis d' Ars* lying at *Venouſa*; by whoſe departure *Gonſaluo* taking *Melfe*, followed his way directly to *Naples*, at whoſe coming thoſe garriſons of the *French* which were in the towne, retired into the new Caſtle, and the *Neapolitans* thus abandoned, receiued *Gonſaluo* the fourteenth day of May, *Capua* and *Auerſa* doing the like at the ſame time.

Gonſaluo in Naples.

The end of the fifth Booke.

THE

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THe French King maketh his preparation to paſſe into Italy. The death of Pope Alexander the ſixt. Valentinois reconcileth himſelfe with the Colonnois. Francis Piccolomini Cardinall of Sienna is choſen Pope, and named Pius the third: he dieth within ſixe and twentie dayes. Iulius the ſecond is created Pope. The Duke Valentinois is apprehended priſoner. The Frenchmen are ouerthrowne at Garillon. The Florentines faile to take the citie of Piſe: Peace is eſtabliſhed betweene the French King and the King of Spaine.

WHen the *French* King heard the newes of ſo great a loſſe, in a time wherein he had more expectation of peace then of warre, he was much moued for the loſſe of ſo noble a Realme, for the ruine of his armies, compounded of ſo great Nobility and ſo many valiant perſonages, for the perill wherein ſtood all the reſidue of that which he held in *Italy*; and no leſſe for that he eſteemed it a great diſhonor to be vanquiſhed by the Kings of *Spaine*, whoſe power was indeed inferiour to his; and fretting that he was beguiled with an hope and promiſe of peace, he determined with all his forces to ſeeke the meanes to recouer the honor and the kingdome he had loſt, and with armes to reuenge ſo great a wrong. But afore he entred into action, he complained grieuouſly to the Archduke, who was not yet departed from *Bloys*, requiring him to redreſſe the abuſe, as he ought, if he had any deſire to preſerue his faith and honour. By reaſon whereof, the Archduke (who was altogether innocent) ſolicited inſtantly his parents in law to redreſſe the abuſe, complaining vehemently that things were ſo handled, to his great ſlander, and that in the ſight and knowledge of all the world. But the Kings of *Spaine*, with many excuſes deferred to ſend the ratification of peace afore the victory, alledging ſometimes, that they were not both together in one place, as was neceſſary, hauing a cuſtome to make their diſpatches ioyntly; and ſometimes that they were much buſied with other affaires: as being diſcontent with the peace, either for that their ſonne in law had exceeded their commiſſions, or for that after he was departed out of *Spaine*, they were entred into a better hope of the ſucceſſe of the warre, or elſe for that it ſeemed ſtrange to them that he had appropriated to himſelfe their part of the Realme, hauing no aſſurance (in regard of the minoritie of the children) that the mariage of his ſonne ſhould take effect; and yet not refuſing, but alwayes giuing hopes to ratifie it, and deferring, they won as much time as they could, to the end to take aduice according to the euent of things. But when they vnderſtood that their armie remained victorious, albeit they were reſolued to make ſmall reckoning of the peace that was made, yet did they deferre to declare their intention to the Archduke, to the end that keeping by that meanes the *French* King in ſuſpence, he might be ſo much the longer in making new prouiſions for the reſcuing of *Caietta* and the other places which yet remained: but at length being conſtrained by the importunities of their ſonne in law (who had determined that otherwiſe he would not depart from *Bloys*) they ſent thither new Embaſſadours, by whom was declared, after diſputation of certaine dayes, that it was not the intention of their Kings to ratifie that peace, which had bin made in ſuch ſort, as was neither honorable nor ſure for them: and beſides, entring into controuerſie with the Archduke, they told him, that their Kings maruelled much that in the conditions of the peace, he had tranſgreſſed their will; for albeit in regard of his honor, his commiſſion was free and very large, yet he ought to haue had regard to the inſtructions that were giuen

him, which were limited. The Archduke anſwered, that his inſtructions were no leſſe free then his commiſſion; and that at his departure, his parents in law aſſured him that they deſired the peace by his endeuour, and that they had ſworne to him vpon the holy Goſpell and image of Ieſus Chriſt crucified, to obſerue whatſoeuer he ſhould determine: and yet for his owne part, he would not vſe ſo ample and large authoritie, but with the counſell and aduice of the two perſonages which they had ſent with him. Then theſe new Embaſſadours working all by art, propounded new meanes of accord, giuing to vnderſtand that their Kings had a deſire to render the Realme to King *Federike*. But thoſe deuices being diſcerned not onely to be vaine, but alſo full of deceit, for that they tended to eſtrange from the *French* King the mind of the Archduke, who looked to haue that kingdome for his ſonne; the King in publike audience anſwered them, that he would in no ſort treate with them, if they did not firſt ratifie the peace that was made, & declare that the diſorders hapned ſince did much diſcontent them; adding withall, that it ſeemed to him a matter not onely maruellous, but alſo deteſtable and abhominable, that thoſe Kings who gloried ſo much to haue gotten the title of Catholickes, made ſo litle reckoning of their proper honour, their faith giuen, their oath ſworne, and of religion, bearing no reſpect to the Archduke, a Prince ſo great, ſo noble, ſo vertuous, and their ſonne and heire. With this anſwer, commanding them the ſame day to depart his Court, he turned immediatly all his wits to the preparations of the warre, determining to aduance farre greater prouiſions both by land and ſea, then had bene done in any time afore by any of the Kings of *France*. In ſo much as he determined to ſend two mightie armies to the Realme of *Naples*, the one by ſea, and the other by land: and to the end that in the meane while *Caietta* and the Caſtles of *Naples* ſhould not be loſt, he prepared to ſuccour them with diligence by ſea, as well with new ſupplies of men of warre, as with all other neceſſary things: and to giue impediment that there went no ſuccours out of *Spaine*, (which had bin the cauſe of all the diſorders) he reſolued to inuade the kingdome of *Spaine* with two armies by land, addreſſing one to the countrey of *Roſſillion* which adioyneth to the Mediterrane ſea, and the other to *Fontaraby*, and the other places adioyning vpon the Ocean ſea; and at the ſame time to aſſaile with an army by ſea the coaſts of *Catelognia* and *Valentia*. But whiles the *French* were very diligent in preparing theſe expeditions, *Gonſaluo* deuiſing how he might haue the Caſtles of *Naples*, planted his artillery againſt New Caſtle at the foote of the hill *Saint Martin*; and from a place ſomewhat raiſed, he beat the wall of the Citadell, whoſe ſituation being towards the ſaid mountaine, was encloſed with ancient walls, their foundations being almoſt aboue the earth. And at the ſame time *Peter* of *Nauarre* caſt a mine to ouerthrow the walls of the Citadell, battering alſo the new Caſtle walls, and the Tower of *Saint Vincent* which *Gonſaluo* had won a few dayes before. New Caſtle was then of another faſhion then it is at this day; for that now the Citadell being taken away, there beginneth a new circuite of walls where were the walls of the ſame, which ſtretcheth along the place of the Caſtle vntill the ſea: and this circuite begun by *Federike*, and by him raiſed euen to the cooping, being built with a ſtrong wall and well founded, is very hard to be vndermined, for that there are countermines on all ſides, and for that the water runneth there almoſt cloſe to the foundation. *Gonſaluo* had a determination, that as ſoone as he had taken the Citadell, coming neare to the vault of the Caſtle wall, he would deſtroy it with new mines; but either by the raſhneſſe or ill fortune of the *French* men, a greater occaſion was offered to him. For, after *Peter* of *Nauarre* had put fire to the mine which he had perfected, the fury of the powder blew open the wall of the Citadell; and at the ſame inſtant the *Spaniſh* bands of footmen ſtanding ready ranged in battell expecting the operation of the fire-worke, made entries on many ſides, ſome where the wall was broken, and others by the helpe of ſcaling ladders, in ſundry other places. And on the other ſide, the *French* iſſuing out of the Caſtle, with intention not to ſuffer them to remaine within the Citadell, charged them, but being quickely ſurmounted by the *Spaniſh*, as they retired towards the rampier, the *Spaniards* entred pelmell with them; and running with the ſame fortune euen vp to the way that goeth to the gate, (where was not yet the great new Tower which *Gonſaluo* built afterward) they ſo increaſed the feare of the *French* men already appalled, that in leſſe then halfe an houre, being quite diſcouraged, they rendred the Caſtle, with their goods (whereof there was found a great quantitie which men had brought thither) and liues to diſcretion, the Count of *Montoire* remaining priſoner with many other Lords. This conqueſt was ſo much the more to the purpoſe, for that there arriued from *Genes* the day following

The fortification of the Caſtle of Naples.

The new caſtle of Naples aſſaulted.

The Caſtle of Naples taken by the Spaniſh.

for

for their ſuccours, an army by ſea of ſixe great ſhips, with many ſmaller veſſels fraughted with victuals, weapons and munitions, and with two thouſand footmen: at whoſe approch the *Spaniſh* nauie riding then in the port of *Naples*, retired into *Iſchia*, whither the *French* nauie purſued them, vnderſtanding that New Caſtle was loſt: but the *Spaniſh* nauie hauing ſunke before them certaine barkes, to the end they might not be compelled to fight, after they had beſtowed certaine vollies of ſhot one againſt another, the one went to *Caietta*, and the other being reaſſured by the departure of the enemy, retired to the Mole of *Naples*. After the taking of New Caſtle, *Gonſaluo* fell to deuiſe by what meanes he might haue the reſidue of the Realme, and therefore without tarrying for the army that was in *Calabria* (which lay there to conquer the vale of *Ariana*, to take away all impediments to paſſe further) he ſent *Proſper Colonne* into *Abruzze*: and leauing *Peter* of *Nauarre* afore the Egge Caſtle, he marched with the reſidue of the army towards *Caietta*, in the taking whereof conſiſted the ſumme of the warre, for that both the hopes and deſpaires of the *French* men depended wholly vpon the defence or loſſe of that Citie, which was ſtrong by the oportunitie of the ſea, and by the conueniencie and greatneſſe of his port, very fit to receiue the armies that ſhould be ſent from *Genes* and from *Prouence*. And the *French* held not onely *Caietta*, but alſo, beſides the places thereabouts which were in their power, they commanded in *Abruzze*, *Aquila*, the rocke of *Euandra*, with many other places: and the Lord *Lewis d' Ars* hauing aſſembled many troupes of horſemen and footmen, and being fortified with the Prince of *Melfe* within *Venouſa*, did great harmes to the countrey thereabout: and *Roſſano*, *Matalona*, with many other ſtrong peeces appertaining to the Barons of the faction of *Anion*, held out conſtantly at the deuotion of the *French* King. In this meane while *Peter* of *Nauarre* made certaine cloſe or couered Barks, with the which approching in more ſuretie the walls of the Egge Caſtle, he caſt a mine on that ſide which proſpects *Pizifalcona*, without the knowledge of them within, and as ſoone as he had put fire thereto, he blew into the aire in great fury one part of the wall, together with the bodies of the men that ſtood vpon it: with which accident the reſt being amazed, the Caſtle was immediatly taken, with ſo great reputation of *Peter* of *Nauarre*, and generall wonder of all men, that (as new inuentions to reuerſe a ſtrong place are moſt fearfull, hauing as yet no deuice to encounter them) it was beleeued that neither walls nor fortreſſes could make any reſiſtance againſt his mines. And ſure it was a thing of great horror to relate, that with the force of gun-powder put into a caue, or to ſpeake more properly, in the mine, men ſhould throw downe to the earth the greateſt and ſtrongeſt walls. The firſt that vſed this maner of taking townes in *Italy*, were the *Genowayes*, amongſt whom, according to the teſtimonie of ſome, *Peter* of *Nauarre* exerciſed the art of warre in the perſon of a meane ſouldier, when in the yeare 1487. they lay incamped afore the rocke of *Serezanella*, holden then by the *Florentines*, where, with a mine caſt in this maner, they opened a part of the wall, miſſing notwithſtanding the taking of the rocke, for that the mine had not pierced ſo deepe vnder the rocke as was needfull, the ſame being the cauſe that at that time the example of ſuch an experience was not followed. But *Gonſaluo* drawing neare to *Caietta*, *Monſieur d' Alegre* who had diſtributed foure hundred Lances and foure thouſand footmen, and thoſe which remained of the battell betweene *Caietta*, *Fondi*, *Itrio*, *Tracetta*, and the rocke *Guillaume*, retired them all within *Caietta*, wherein entred with him the Princes of *Salerne* and *Biſignian*, the Duke of *Traetto*, with many other Barons of the Realme ioyned afore with him. After the retraite of theſe companies, *Gonſaluo* entred vpon all thoſe places, and alſo vpon the rocke of *S. Germain*, encamping afterwards in the ſuburbes of *Caietta*: and after he had planted his artillery, he battered with an incredible fury that ſide towards the hauen, and the mountaine commonly called *Mont Roland*, a hill conioyned, which hath command ouer the Citie, and which the *French* men had then fortified with rampiers and baſtillions of earth, (being afterwards by him incloſed with a wall) and hauing aſſayed in vaine with two aſſaults not marſhalled, to enter it, he forbare at laſt, to giue the aſſault generall and marſhalled, the day which he had determined to giue it, ſuppoſing it would be hard to get, as well for the number and valour of thoſe within, as alſo that when his army ſhould enter by force into the mountaine, he ſhould be brought into great perill, being expoſed to the ſhot of the artillery planted in the Monaſtery and other high places vpon the mountaine. He forbare not for all this to play with his artillery, and to moleſt the towne, which likewiſe was enuironed and beſieged on that ſide to the ſea, for there lay afore the hauen the eighteene *Spaniſh* galleys which *Don Raimond de Cardona* gouerned. But a few dayes

after there arriued a nauie of ſixe great Carricks *Geneways*, ſixe other ſhips, and ſeuen galleys, with good ſuccours of victuals and footmen, vnder the conduct of the Marquis of *Saluzzo*, whom becauſe of the death of *Monſieur de Nemours*, the King had ſent thither for their new Viceroy. For the King deſired greatly to keepe *Caietta*, and therefore he ſent thither within few dayes one after another, part vpon theſe veſſels and part vpon others, a thouſand footmen of *Corſegus*, and three thouſand *Gaſcoins*: in ſo much as by the coming of this new nauie, the *Spaniſh* Fleete was conſtrained to retire to *Naples*, and *Gonſaluo* deſpairing to do any more good there, retired his regiments within the Mole of *Caietta*, and into *Caſtellona*, whereby he kept *Caietta* beſieged with a ſiege (as it were) more large, after he had loſt many of his people, ſome by skirmiſhing, and ſome in retiring; amongſt whom *Dom Hugues de Cardona* was ſlaine by a ſhot from the towne. But at the ſame time, all his other affaires of the kingdome trained a ſucceſſe more happie, for that *Proſper Colonne* had newly taken the rocke of *Euandro* and *Aquilea*, and reduced all the other peeces of *Abruzze* to the *Spaniſh* deuotion, almoſt all *Calabria* yeelding the like obedience, by the contract which the Count *Capaccio* had laſtly made with them: and there remained no other place but *Roſſano*, and *S. Seuerin* where the Prince of *Roſſano* was beſieged.

The Florentines in the countrey of Piſa.

At this time the other regions of *Italy* were not altogether voide of ſuſpitions and troubles: for that the *Florentines* afore the fortune of the *French* began to decline in the kingdome of *Naples*, fearing the forces and the ambuſcadoes of the Pope and the Duke *Valentinois*, beſides other prouiſions of warre, had entertained into their pay for the leading of their armie (but without any title) the Bailiffe of *Caen* with fiftie *French* Lances (a Captaine well recommended for the ſeruice of warre) for the opinion they had, that for as much as he was the Kings ſubiect, and had brought his charge of fiftie Lances by the Kings conſent, thoſe of whom they earſt doubted, would now be better aduiſed what they did, and that the King would alſo be more ready to aide them in all neceſſities. As ſoone as he was come to their army, hauing aſſembled all their troupes, for the ſecond time they cut the corne of the *Piſans*, but not through the whole countrey, for that to enter the vale of *Sercle* was not without danger, hauing his ſituation betweene the mountaines and the waters, and in the midway betweene *Lucques* and *Piſa*. Immediatly after they had made this ſpoile, the campe marched to *Vicopiſan*, which was taken without difficultie, for that the Bailiffe of *Caen* threatning an hundred *French* footmen that were within, to puniſh them as enemies to the King, and promiſing them a moneths pay, brought ſo to paſſe that they iſſued out of the towne, by which occaſion the people of *Vicopiſan* were conſtrained to yeeld to diſcretion. *Vicopiſan* being taken, *Verrucola* wherein was but a ſlender guard, was forthwith enuironed, to the end no ſuccours ſhould enter into it: and the artillery being afterwards trailed thither, not without great difficulties, for that the mountaines thereabouts offered many impediments, thoſe that were within, fearing the thunder of the Cannon, yeelded, their goods and liues ſaued. The ſituation of *Verrucola*, being a litle fortreſſe, raiſed vpon a high mountaine during the warres in the countrey of *Piſa*, is of great importance: for that being within fiue miles of *Piſa*, it is not onely very fit to diſtreſſe the countrey thereabout, yea euen to the gates of that citie, but alſo to diſcouer all the bands and troupes that come out of *Piſa*, whether they be on foote or horſemen. *Paul Vitelli* and many other Captaines had in vaine made many trials to carry it in that warre: but the confidence that the *Piſans* had that *Vicopiſan* would be defended, without taking the which, the *Florentines* could not encampe before *Verrucola*, was the cauſe that they had not made ſufficient prouiſion. The loſſe of *Verrucola* did much amaze the *Piſans*, and yet notwithſtanding they had receiued ſo great harmes, and had very few forrein ſouldiers, with want of money and ſcarcitie of victuals, they could not be brought to returne to the obedience of the *Florentines*, being principally moued by deſpaire to obtaine pardon for the memory of the great wrongs they had done them. Which diſpoſition it was needfull, that ſuch as in the gouernment bare greateſt authoritie, ſhould entertaine with ſpeciall diligence, for that thoſe of the plaine countrey (without whom they were not able to continue defence) loſt their harueſt fore againſt their will. And therefore to nouriſh them with diuers hopes, together with the reſt of the common people, that liued by trades more fit for peace then for warre, they ſhewed vnto them fained letters, and beguiling them with diuers inuentions, confounding things falſe with thoſe that were true; and if any accident hapned in *Italy*, making it ſerue for their purpoſe, and telling the people that ſometimes one Prince, ſometimes another, was ready

to

to come to ſuccour them. And in all theſe extremities they were not without ſome aide and ſuccours of the *Genoways* and *Lucquoys*, ancient enemies of the *Florentines*, and likewiſe of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, litle remembring the benefites receiued. But (which was of greateſt importance) they were alſo nouriſhed in ſecret with certaine ſuccours, but with farre greater hopes, by the Duke *Valentinois*, who had long deſired to make himſelfe Lord of that citie, which was offered to him by the *Piſans* themſelues; but hauing abſtained for feare of the Kings diſpleaſure, now preſuming much by the infelicitie of the *French* in the Realme of *Naples*, by the conſent of his father, he treated with the *Piſan* Embaſſadours, whom they had ſent to *Rome* for that purpoſe, to accept the iuriſdiction, aſpiring by that meanes to occupie all *Tuſcane*: a deuice, which though it brought the *Florentines* and *Siennoys* into no ſmall ſuſpition of him, yet the vniuerſall benefite being hindered by their particularities, there was no proceeding to that vnitie which the *French* King propounded betweene the *Florentines*, the *Bolonnois*, and the *Siennois*, for that they of *Florence* refuſed to accept it if they were not repoſſeſſed of *Montpulcian*, as had bene ſolicited and promiſed from the beginning: and *Pandolfe Petrucci* who bare a mind eſtranged from it (albeit he made other ſhew) alledged that to reſtore it, would ſo ſtirre vp the hate of the people of *Sienna* againſt him, that he ſhould be conſtrained yet once againe to forſake the towne; and therefore he ſaid it was better (for the common benefite) to deferre it a litle, till time brought about a better occaſion, then by reſtoring it preſently to giue the Duke *Valentinois* meanes to win *Sienna*. By theſe meanes, denying nothing, but keeping things in longneſſe, he endeuoured to bring the *Florentines* contented with hopes in ſtead of effects. Theſe excuſes by them reiected, were accepted and beleeued in the Court of *France*, by the meanes of *Francis de Narny*, reſident at *Siena* by the Kings commandement. But it was not the intention of the Pope and *Valentinois* to put theſe enterpriſes to execution, otherwiſe then the proceeding of the army which the *French* King prepared, gaue them courage, and as they ſhould determine to ſticke more to the one King then to the other: vpon which matter, at that time they were ſtayed with diuers thoughts, deferring as much as they could the declaration of their intention, which bare no inclination to the *French* King further then there was feare to conſtraine them; for that the expeperience of things paſſed in *Bologna* and *Tuſcan*, tooke away all hope to obtaine greater matters by his fauour: and for that reaſon, as they had begun afore the victory of the *Spaniards* to become more and more ſeparate from him in will; ſo after the victory, becoming moſt audacious, they reſpected no more as they were wont to do, either his will or his authoritie. And albeit immediatly after the ouerthrowes of the *French*, they gaue aſſurance to embrace the Kings quarels, making demonſtration to entertaine men to ſend to the Realme of *Naples*; yet, prouoked by the ambition of new conqueſts, and not being able to withhold their eyes, nor detaine their thoughts from *Tuſcan*, the King requiring them to declare themſelues openly for him, the Pope anſwered doubtfully, that both he and his ſonne became dayly more and more ſuſpected: of whom their ſimulation and diſſimulation was ſo notable, that it was a prouerbe ordinary in *Rome*, that the Pope neuer did that which he ſaid, and the Duke neuer ſpake that which he meant. Beſides, the contention wherein they were with *John Iordan* was not yet determined: for, albeit *Valentinois* fearing the Kings diſpleaſure, abſtained to moleſt him vpon his Maieſties commandement, yet the Pope declaring how much that grieued him, ceaſſed not to ſolicite the King, either to ſuffer him by armes to reconquer the eſtates of *John Iordan*, or elſe to compell him to take recompence for them: giuing to vnderſtand, that that which moued him was not ambition, but a iuſt feare of his neighbourhood, proceeding vpon this ſuſpition; that finding amongſt the papers of Cardinall *Vrſin* a blanke ſigned with the proper hand of *John Iordan*, it was an argument, that in thoſe things which were negociated at *Maiſon*, he had one ſelfe will and intelligence againſt him with the other *Vrſins*. In which thing the King more regarding profite then honeſtie, had proceeded diuerſly, according to the diuerſitie of times, ſometimes expreſſing fauour to *John Iordan* as before, and ſometimes inclining to ſatiſfie the Pope in ſome degree. And for that cauſe *John Iordan* refuſing to depoſe *Bracciano* into the hands of the *French* Embaſſadour reſident at *Rome*, the King required that they ſhould referre to him the reſolution of the difference, vnder condition that *John Iordan* ſhould be conueyed into *France* within two moneths, and that things ſhould remaine in that eſtate, vntill he had determined: whereunto *John Iordan* conſented by neceſſitie, for the hope which he had that by the merites of his father and himſelfe, he ſhould be fully deliuered from ſuch vexations: and the Pope, more for feare

Deſignes of the Pope & Duke Valentinois.

A prouerbe vpon the Popes diſſembling.

then otherwiſe, for that the *French* King required ſuch a matter at the time when the Archduke contracted the peace in the name of the Kings of *Spaine*. But the condition of things being changed by the victory of the *Spaniards*, and ſeeing that the *French* King had need of him, he demanded all the ſtates of *Iohn Iordan*, offering ſuch recompence as ſhould be declared by the King, who for the ſame occaſion induced *Iohn Iordan* to conſent thereunto, and to promiſe to deliuer in his ſonne for the aſſurance of that which ſhould be determined: a matter which the King did greatly againſt his will, for that he had no intention to deliuer vp thoſe eſtates to the Pope, if at the ſame inſtant he ioyned not with him openly in the warre of *Naples*. But the men of *Petillano*, where the ſonne of *Iohn Iordan* was, refuſing to deliuer him to the Kings Embaſſadour, who was at *Port Hercules* to receiue him, *Iohn Iordan* himſelfe being then returned, went to the Embaſſadour, and to fulfill the promiſe of his faith, offered him his proper perſon, which the Embaſſadour vnwiſely accepted, and beſtowed him in a ſhip: but as ſoone as the King knew it, he cauſed him to be ſet at libertie. In this meane while, there was vſed great diligence to leuie the preparation which the *French* King meant to employ both on this ſide and beyond the mounts. For the Lord *d'Albret* and the Marſhall of *Gié* were gone into *Guien* with foure hundred Lances, and fiue hundred footmen, as well *Swiſſers* as *Gaſcoins*, to make warre on the part of *Fontarabie*: and to ſtirre vp the Countie of *Roſſillon*, the Marſhall of *Rieux* was ſent into *Languedoc* with eight hundred Lances and eight thouſand footmen, part *Swiſſers* and part *French*. And at the ſame time the nauie by ſea hoiſſed ſaile to endommage the coaſts of *Catelogna* & the realme of *Valence*. Beſides, the King had diſpatched for *Italy* with title of Captaine generall ouer his armie, the Lord *Trimouille* (to whom at that time was transferred by vniuerſall opinion, the chiefe reputation for matters of warre within the realme of *France*) and ſent the Bailiffe of *Dion* to diſpatch away eight thouſand *Swiſſers*: and the men at armes and the footmen made haſte to march, although the armie was not ſo ſtrong as was determined in the beginning. And the King would haue it ſo; not for diſabilitie, or that he meant to ſpare, but for that he deſired (as was thought moſt fit) that they might make the more expedition into the kingdome of *Naples*; and partly becauſe *Monſieur d'Alegre* aduertiſing the King of the ſtate of the affaires there, aſſured him that the remainder of the armie was ſtronger then it was indeed, both for that the townes and Barons remained firme in his deuotion, and alſo for that he had demanded ſuccours of all thoſe in *Italy* which fauoured his faction: by meanes whereof the *Florentines* had granted him the Bailiffe of *Caen* with the fiftie Lances payed of their owne money, and an hundred and fiftie other men at armes: and the Duke of *Ferrara*, the *Bolonnois*, and the Marquis of *Mantua* (who for that the King ſent to him, went thither in perſon) did furniſh him euery one in particular with an hundred men at armes, and they of *Sienna* with another hundred: which bands ioyned to the eight hundred Lances and fiue thouſand *Gaſcoins* which *Trimouille* brought into *Italy*, and to the eight thouſand *Swiſſers* which were expected, reckoning alſo thoſe that remained within *Caietta*, made vp the number of eighteene hundred Lances *French* and *Italian*, and more then eighteene thouſand footmen. Beſides theſe preparations for the warre by land, the armie by ſea was departed, a Nauie very puiſſant, in ſo much as all men confeſſed, that there was no memory that any *French* King had euer made ſo huge and mightie preparations (counting the forces prepared both by ſea and by land, and as well on this ſide as beyond the mounts.) But it was not thought ſafe for the Kings ſuretie, to paſſe his armie by *Rome*, if firſt his Maieſtie were not well aſſured of the Pope and the Duke *Valentinois*, for that he had iuſt occaſion to doubt of them for many reaſons, but ſpecially by reaſon of certaine letters from *Valentinois* to *Gonſaluo* ſurpriſed long before, wherein was declared that they had agreed betweene them, that if *Gonſaluo* tooke *Caietta* (in which caſe he ſhould ſtand well aſſured of the kingdome) he ſhould paſſe further with his armie, and *Valentinois* ſhould take vpon him the iuriſdiction of *Piſa*, and that *Gonſaluo* and he ſhould ioyne in one ſtrength to aſſaile *Tuſcan*: and therefore the King (his armie being already paſſed into *Lombardy*) was very importunate that they ſhould at laſt declare their vttermoſt intention. But they, albeit they liſtened to both parts, yet iudging that the time was fit to make vſe of the trauels of others, had moſt deſire to ioyne with the *Spaniſh*: but they were reſtrained with the conſideration of the manifeſt danger, leſt the *French* armie ſhould begin to inuade their eſtates, in which caſe they ſhould ſuſtaine loſſe and trouble, where they hoped to obtaine remuneration and greatneſſe: and in this eſtate of doubt, they ſuffered both parties openly to leuie bands of footmen within *Rome*, deferring as much as they could

The French king prepares mightily againſt the king of Spaine.

could to declare themſelues. But being at laſt much vrged by the King, they offered that the Duke *Valentinois* ſhould ioyne to his armie with fiue hundred men at armes and two thouſand footmen, the King conſenting vnto him not onely the enioying of the lands of *Iohn Iordan*, but alſo the conquering of *Sienna*: and yet when they were vpon the point of concluſion, they varied, introducing new difficulties, as men, who (according to their cuſtome) to be at libertie to take counſell of the euent of things, had no deſire to declare themſelues according to good meaning. Therefore there was propounded another practiſe, by the which the Pope determining not to declare for any of the parties, but to remaine in the perſon of a common father, conſented to giue paſſage to the *French* armie through the dominions of the Church, with promiſe to moleſt neither the *Florentines*, the *Siennois*, nor the *Bolonnoys*, during the warres in the realme of *Naples*. Which conditions were at length accepted by the King, to the end to giue expedition of paſſage to his army to *Naples*, albeit he knew they were neither honorable for himſelfe, nor ſure for ſuch as depended on him in *Italy*, ſeeing he had no aſſurance that the Pope and *Valentinois* would not declare againſt him, if any misfortune hapned to him in the Realme: beſides there was this danger, leſt as ſoone as his armie was out of the territories of *Rome*, they ſhould riſe, contrary to their faith, to aſſaile *Tuſcan*, which for the diſagreement of the people, and the numbers of men which he had drained out of it, was become weake and almoſt diſarmed; being a thing not vnlikely, that they would either ſet vpon that enterpriſe or ſome other, ſeeing they had determined by meanes of ſuch occaſions to bring their purpoſes to effect.

But when they were in the height of their hopes, (as the thoughts of men are vaine and deceitfull) the Pope going to ſupper in a vineyard neare the *Vatican*, to take the pleaſure of the freſh aire, was ſuddenly carried from thence for dead to the Pallace; and preſently after his ſon was alſo carried thence for dead: and the day following, which was the eighteenth day of Auguſt, the dead corps of the Pope (according to the cuſtome) was borne into the Church of *S. Peter*, blacke, ſwolne, and moſt deformed, moſt manifeſt ſignes of poiſon: but *Valentinois*, what by the vigor of his youth, and ready helpe of ſtrong medicines and counterpoiſons, had his life ſaued, remaining notwithſtanding oppreſſed with a long and grieuous ſickneſſe. It was aſſuredly beleeued, that the accident proceeded of poiſon, the diſcourſe whereof according to the common report was in this ſort: The Duke *Valentinois* had determined to poiſon *Adrian* Cardinall of *Cornette* in the vine where they ſhould haue ſupped: for it is moſt certaine that his father and he were accuſtomed to vſe poiſon, not onely to be reuenged of their enemies, or to be aſſured of ſuſpitions, but alſo vpon a wicked couetouſneſſe to deſpoile rich men of their goods, whether they were Cardinals or Courtiers, although they had neuer done them any wrong, as hapned to the Cardinall Saint *Ange* who was very rich. And which more is, they would poiſon their greateſt friends and familiars, and ſuch as had bene their moſt faithfull ſeruants, ſuch as were the Cardinals of *Capua*, and of *Modena*. The Duke *Valentinois* ſent before for this purpoſe certaine flagons of wine infected with poiſon, which he gaue to a ſeruant that knew nothing of the matter, commanding that no perſon ſhould touch them: but the Pope coming by aduenture ſomewhat before ſupper, and ouercome with the drought and immoderate heate of the time, called for drinke; and becauſe his owne prouiſion was not yet brought from the Pallace, he that had the infected wine in charge, thinking it to be recommended to his keeping for a wine moſt excellent, gaue the Pope to drinke of the ſame wine which *Valentinois* had ſent; who arriuing whileſt his father was drinking, dranke alſo of the ſame wine. All the towne of *Rome* ranne with great gladneſſe to Saint *Peters*, about the dead body of the Pope, their eyes not being ſatisfied to ſee dead and deſtroyed a Serpent, who with his immoderate ambition and poiſoned infidelitie, together with all the examples of horrible crueltie, of monſtrous luxurie, and ſtrange couetouſnes, ſelling without diſtinction both holy and prophane things, had infected the whole world: and yet had bene exalted with a moſt rare and almoſt perpetuall proſperitie, euen from his yong age to the end of his life, deſiring alwayes great things, and obtaining more then he deſired: an example of much importance, to confound the arrogancie of thoſe men, who preſuming to know and ſee perfectly with humane eyes the depth of Gods iudgements, do aſſure, that what hapneth either good or ill to mortall men, proceedeth either of their merits or faults: as though we ſaw not dayly many good men vniuſtly tormented, and many wicked perſons (aboue their deſeruings) liue in eaſe and honour: and as though to make any other interpretation, were to derogate from the iuſtice and power of God, whoſe greatneſſe not being to be contained within

Pope Alexander the ſixt dead.

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any ſhort or preſent termes, knoweth how well and largely to diſcerne in another time and place, the iuſt from the vniuſt, and that with rewards and eternall puniſhments. But the Duke *Valentinois* lying very ſicke in the Pallace, retired all his bands of men about him: and hauing alwayes thought, partly by the feare of his armes, and partly through the fauour of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals which were elcuen, to create a Pope at his pleaſure after the death of his father, he found now impediments aboue his expectation, as well in this, as in all his other plots and deuices, by reaſon of his ſickneſſe which was very dangerous. In which reſpect he complained grieuouſly, for that hauing formerly often conſidered all the accidents that might happen to him by the death of his father, and found remedies for them all, yet he could neuer imagine, that at the ſame time he ſhould be reſtrained with ſo dangerous a ſickneſſe. Therefore finding it neceſſary for him to frame his counſels, not to the plots he had layd before, but to the neceſſitie preſent, perceiuing that he was not able in one time to ſuſtaine the hatred of the *Colonnoys* and *Vrſins*, and fearing leſt they ſhould ioyne together againſt him, he reſolued to repoſe rather in thoſe whom he had offended onely in their goods, then in ſuch as he had grieued both in their goods and in their perſons: and therefore he ſuddenly reconciled himſelfe with the *Colonnois*, and ſuch of the Vale as followed that faction, and inuiting them to returne to their eſtates, he made reſtitution of the Caſtles which *Alexander* with great expences had fortified and enlarged, the alteration and feare of the time compelling him to do more then any regard to honor, equitie, conſcience, or religion. But this ſufficed not, neither for his ſuretie, nor to keepe the citie of *Rome* in peace, wherein all things were full of ſuſpitions and tumults, for that both *Proſper Colonne* was entred, and all that faction had taken armes: and *Fabio Vrſin* coming from the houſes of his kindred to *Mont-Iordan*, had with a great multitude of the *Vrſins* his partakers, ſet on fire certaine merchants ſhops, and the houſes of many *Spaniſh* Courtiers, a nation generally enuied for the memory of the inſolencies which they had done during the Popedome of *Alexander*. Beſides, *Fabio* thirſting after the bloud of *Valentinois*, made great leuies of forrein ſouldiers, and ſolicited *Bartlemew Aluiano* being then in the pay of the *Venetians*, to ioyne with him and his houſe in the reuenge of ſo many wrongs as he had done them. The ſuburbes and medowes were full of the men of warre of *Valentinois*; and the Cardinals iudging that they could not with ſafetie aſſemble at the Popes Pallace, drew together at the Couent of the Church of *Minerua*; at which place, contrary to the ancient cuſtome, they began, but farre later then they were wont, to performe the funerall rites of *Alexander*. It was much feared leſt *Gonſaluo* would come to *Rome*, ſpecially for that *Proſper Colonne* had left at *Marina* a certain number of *Spaniſh* ſouldiers, and becauſe for the reconciliatiō of *Valentinois* with the *Colonnois*, it was beleeued that he had agreed to follow the *Spaniſh* factiō. But it was much more feared leſt the *French* army ſhould come thither, which had marched ſlowly till that day, for that in the publike councels of the *Swiſſers* (being not a litle amazed for the ill fortune of the *French* in the realme of *Naples*) it had bene much diſputed, afore they agreed that the Kings officers might make leauie of their men; and almoſt all the Captaines and footemen, for the ſame cauſe refuſing to go, were too late leauied, and made too long abode by the wayes. But in reſpect of the Popes death, the armie (which was gouerned by the Marquis of *Mantua* with title of the Kings Lieutenant, and by the Bailiffe of *Caen*, and *Monſieur de Sandricourt*, in whom except the name, remained as much power as in the Generall, for that *Monſieur Trimouille* remained ſicke at *Parma*,) was come without tarrying for the *Swiſſers*, to the territories of *Sienna*, with intention to go to *Rome*, according to the direction of the King, who alſo had commanded the Nauie which was at *Caietta* to make ſaile to *Oſtia*, to giue impediment to *Gonſaluo* for going to *Rome* with his armie to compell the Cardinals to chuſe a Pope at his deuotion. Notwithſtanding the *French* armie remained certaine dayes betweene *Bancouent* and *Viterbe*, for that the merchants making difficultie, for the troubles then at *Rome*, to accept the bils of exchange that were ſent out of *France*, the *Swiſſers* being now come into the countrey of *Sienna*, refuſed to march any further vntill they were paid. At which time the tumults were no leſſe in the territory of *Rome*, and in many other places of the eſtate of the Church, and in the lands of *Valentinois*, for that the *Vrſins* and all the *Romiſh* Barons reſtored themſelues to their eſtates. The family of *Vitelli* were returned to *Citta de Caſtello*; and *Iohn Paul Baillon* vnder hope of a certaine intelligence, had aſſailed *Perouſa*, and albeit being put to the chaſe, he was conſtrained to go his way, yet returning with new bands and open ſuccours of the *Florentines*, after he had giuen a furious aſſault, he entred the towne,

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not without the ſlaughter of his enemies, and ſome loſſe of his owne companie. The towne of *Plombin* alſo tooke armes, which albeit they of *Sienna* laboured to vſurpe, yet the ancient Lord returned thither by the fauour of the *Florentines*. The Duke of *Vrbin*, the Lords of *Peſere*, of *Camerin*, and *Sinigalle*, did the like in their eſtates: onely *Romagna* (notwithſtanding they were not without ſuſpition of the *Venetians*, who leuied great bands of men at *Rauenna*) remained quiet, and inclined to the deuotion of *Valentinois*, knowing by experience how much it was more tollerable and better for the weale of the countrey, to ſerue one onely and mightie Lord, then to haue in euery towne Lords particular, who neither for their weakneſſe could defend them, nor for their pouertie were able to do them good, but rather finding their reuenues inſufficient to entertaine them, they were conſtrained to oppreſſe them. They conſidered alſo, that for the authoritie and greatneſſe of the Duke *Valentinois*, and for the good iuſtice he miniſtred amongſt them, their countrey was not vexed with ſo many mutinies and tumults of factions as it was wont continually to be, bringing ordinary ſlaughters of men: by meanes whereof he had gotten the loue of the people: and likewiſe by his benefites, by entertaining ſuch as had bene trained in armes, by diſtributing the offices to learned men, as well of his owne townes, as of thoſe that belonged to the Church, and alſo by ſoliciting his father on the behalfe of Churchmen, touching the collation of benefices and ſpirituall dignities: which was the cauſe that neither the examples of others that reuolted, nor the memory of their ancient Lords, could eſtrange them from *Valentinois*: who albeit he ſtood oppreſſed with ſo many difficulties, yet was he laboured vnto both by the *French* and *Spaniſh*, and with many offers and promiſes importunately ſolicited to be on their ſide: for that beſides the oportunitie of his forces and men of warre, they hoped by this meanes to winne the voices of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals in the election to be made. But, although for the reconcilement that was made with the *Colonnois*, it was rather beleeued that he wold declare himſelf for the *Spaniſh*, yet nothing elſe inducing him but only feare, leſt they wold ioyne with the *Vrſins*, he declared that he would do nothing contrary to his fidelitie to the *French*, whom he determined to follow, for that, both within the towne of *Rome* which the Kings armie did now approch, and alſo in his other eſtates, they might do him more good and harme then the *Spaniſh*. Therefore the firſt day of September he made a conuention with the Cardinall *S. Seuerin* and *Monſieur de Trans* the Kings Embaſſadour, by the which he promiſed to aide him with his ſouldiers in the enterpriſe of *Naples*, and in all other expeditions againſt all perſons except the Church. And on the other part, the Kings agents bound the King to the protection as well of his perſon, as of all the eſtates he poſſeſſed, and to concurre alſo in the recouery of thoſe which he had loſt. Alſo the Duke gaue hopes to draw the moſt part of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals to giue their voices to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who puffed vp with a proud hope to obtaine the Popedome, with the authoritie, the money, and the armes of his King, went immediatly out of *France* after the Popes death, to *Rome*, carrying with him beſides the Cardinall of *Aragon*, the Cardinall *Aſcanius*; who being deliuered two yeares before out of the Tower of *Bourges*, had bene ſince honorably entertained in the Court, and by him much cheriſhed, hoping that if the Pope ſhould die, his ancient reputation might do much to further his ambition, together with the many friends and fauourers which he had in the Court of *Rome*: which were but weake foundations: for that neither *Valentinois* could wholly diſpoſe the *Spaniſh* Cardinals, more inclined (according to the cuſtome of men) to their proper profit, then to acknowledge the good turnes that his father and he had done them, and for that many amongſt them, hauing regard not to offend the mind of their King, would not be ſo farre ouer-ſeene, as to chuſe for Pope a *French* Cardinall: and *Aſcanius*, if he had had any power, would not haue conſented that the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* ſhould obtaine the Popedome, for that it was to the perpetuall embaſing and cutting off of all the hopes that yet remained, as well to him as to thoſe of his houſe. They deferred yet the election of the new Pope, not onely for that it was later then was wont ere they began to celebrate the obſequies of the dead; till the ending of which (enduring for the moſt part nine dayes) the Cardinals haue no cuſtome to enter into the Conclaue or houſe of election: but alſo, the better to cut off occaſions and dangers of a ſchiſme in ſo great a confuſion of affaires, and important diuiſion of Princes, the Cardinals that were preſent had agreed to giue aduertiſement to thoſe that were abſent, to make their repaire: and when they were come, the Colledge neuertheleſſe was holden in ſuſpence, ſuſpecting that the election would not be free, as well for the bands of *Valentinois*, as for that the *French* armie which at laſt was drawne betweene

Duke Valentinois for the French king.

Cardinall of Amboiſe aſpireth to the Popedome.

Nepi

Nepi and the Iſle, with intention to come to *Rome*, refuſed to paſſe the riuer of *Tiber*, if aforehand there were not choſen a new Pope: or for feare that either the contrary part would ouerrule the Colledge in the election; or elſe for that the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* would haue it ſo, for his owne ſuretie, and for the hope he had to be the better fauoured. Theſe things, after many contentions (the Colledge refuſing otherwiſe to enter into the Conclaue) were at laſt reſolued and tooke forme, for that the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* gaue his faith to the whole Court of Cardinals, that the *French* armie ſhould not paſſe *Nepi* and the Iſle, and *Valentinois* conſented to go to *Nepi*, and afterwards to *Ciuita Caſtellano*, hauing ſent to the *French* campe two hundred men at armes and three hundred light horſemen vnder the leading of *Lodowike de la Mirandola* and *Alexander Triuulce*: but the Colledge erected many bands of footmen for the guard of *Rome*, and gaue power to three Prelates whom they had appointed for the guard of the Conclaue, to open it if they diſcerned ſedition or tumult, to the end that all the Cardinals being at libertie to go whither they would, euery one might be out of hope to force them. At laſt the Cardinals entred the Conclaue, being eight and thirtie in number, where the diſagreement which in other times was wont to keepe things in delay, was the cauſe now that they entred roundly into the action, and created in few dayes a new Pope. And albeit in the election they had much adoe to agree vpon the perſon, as well for their generall couetouſneſſe, as for the contention between the Cardinals depending of the *French* King, and the *Spaniſh* Cardinals embracing the faction of the King of *Spaine*. And albeit they were no leſſe amazed with the preſent danger wherein they ſtood, all things in *Rome* being full of ſuſpition and tumult, then with the conſideration of the accidents which in a time ſo troubled might happen by the vacation of the Sea: yet at laſt, euen by the conſent of the Cardinal of *Amboiſe*, in whom failed euery day all hope to be elected, they created for Pope *Francis Piccolomini* Cardinall of *Sienna*, in whom was no expectation of long life, both for his extreme age and preſent ſickneſſe: a Cardinall ſure of vnſpotted report, and for his other conditions, not vnworthy that degree, who, to renew the memory of *Pius* the ſecond his vncle, tooke vpon him the name of *Pius* the third.

Francis Piccolomini made Pope.

As ſoone as the Pope was created, the *French* armie had no further occaſion to ſtay there, and therefore taking the way that had bene agreed vpon before, they paſſed ſuddenly the riuer of *Tiber*: but neither for the creation of the Pope, nor for the diſcamping of the armie, the tumults at *Rome* were not appeaſed, for that becauſe there was expectation for the coming of *Aluiano* and *Iohn Paul Baillon*, who conſpiring together, made leuies of men in *Perouſa*, *Valentinois* continuing as yet ſicke, and fearing their coming, was returned to *Rome* with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, the like numbers of light horſemen, and eight hundred footmen, hauing obtained ſafeconduct of the Pope, who hoped that he might the eaſilier put end to thoſe things by ſome compoſition. But the Duke *Valentinois* being now within one towne and walls with the *Vrſins*, enflamed with a moſt iuſt thirſt after his bloud, and hauing new bands continually arriuing, notwithſtanding they demanded of the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals a ſhort and readie iuſtice againſt him, they determined to be reuenged vpon him with armes, as ſoone as *Iohn Paul Baillon* and *Aluiano* were arriued: by reaſon whereof, there was alwayes ſome contention betweene the towne and them of the ſuburbes where *Valentinois* was lodged. The which contention troubled not onely the people of *Rome*, and the Court, but alſo was ſuppoſed to bring great preiudice to the affaires of the *French*, for that the *Vrſins* as ſoone as they were once diſpatched of the quarrell againſt *Valentinois*, preparing to go to the pay either of the *French* or *Spaniſh* King, and iudging that their ſtrength was of no litle importance to the victory, they were ſought to by both parts with ample conditions. But being naturally more enclined to the part of the *French*, the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* entertained in the Kings name *Iulio Vrſin*, who contracted for all thoſe of his family, except *Aluiano*, for whom was reſerued place, with honorable conditions; but by his coming all was reuerſed. For, albeit in the beginning he was almoſt agreed with the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, yet being almoſt in one moment reſtrained with the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, he entred pay with the King of *Spaine* with fiue hundred men at armes, and with prouiſion of threeſcore thouſand duckats yearely, aſſuring himſelfe of all thoſe of his family, except *Iohn Iordan*: to which deliberation he was chiefly induced (as he frankly confeſſed) by deſpite, that the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, burning more and more in ambition to be Pope, fauoured *Valentinois*, hoping by his meanes to obtaine the moſt part of the voices of the *Spaniſh* Cardinals; although the Cardinall clearing himſelfe of the fault, by transferring it to another, gaue

The Vrſins againſt Valentinois.

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out that he was perſwaded that the *Venetians* had bene the authors of it, who for the deſire they had that the *French* King ſhould not obtaine the Realme of *Naples*, had not onely conſented that he ſhould leaue their pay, promiſing him (as the report was) to reſerue for him the ſame place; but alſo to the end the firſt paiments ſhould be more ready, they had lent to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours fifteene thouſand duckats; a matter, which though it be not in euery part certain, yet it cannot be denied, but that the *Venetian* Embaſſadour did manifeſtly intrude himſelfe into that practiſe. Others were of opinion, that the conditions and large offers of the *Spaniards* were the cauſe, for that they bound themſelues to giue eſtates in the kingdome, as well to him as to all thoſe of his family, and to indue his brother with Eccleſiaſticall reuenues: and laſtly (which he eſteemed much) to aide him when the warre was finiſhed with two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, in the enterpriſe which he determined againſt the *Florentines* in the fauour of *Peter de Medicis*. It was beleeued that *Iohn Paul Baillon* come now to *Rome* with *Aluiano*, and who following his example, treated at one time with the *French* and with the *Spaniſh*, would alſo accompanie him in the ſame deliberation: but the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, not a litle amazed that the *Vrſins* had left the King, which made doubtfull the hopes which before were almoſt certaine, entertained him immediatly into the Kings ſeruice with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, granting whatſoeuer the other demanded, but all vnder the name of the *Florentines*, for that *Iohn Paul* would haue it ſo, to the end to be more aſſured of his payes, which were to be abated of the ſummes they ought to the King by vertue of their conuentions. And yet *Iohn Paul* being returned to *Perouſa* to put his people in order, and hauing receiued fourteene thouſand duckats, he was contented to gouerne himſelfe more according to the ſucceſſe of the time and common euent of things, and by his paſſions and particular intereſts, then according to that which beſeemes the reputation and faith of ſouldiers, and deferring with many excuſes to go to the *French* armie, he would not depart from *Perouſa*: a matter which the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* ſuppoſed to proceed vpon this, that *Iohn Paul* imitating the ſlender faith of the Captaines of *Italy* of that time, had from the houre he was entertained, made promiſe to *Bartholomew Aluiano* and the *Spaniards* to do ſo. After the *Vrſins* were entred into the pay of the *Spaniſh*, peace proceeded betweene them and the *Colonnois*, reſolued and ſet downe at the ſame inſtant in the lodging of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour; to whom, and to the *Venetian* Agent, they referred the reſolution of all their differences. The agreement of theſe houſes brought no litle feare to *Valentinois*, who determined to leaue *Rome*, and preparing to go to *Bracciana*, *Iohn Iordan* hauing giuen his faith to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* to leade him thither in ſuretie, it chanced that *Iohn Paul* and the *Vrſins* determining to aſſaile him, when they could not enter into the ſuburbes by the gate of the caſtle *S. Ange*, they iſſued out of *Rome*, and fetching a long circuite to come to the gate *Torrono*, they found it ſhut, and burnt it; and being entred in, they began to skirmiſh with certaine horſmen of *Valentinois*, to whoſe ſuccours albeit many of the *French* ſouldiers did runne, who were not yet departed out of *Rome*, yet the number of his enemies being the greater, and their rage redoubling, and his owne people (whoſe ſtrength was much diminiſhed afore) making ſignes to abandon him, he was conſtrained together with the Prince of *Squillace* and certaine *Spaniſh* Cardinals, to ſeeke his ſafetie in the Pallace of *Vatican*, from whence he retired with all ſpeed into the caſtle of *S. Ange*, hauing by the Popes conſent receiued faith of the Captain of the caſtle (who was the ſame that had that charge in the dayes of the dead Pope) to ſuffer him to go out when he would: and all his people fled whither their feare or fortune led them. In this garboile the Bailiffe of *Caen* was lightly hurt, and the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* had no litle feare. The matter of quarrell being taken away by this accident, the tumults alſo were immediatly appeaſed within the citie of *Rome*; in ſo much as they began all in peace to prepare for the election of a new Pope, for that *Pius*, not beguiling the hopes which the Cardinals conceiued of him at the time of his creation, was dead the ſixe and twentieth day after his election. After the death of *Pius*, the Cardinals deferring for certaine dayes to enter the Conclaue, (for they thought good that the *Vrſins* ſhould firſt iſſue out of *Rome*, where they yet remained to furniſh the numbers which they ſhould leade to the *Spaniſh* armie,) reſolued vpon the election out of the Conclaue: for that the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula*, mightie in friends, reputation, and riches, had drawne to him the voices of ſo many Cardinals, that (thoſe that were of the contrary opinion not daring to oppoſe againſt him) entring the Conclaue, he was with an example all new, and without ſhutting the Conclaue, elected Pope the ſame night, which was the night of the laſt day of October: who ei-

Valentinois diſtreſſed by the Vrſins.

Pope Pius the third dieth.

Cardinall S. Peter ad Vincula made Pope.

ther hauing regard to his firſt name of *Iulio*, or (as coniectures were made) to ſignifie the greatneſſe of his conceptions, or elſe becauſe he would not giue place to *Alexander*, no not in the excellencie of name, tooke vpon him the name of *Iulio*, the ſecond of that name amongſt all the Popes that had paſſed. Certainly it was wondred at of all men, that by ſo great conſent, they had created for Pope, a Cardinall, who was knowne to be of a diſpoſition rigorous and terrible, and who being impatient of reſt and tranquillitie, had conſumed his youth in continuall trauels, offended many by neceſſitie, and exerciſed hatred and hoſtilitie againſt many great perſonages. But on the other ſide, the cauſes appeared clearly, for which, ſurmounting all other difficulties, he was raiſed to ſo great eſtate. For he had bene of long time a Cardinall of great power and might, and with his magnificence, wherein he had alwayes exceeded the reſidue, and with the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, by the which he did great things, he had not onely made himſelfe mightie in opinion and friends, but by times and degrees had gotten great authoritie in the Court of *Rome*, bearing the name to be the principall defender of the Eccleſiaſticke dignitie and libertie. But that which ſerued moſt for his aduancement, was the promiſes immoderate and infinite which he made to the Cardinals, Princes and Barons, and to all others who might be profitable to him in that action. Beſides, he had the meanes to diſtribute money, benefices and ſpirituall dignities, as well ſuch as were his owne, as thoſe that were the rights of others, for that by reaſon of the bruite of his liberalitie, many made willing offers to him to diſpoſe as he beſt liked, of their treaſures, their names, their offices, and benefices: and no man conſidered that his promiſes were ſo great, that being Pope, he was neither able nor ought to obſerue them, for that he had of ſo long continuance enioyed the name of iuſt and vpright; that Pope *Alexander* himſelfe, his greateſt enemie, ſpeaking ill of him in all other things, could not but confeſſe him to be true of his word: which praiſe he made no care to defile and ſtaine, to the end to become Pope, knowing that no man more eaſily beguileth another, then he that hath the cuſtome and name neuer to deceiue any. The Cardinall of *Amboiſe* conſented to this election, for that deſpairing to obtaine the Popedome for himſelfe, he hoped that in reſpect of former dependances he would be friend to the King his maſter, as alwayes heretofore he was ſuppoſed to be. The Cardinall *Aſcanius* gaue alſo his franke conſent, being reconciled to him before, and treading vnder foote the memory of all ancient contentions that had bene betweene them, at ſuch time as afore the Popedome of *Alexander*, they followed the Court of *Rome* in the perſons of Cardinals. For, knowing his diſpoſition better then the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, he hoped that being aſcended to the Popedome, he ſhould haue the ſame vnquietneſſe, or rather greater, then he had had in a meaner fortune, together with ſuch conceptions as might be able to open to him a way to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*. In like ſort the *Spaniſh* Cardinals yeelded their conſent, notwithſtanding in the beginning they had no inclination: for that ſeeing there was ſuch a concurrence of others, and fearing not to be ſufficient enough to let his election, they iudged it more conuenient for their ſuretie, to hold him appeaſed in conſenting, then to ſtirre him to anger in refuſing, ſomewhat affying themſelues in the great promiſes he made to them, and induced by the perſwaſions and requeſts of *Valentinois*, whoſe condition ſtood ſo enuironed with calamities, that he was conſtrained to follow euery dangerous counſell, being no leſſe abuſed then the others with the hopes that he gaue him: for that he promiſed him to make a mariage betweene his daughter and his nephew *Francis Maria de la Rouere* Prefect of *Rome*, to confirme him Captaine of the armies of the Church: and which was of greateſt importance, to ioyne to his aide in the recouery of the townes of *Romagna*, all which, except the Caſtles, were almoſt withdrawne from his obedience: the affaires of which prouince, full of innouations and changes, troubled with diuers thoughts the ſpirit of the Pope, both for that he knew he was not able at that time to bring it to his deuotion, and alſo for that he endured vnwillingly that the greatneſſe of the *Venetians* ſhould ſo increaſe. For when it was vnderſtood in *Romagna*, that *Valentinois* was fled into the Caſtle of *S. Ange*, and the regiments of men that were about him diſperſed, the Cities which had expected him before in great conſtancie, being now out of hope, began to take new parties: *Ceſena* returned to the ancient deuotion of the Church: *Imola*, the Captaine of the Caſtle being killed by meanes of certaine of the principall citizens, ſtood in doubt, ſome deſiring to reuert to the Church, and others to be reconciled to the *Riares* their firſt Lords. The Citie of *Furly* poſſeſſed by the *Ordelaſſy* long time before it came to the *Riares* by the permiſſion of Pope *Sixtus*, had repealed *Anthonie* a remainder of the ſame family; who

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hauing formerly aſſayed to enter by the fauour of the *Venetians*, but afterwards fearing that vnder his name they would retaine the iuriſdiction to themſelues, he had recourſe to the *Florentines*, and by their meanes was reinueſted in his patrimonie. *Iohn Sforce* returned to *Peſero*, and *Pandolfe Malateſte* to *Rimini*, the one and other being called by the people. But *Denis* of *Nalda*, an ancient ſouldier to *Valentinois*, at the requeſt of the caſtle-keeper of *Rimini*, went thither to his ſuccours: by whoſe helpe, *Pandolfe* being put to the chaſe, the Citie returned eſtſoones to the obedience of *Valentinois*. *Faenza* onely perſeuered longeſt in his deuotion; but in the end being depriued of all hope of his returne, they had recourſe to the remainders of the family of the *Manfredi* their ancient Lords, and called home *Aſtor* a yong gentleman of the ſame houſe, but a baſtard, none remaining of the race legitimate. But the *Venetians* aſpiring to the iuriſdiction of all *Romagna*, immediatly after the death of Pope *Alexander*, ſent to *Rauenna* many bands of ſouldiers, with whom they aſſailed one night vpon the ſudden, and with great fury, the Citie of *Ceſena*, but the people of the place ſtanding valiantly to their defence, the *Venetians* which went thither without artillery, hoping more to ſurpriſe it then to force it, retired to the countrey of *Rauenna*, where they conſidered diligently all things that might giue them any occaſion to aduance themſelues in that Prouince; which immediatly was preſented to them by the diſcords that were betweene *Denis* of *Nalda* and the *Fauentines*. For, it being ſomewhat intollerable to *Denis* that the *Fauentines* ſhould returne vnder the gouernment of the *Manfredi*, againſt whom he had rebelled at ſuch time as *Valentinois* aſſailed that Citie, he called in the *Venetians*, and put into their hands the Caſtles of the vale of *Lamona* which he had in keeping: and the *Venetians* a litle after put a band of three hundred footmen within the Caſtle of *Faenza*, being brought in by the caſtle-keeper, whom they had ſeduced by their corruptions. They occupied in like ſort, and in the ſame time, the borough of *Forlimpople*, with many other boroughs of *Romagna*, and ſent part of their men of warre to take the Citie of *Fana*, but the people held out conſtantly for the Church. They were alſo brought into *Rimini* by the conſent of the people; couenanting aforehand with *Pandolfe Malateſte* to giue him in recompence the towne of *Citadella* in the territorie of *Padua*, and a yearely penſion, with a perpetuall eſtate of a companie of men at armes: and then they returned with great diligence to beſiege *Faenza*, for that the townesmen, nothing amazed with the loſſe of the Caſtle, for that being ſeated in a low place, and ſeparate from the Citie by a deepe trench, it could not much offend them, they made valiant reſiſtance, both for the affection they bare to the family of *Manfredi*, and alſo for a grudge they had that the inhabitants of the vale of *Lamona* had promiſed to others the imperie of *Faenza*. But of themſelues being vnable to make defence ſufficient, for that *Chriſtopher More* commander of the *Venetians*, had approched his artillery to their towne, and occupied all the places of importance in the country, they demanded ſuccours of the new Pope *Iulio*, to whom ſuch boldneſſe was not a litle diſagreeable: but being newly aſcended to the Popedome, without force, without money, and without hope to be aided by either of the Kings of *France* or *Spaine*, as well for that they were both troubled with thoughts of farre greater importance, as for that he had denied to be confederate with either of them: he had no other meanes to prouide for them, but through the authoritie of the name Pontificall: therefore to proue what reuerence the *Venetians* bare to it, together with what regard they remembred the amities which long time before he had borne to that Commonweale, he ſent to *Venice* the Biſhop of *Tiuoli*, to complaine, for that *Faenza* being a Citie immediatly appertaining to the Church, they did not forbeare to do ſo great a diſhonour to a Pope, who afore he was raiſed to that dignitie, had alwayes bene a very great friend to their Commonweale, and of whom ſtanding now in a greater fortune, they might hope for right ample fruites by reaſon of his ancient friendſhip and good will. It may be there were in the Senate ſome of thoſe men which aforetime had diſſwaded not to entangle their eſtate with the matters of *Piſa*, and that they ſhould not receiue in pawne the ports of the realme of *Naples*, nor make partition with the *French* King of the Duchie of *Millan*; who conſidered what might happen, by making themſelues dayly more and more ſuſpected and hated of others, and to adde to other hatreds, the ill will of the Pope: but ambitious counſels hauing bene fauoured with ſo happie ſucceſſe, and therefore all their ſailes being hoiſſed in ſo happie a wind of fortune, the opinions of thoſe that perſwaded the contrary were not heard: and therefore (almoſt with a generall conſent) it was anſwered to the Popes Embaſſadour, That the ſtate of *Venice* had alwayes greatly deſired that the Cardinall *S. Peter de Vincula* ſhould come to be Pope, for the

The Pope complaineth to the Venetians.

The Venetians anſwer to the new Pope.

the long amitie, confirmed by very many good offices and fauours giuen and receiued by both parts, and that he ſhould not doubt, but they would now reſpect him more being Pope, then they had alwayes done whileſt he was a Cardinall: but as touching the point of imputation, they knew not wherein they had offended his dignitie, embracing the occaſion which was offered to them to haue *Faenza*; for that that Citie was not onely not poſſeſſed by the Church, but the Church had made a willing depriuation of all her rights, in transferring ſo amply and in full Conſiſtory the iuriſdiction to the Duke *Valentinois*: That he would remember, that afore that grant, the Popes (within no memory of man) had euer poſſeſſed *Faenza*, but from time to time had giuen it to new Vicars, without acknowledging other ſuperioritie then the tribute, which they offered to pay readily when it ſhould be required: That the *Fauentines* had no deſire to be the ſubiects of the Church, but abhorring ſuch nomination, they had reuerenced the name of the Duke *Valentinois*, with all the obſeruances that were in them: and that now hauing no more hope in him, they ranne headlong to call in the baſtards of the houſe of *Manfredi*: Laſtly, they beſought him, that being Pope, he would hold toward that State the ſame friendſhip which he had alwayes ſhewed towards them when he was a Cardinall. After the Pope was certified of the wil of the *Venetians*, he wold haue ſent into *Romagna* the Duke *Valentinois*, whom he had entertained with many demonſtrations of honor as ſoone as he was Pope, and in token of amitie lodged him in the Pallace Pontificall, had he not feared leſt his going, which in the beginning had bene agreeable enough to the people, ſhould be then very hatefull, ſeeing they were already all drawne into rebellion againſt him. But touching the *Fauentines*, there was no more remaining to them, but to haue recourſe to the *Florentines*, who, diſcontented that a Citie of ſo neare neighborhood ſhould fall into the power of the *Venetians*, had ſent thither to their ſuccours in the beginning two hundred footmen, entertaining them with hopes ſtill to refurniſh them, to the end to keepe them in courage to hold out till the Pope were at leiſure to ſuccour them. But perceiuing that the Pope had no diſpoſition to take armes, and that the authoritie of the *French* King (warning the *Venetians* in the beginning not to moleſt the eſtates of the Duke *Valentinois*) was not ſufficient to withdraw them; not minding to enter alone into a warre with ſo mightie enemies, they forbare to relieue them with any further ſupply: by reaſon whereof, the *Fauentines* being cut off from all hopes, and the *Venetian* armie (incamping at the Church of the Obſeruants) hauing begun to play with their artillery againſt the walls of their Citie, being vnhappie alſo in this, that their intelligences were diſcouered, and certaine of them taken who had conſpired to put the *Venetians* into the towne, they yeelded vp their Citie when the *Venetians* had agreed to giue to *Aſtor* a certaine penſion (albeit but litle) for the maintenance of his life. After the taking of *Faenza*, the *Venetians* might with the ſame facilitie and fortune haue commanded *Imola* and *Furly*; but not to aggrauate the indignation of the Pope, who murmured not a litle, they ſent their men into garriſon, determining for that time to paſſe no further, hauing occupied in *Romagna*, beſides *Faenza* and *Rimini*, with their countries, *Monteſiora*, *Saint Archangeo*, *Verrucque*, *Gattere*, *Sauignano*, and *Meldole* the hauen of the countrey of *Ceſena*; and in the territorie of *Imola*, *Toſſignana*, *Solaruola*, and *Monthattaile*. *Valentinois* held in *Romagna* onely the Caſtles of *Furly*, of *Ceſena*, of *Forlimpople*, and of *Bertinoire*: all which (albeit he had great deſire to go into *Romagna*, to the end they might not be vſurped by the *Venetians*) he had eaſily conſented to put into the Popes keeping, with bond to receiue them of him againe at ſuch time as they ſhould be aſſured, had it not bene that the Pope, his ancient integritie being not yet ouercome with deſire to beare rule, refuſed the offer, ſaying, he would not willingly accept occaſions that might any way allure him to corrupt his faith. At laſt, to oppoſe in ſome ſort againſt the proceedings of the *Venetians*, with whom he was not a litle diſcontented for the danger of the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike, hauing alſo a deſire that *Valentinois* ſhould depart from *Rome*, he accorded with *Valentinois*, that he ſhould go to *Spetia* by ſea, and from thence by land to *Ferrara*, and ſo to *Imola*, where ſhould be reſtored to him an hundred men at armes and fiftie light horſemen, which yet followed his Enſignes (interpoſing in this conuention not onely the name of the Pope, but alſo the name of the Colledge of Cardinals.) With this reſolution *Valentinois* being gone to *Oſtia* to be embarked, the Pope ſuddenly repented that he had not accepted the Caſtles; and hauing now a ſpeciall deſire to haue them (not reſpecting the meanes) and to keepe them to himſelfe, he ſent after him the Cardinals of *Volterre* and *Surrente*, to perſwade him, that to preuent that thoſe places ſhould not fall into the hands of the *Venetians*, he would

Faenza taken by the Venetians.

would be content to deliuer them vp into the Popes keeping, vnder the ſame promiſe that had bene treated vpon at *Rome*. But *Valentinois* refuſing ſo to do, the Pope riſing into choler, cauſed him to be arreſted in the galleys wherein he was embarked, and in decent ſort to be led to *Magliana*, from whence (all the Court and communaltie of *Rome* reioycing for the apprehenſion of his perſon) he was led to the *Vatican*, where he was kindly vſed, and honored, but not without ſpeciall guard: the reaſon was, that the Pope fearing leſt the caſtle-keepers deſpairing of his ſafetie, would ſell the Caſtles to the *Venetians*, he ſought to make him tractable by eaſie meanes, and ſo to haue them by his conſent and will. Thus the power of Duke *Valentinois* riſing as it were ſuddenly, no leſſe by meanes of his crueltie and deceits, then by the armes and power of the Church, tooke end with a ruine more ſudden, hauing experience in himſelfe of part of thoſe deceits wherewith his father and he had vexed many ſeuerall perſonages. And his ſouldiers had no better fortune, who being gone into the countrey of *Perouſa*, with hope to obtaine ſafeconduct of the *Florentines* and others, (the companies of the *Vitelli*, the *Baillons*, and the *Siennoys* falling vpon them) they were conſtrained for their ſafetie to retire vpon the lands of the *Florentines*: where, being diſperſed between *Caſtillon* and *Cortona*, and reduced to foure hundred horſemen, with a very ſlender ſtrength of footmen, they were ſtripped by the appointment of the *Florentines*, and *Dom Michael* their Leader taken priſoner, whom they deliuered afterwards to the Pope, who demanded him with great inſtance, for the hate he bare to all the old ſeruants of the late Pope *Alexander*, and for that he had bene a faithfull miniſter and executer of all the wickedneſſe of *Valentinois*; though ſhortly after he ſet him at libertie, following his naturall inclination, which was to be eaſie to pardon thoſe vpon whom he had power to execute his anger. About this time the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* departed from *Rome* to returne into *France*, hauing obtained of the Pope, more for feare then for good will, a confirmation of the legation of that Realme: but the Cardinall *Aſcanius* followed him not, notwithſtanding at his coming out of *France*, he promiſed the King by oath, that he would returne; of which oath he had procured ſecret abſolution of the Pope afore. And yet the example of the Cardinall *Aſcanius*, ſcorning at the credulitie of the Cardinal of *Amboiſe*, could not make the *French* Cardinal better aduiſed in the action with *Pandolfe Petrucci*, who receiuing the Cardinall at *Sienna* with many honours, and making inſinuation into his good fauours with deepe ſubtilties, and counſels full of art, promiſing to cauſe *Montpulcian* to be rendred to the *Florentines*, ouercame him ſo much, that at his returne into *France*, he aſſured the King that he had not found in *Italy* a man of better ſpirit, and wrought ſo that his Maieſtie gaue ſufferance to his ſonne to returne to *Sienna*, remaining at that time in the Court of *France* for the aſſurance of his fathers promiſes. Theſe were the mutations that hapned in *Italy* by the death of the Pope.

Duke Valentinois arreſted by the Pope.

But in theſe times, the enterpriſes begun with ſo great hopes on the other ſide the Mounts by the *French* King, were brought into many difficulties: for the army ſent vpon the frontier of *Gaſcoine*, for want of money, and by the ill gouernment of thoſe that had the charge, was quickly broken: and the galleys which to ſmall purpoſe had runne along the *Spaniſh* ſeas, were retired to the port of *Marſeilles*: and the armie leuied for *Parpignian*, of the which the King promiſed himſelfe much, being well furniſhed of all things neceſſary, was incamped before *Saulſes*, which is a ſtrong place neare to *Narbona*, ſtanding at the foote of the hils *Pirenei* in the countrey of *Roſſillion*, which being well defended, made a wonderfull reſiſtance: and albeit it was furiouſly aſſaulted by the *French* men, vſing both the ſeruice of artilleries and the art of vnderminings, yet the valour of the defendants kept it from ſpoile and ruine: but an armie of all the *Spaniſh* Realmes being aſſembled at *Parpignian*, where the King was preſent in perſon, to the end to ſuccour it; and being ioyned to this armie (by reaſon the *French* were diſcamped) the regiments that had bene ſent to defend the frontiers of *Fontarabie*, and all theſe forces being drawne into one ſtrength, and marching to giue battell to the *French* armie, the Captaines ſeeing no reaſon to contend againſt fortune, retired with the campe towards *Narbona*, after they had lien afore *Saulſes* about fortie dayes: and the *Spaniards* entred vpon the territories of the *French* King, where hauing taken certaine places of ſmall importance (for that the *French* were withdrawne into *Narbona*) they returned vpon their owne frontiers by the commandement of their King; who hauing obtained the true end of him that is aſſailed, entertained but with an il wil the war on the other ſide the Mounts, ſeeing that though his realms were mighty enough to defend him from the *French* king, yet were they too weake to offend him. A litle after (King *Federike* interpoſing)

Exploits of the French armies beyond the Mounts.

A truce betweene the kings of Spain and France.

terposing) they made a truce for fiue moneths, comprehending onely those things that concerned the affaires of *France*: for that the *Spanish* King assuring *Federike* that he would consent that the Realme of *Naples* should be restored to him, and *Federike* expecting no lesse of the *French* King, the rather at the intreatie of the Queene inclined to compassion, he had introduced betweene them the practises of peace. In which negociation the *Spanish* Embassadours (the warre continuing still in *Italy*) went into *France*, where they gouerned their doings with such art, that *Federike* perswaded himselfe that the difficultie of his restitution, which the Barons of the faction of *Aniow* impugned vehemently, proceeded principally on the *French* Kings side. Thus all the warres betweene both the Kings being reduced onely into the kingdome of *Naples*, the eyes and thoughts of all men were turned thither: for that the *French* men hauing passed from *Rome* by the lands of *Valmontona* and the *Colonnoys*, who consented willingly to refresh them with victuals, they marched by the fields of the Church towards *S. Germein*, where *Gonsaluo* hauing put garrison in the Castle of *Seeque* and in *Montcassin*, was encamped, not with intention to hazard fortune, but to be an impediment that they passed no further, which by the strength of the place he hoped to do easily. The *French* men being arriued at *Pontcorue*, and at *Cepperano*, the Marquis of *Saluusse* with such as were within *Caietta*, ioyned to them, hauing afore by occasion of the discamping of *Gonsaluo*, recouered the Duchie of *Tracetta*, and the countrey of *Fondi*, euen to the floud *Garillan*. The first thing that the *French* armie did, was to assay to get the Castle of *Secqua*, from the which, after they had in vaine giuen one assault, they raised their siege. But for that action they fell into such contempt, that it was publikly affirmed in the *Spanish* armie, that that day the Realme of *Naples* was assured against the *French* men, who distrusting for that respect to chase their enemie from the way of *S. Germein*, determined to returne by the way toward the sea. And therefore when they had reposed two dayes within *Aquin*, which they had taken, and left seuen hundred footmen within the Castle *Guillaume*, returning by *Pontcorue*, they marched by the way of *Fondy*, to lodge at a town seated vpon the way of the riuer *Garillan*, where men say the Citie of *Minturna* was anciently builded; a place not onely conuenient to cast a bridge, and passe the riuer, as was their intention, but also very commodious to encampe there if they should haue bene constrained: for they had *Caietta* and their nauie at sea at their backes, and *Tracetta*, *Itry*, *Fondy*, with all the circuite of the countrey to the riuer *Garillan*, stood firme in their deuotion. It was thought that the passing of the *French* army ouer the riuer, was a thing of great consequence for the victory: for that *Gonsaluo* being so far inferior in forces, that he durst not appeare in plaine field, the *French* might march without impediment euen to the walls of *Naples*, whither also their nauie at sea might haue approched, hauing nothing at sea to let them. And for that cause *Gonsaluo* issuing out of *S. Germein*, was come on the other part of *Garillan*, to let with all his strength the passing of the *French*, affying much in the disaduantage and difficulties which armies find to passe riuers that haue no foords, specially when the enemie is opposed against them. But as it often hapneth, that which at first was esteemed hard, succeeded most easily; and on the contrary, most hardnesse is often found in that which all men esteemed most easie. For, the *French*, notwithstanding the furious resistance and impediments of the *Spanish*, after they had cast the bridge, won the way of the riuer by force of artillery, planted partly vpon the banke where they encamped, which was somewhat higher then the banke on the other side, and partly vpon the barks which they had caused to be brought from the nauie at sea, and drawne vp against the streame of the riuer. But the day after, as they began to passe, the *Spaniards* opposed against them, and charging with an incredible resolution vpon such as were already passed, they repulsed them euen to the midst of the bridge, and had followed them further, if the fury of the artillery had not compelled them to retire. In this encounter died on the *French* side the Lieutenant of the Bailiffe of *Dion*; and of the *Spaniards* was slaine *Fabio* sonne to *Paul Vrsin*, a yong man amongst the *Italian* souldiers of great expectation. It is said, that if the *French* men when they began to passe, had boldly aduanced forward, they had that day remained superiors: but whilest they proceeded slowly, and with demonstration of timorousnesse, they did not onely lose the occasion of the victory of that day, but they diminished greatly all hope in time to come: for from that day all things tooke with them very ill successe, and there was already among the Captaines rather confusion then concord; and (according to the custome of the *French* souldiers with the *Italian* Captaines) very litle obedience to the Marquis of *Mantua* the Kings Lieutenant. In so much as either for that occasion, or in respect

What hapned to the French men as they would haue passed Garill.

ſpect of his diſeaſe (being ſicke indeed) or elſe for that (as well by the experience of that which had bene formerly done at the Caſtle of *Seeque*, as ſince when they aſſayed to paſſe the bridge) he had loſt all hope of the victory, he went from the army, leauing an opinion to the *French* King, that he was more loyall then couragious or fit to gouerne an armie. After the Marquis of *Mantua* was gone, the *French* Captaines, of whom the Marquis of *Salaſſe*, the Bailiffe of *Caen*, and *Monſieur Sandricourt* were the chiefe, hauing firſt raiſed at the head of the bridge beyond the riuer, a Rampier with wagons, they erected a baſtion capable of many men, by meanes whereof their enemies could not aſſaile them when they paſſed the bridge. But they were kept from paſſing further by other difficulties, hapning vnto them partly by their owne fault, partly by the vertue and patience of their enemies, and partly alſo by ill fortune. For *Gonſaluo*, who ſtudied more to hinder them with the occaſion of the Winter and ſituation of the countrey, then with force, was encamped at *Ceintura*, which is a ſmall village, eminently ſeated, and ſomewhat more then a mile diſtant from the Riuer, about which the bands of footmen and horſmen were very incommodiouſly lodged, for that the place being but ſolitary, and where there were very few houſes and cabbins of heardſmen, they had almoſt no other couert then the skie, the ground alſo for the lowneſſe of the plaine, as for that the ſeaſon was rainie, being full of water and mire; and therefore the ſouldiers that had no meanes to lodge themſelues more high, laboured to couer and planke the ground where they were, with great ſtore of fagots and ſticks. In regard of theſe difficulties, and for that the armie was ill payed, and the *French* hauing wholly wonne the paſſage of the Riuer, certaine Captaines were of opinion to retire the armie to *Capua*, both to the end to relieue the intollerable ſufferance of the ſouldiers, and to withdraw themſelues from the danger, wherein they eſteemed themſelues to be continually, their numbers being farre inferiour to their enemies. But this counſell was reſolutely reiected of *Gonſaluo*, with theſe memorable words: That he deſired rather to be preſently buried a foote extraordinary deepe in the ground, then by retiring many fadomes to prolong his life for an hundred yeares: and ſo reſiſting all difficulties with an incredible conſtancie, and fortifying himſelfe with a deepe trench, and with two baſtions which he cauſed to be made in the front of the campe, he prepared to defend himſelfe againſt the *French*; who, though they had made a baſtion, remoued not at all, for that the countrey being all ouerflowne with the raine, and by the waters of the Riuer, (this place is called by *Liuie*, for the neighbourhood of *Seſſa*, *Aque Sinueſſane*, and perhaps they are the lakes of *Minturna*, wherein *Caius Marius* hid himſelfe flying from *Sylla*) they could not paſſe further, but by a ſtrait way, which was very foule, and full of dirt and mud; and alſo there was danger to be charged in flanke by the footbands of the *Spaniſh*, being lightly armed, and lying very neare this way; and perhaps that Winter was very cold and ſharp, raining and ſnowing almoſt continually, much more then had bene accuſtomed in that country: whereby it ſeemed that fortune and the heauens had conſpired againſt the *French*, who ſtaying there, did not onely ſpend the time vnprofitably, but receiued by that abode (by reaſon of their naturall diſpoſition) almoſt the like harmes which mens bodies receiue by a poiſon that worketh ſlowly. For though they were lodged with leſſe diſcommodities then were the *Spaniſh*, and that by the meanes of the reliques of an ancient Theater, whereunto they had ioyned many other ſhrowds and couers, and of certaine houſes and Innes neare adioyning, where part of them were ſhrowded, and by reaſon that the places about the Tower were ſomewhat higher then the plaine of *Seſſa*, they were leſſe offended with waters: and laſtly, that the moſt part of their horſemen were lodged in *Tracetta* and other places adioyning: yet the bodies of the *French* men and *Swiſſers*, naturally being not ſo able to make reſiſtance againſt long trauels & perplexities, as are the bodies of the *Spainiards*, their heate and furie decreaſed daily, and the couetouſneſſe of the officers & treaſurers, to whom it belonged to pay the ſoldiers, increaſed much thoſe difficulties: for that they looking onely to their owne profite, and forgetting no kind of deceit, ſuffered the ſouldiers to diminiſh in number, and were negligent to furniſh the campe with victuals as appertained; by reaſon whereof many diſeaſes fell vpon the armie, and the number of ſouldiers, although in reſpect of paiments it was almoſt the ſame, was much leſſe in effect; and alſo, ſome of the *Italian* companies went away of their owne accord. Theſe diſorders were made greater by the diſcord of the Captaines, through whoſe fault the armie was gouerned neither with ſuch order nor obedience as was fit. Thus the *French* men being peſtered with the ſharpneſſe of the Winter, remained idle vpon the ſhores of *Garillan*, no other thing being done either by the enemie or by them,

The wiſedome of Gonſaluo, knowing the nature of his enemies.

but certaine light skirmiſhings which were of no importance, wherein the *Spaniards* ſeemed alwayes to be ſuperiours. About the ſame time alſo the footbands which the *French* left in garriſon within the Caſtle *Guillaume*, not being able to endure the vexations and brauadoes of the garriſons of *Secque* and other peeces thereabouts commanded by the *Spaniſh*, abandoned their charge, and pretending to come to the armie, were charged by the way and broken. Now things hauing continued many dayes in this eſtate, *Bartholomew Aluiano* and other of the *Vrſins* with their companies arriued in the *Spaniſh* armie, by whoſe coming *Gonſaluo* found himſelfe ſo ſtrengthened, hauing in his armie nine hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and nine thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, that he began to thinke that now he was no more to ſtudie to defend himſelfe, but to offend his enemie; wherein he was ſo much the more encouraged, by how much he was well aduertiſed that the *French* (ſtronger in horſemen, but not in footmen) were ſo diſperſed in the bordering places, that their lodgings held litle leſſe then ten miles of the countrey; in ſo much as neare the Tower of *Garillan* there were onely the Marquis of *Saluſſe* Viceroy, and other principall Captaines, with the leſſer part of the armie, which diminiſhed dayly, although they had ſtore of victuals ſent them, by reaſon of the continuall increaſe of diſeaſes, whereof many died, and amongſt others the Bailiffe of *Caen*. For this cauſe hauing determined to aſſay ſecretly to paſſe the Riuer, (which being done, he had no doubt of the victorie) he recommended to *Aluiano* (the author as ſome thinke of that counſell) the charge to make ſecretly a bridge: by whoſe direction there being made, without the knowledge of the *French*, a bridge of barkes within a creeke neare to *Seſſa*, he cauſed it to be brought by night to *Garillan*, and to be caſt at the paſſage of *Suya*, foure miles aboue the bridge of the *French* men, where they kept no guard. As ſoone as the bridge was caſt (being the ſeuen and twentieth day of December in the night) all the armie paſſed ouer together, with the perſon of *Gonſaluo*, who lodged the ſame night in the towne of *Suya* neare the Riuer, which was taken by thoſe that paſſed the firſt. The morning following which was on a Friday, (a day happie for the *Spaniards*) *Gonſaluo* hauing ordered that the reareguard, lodged betweene the Caſtle of *Mondragon* and *Carinola*, foure miles below the bridge of the *French*, ſhould go and charge their bridge, he prepared himſelfe with the vantguard led by *Aluiano*, and with the battell which paſſed with himſelfe, to follow the *French* men: who receiuing aduertiſement the ſame night that the *Spaniards* had caſt a bridge and began to paſſe, entred into a generall feare, which ſo much the more drew them into aſtoniſhment, by how much this accident and boldneſſe of the enemie was beyond their expectation, hauing themſelues determined to attempt nothing till the time were more fauourable, and perſwading themſelues that their enemies would be detained by the ſame negligence. And therefore albeit the Viceroy (to whom were reſorted many bands from *Tracetto* and the places thereabout) puſhed forward more with feare then with counſell and good deliberation, (as often happeneth in ſudden aduentures) had ſent towards *Suya* to ſtop their paſſage, *Monſieur d'Alegre* with certaine regiments of footmen and horſemen, yet finding it now too late, and feare ouer-ruling all diſcourſe and conſideration, they raiſed their campe ſuddenly, and in great haſte about midnight they departed from the Tower of *Garillan*, leauing abandoned the moſt part of their munitions and nine great peeces of artillery, together with great numbers of their ſouldiers with bodies wounded and full of ſickneſſe, and tooke their way towards *Caietta*, whither they purpoſed to retire. But *Gonſaluo* knowing that they were diſcamped, followed them with his armie, ſending afore *Proſper Colonne* with his light horſemen, to the end that being troubled by them, they might be conſtrained to march more ſlowly; and as they ouertooke them neare *Scandi* they began to skirmiſh, the *French* men for all that not forbearing to march: yet they were compelled oftentimes to ſtay, for feare of falling into diſorder, at bridges and hard paſſages: from whence, after they had ſupported the skirmiſh a certaine ſpace, they retired ſtill, receiuing alwayes ſome hurt: and the order they kept was this, the artillery marched afore, the footbands followed after, and then the horſemen, of whom ſuch as were moſt behind continued the fight with the enemies. The *French* men being in this ſort aduanced after certaine pauſes and light skirmiſhes, as farre as the bridge which is before *Mola* of *Caietta*, neceſſitie compelled the Viceroy to ſtay there part of his men at armes, to giue leiſure to the artilleries to paſſe before, who being not able to march ſo faſt as the companies, began already to be mingled among them. Therefore a great skirmiſh being begun in that place, the reareguard of the *Spaniſh* came immediatly after, who hauing paſſed the riuer without reſiſtance, euen with the ſame barkes of

the

the bridge which had bene broken by the *French* men, went towards *Caietta* by the right way, *Gonſaluo* marching alwayes on the wing with the reſidue of the armie. The fight was violent at the bridge of *Mola* for a certaine time, the *French* men maintaining themſelues principally by the aduantage of the place (although with great feare:) and the *Spaniards*, eſteeming themſelues already in poſſeſſion of the victory, aſſailed them furiouſly. At laſt the *French* men, when they could no longer make reſiſtance, and fearing leſt part of the regiments which *Gonſaluo* had ſent by the coaſt to that end, would cut off their way, began to retire in diſorder, and being continually followed by their enemies, when they came to the head of two wayes, the one leading to *Itry*, and the other to *Caietta*, they fell into manifeſt flying, many remaining ſlaine, amongſt whom was *Bernardin Adorno* Lieutenant of fiftie Lances: many were taken priſoners, and the artilleries abandoned, with all the horſes appointed for the ſeruice of the ſame: and touching the reſidue which fled towards *Caietta*, they were victoriouſly chaſed euen to the gates of the Citie. At the ſame time *Fabricio Colonne* ſent by *Gonſaluo* (after he had paſſed the riuer with fiue hundred horſe and a thouſand footmen, neare to *Pontecorue* and *Fraces*) and being fauoured of the moſt part of the villages and countrey people, ſtripped the regiments of *Lodowike de la Mirandola* and *Alexander Triuulce*. Beſides this, there were many of them, who being lodged at *Fondy*, *Itry*, and other places thereabouts, who hearing that the *Spaniards* had caſt the bridge, went not to the armie at the tower of *Garillan*, but for their ſafetie diſperſing themſelues into diuers places, were taken and ſtripped. But *Peter de Medicis* who alſo followed the *French* campe, with certaine other Gentlemen, had a great misfortune: for when the armie brake vp from before *Garillan*, being mounted vpon a barke with foure peeces of artillery, to go to *Caietta*, their barke ſunke, as well for that they had ouer-charged her, as that the winds were contrary to the mouth of the riuer: ſo that they were all drowned. The night following, *Gonſaluo* with the army lodged at *Caſtellona* and at *Mola*, and approching the next day before *Caietta*, whither were retired the *French* Captaines, together with the Princes of *Salerne* and *Biſignian*, he wonne immediatly the ſuburbes and the mount, which the *French* had abandoned: and although *Caietta* was ſufficiently manned with ſouldiers, and well prouided of victuals, beſides the conueniencie of the place to be ſuccoured by the armies at ſea; yet hauing loſt courage, and not minding to endure the perplexitie of expectation of vncertaine ſuccours, they fell preſently to parley: and therefore they ſent the Bailiffe of *Dion*, *S. Colombo*, and *Theodore Triuulce*, to treate with *Gonſaluo* in the name of all ſ reſidue, who accorded the firſt day of the yeare 1504. to giue vp to *Gonſaluo*, *Caietta* with the Caſtle, vnder condition of free power to go out of the Realme of *Naples* with their goods either by land or ſea, and that *Monſieur d'Aubigny* and the other priſoners ſhould be deliuered both of the one and other partie. But this was not ſo clearly capitulated, that *Gonſaluo* tooke not occaſion to diſpute, that by vertue of the couenants, the Barons of the kingdom of *Naples* could chalenge no freedome. This was the chaſe that was giuen to the *French* armie neare to the riuer *Garillan*, vpon the bankes or ſhores whereof they had bene encamped about fiftie dayes; which happened vnto them no leſſe by their owne diſorders, then by the valour of their enemies; and which is the more worthy of memory, for that thereupon followed the abſolute loſſe of ſo puiſſant and noble a Realme, together with the confirmation of the dominion of the *Spaniſh*: and alſo for that the *French* being entred with a far greater ſtrength then the enemie, and with better ſtore of all ſorts of prouiſions neceſſary for the warre both by land and ſea, they were vanquiſhed with ſuch facilitie, and without bloud or any danger of the conquerours: and for that although there died very few of them by the ſword of the enemie, the number was but ſmall that was reſerued of ſo great an armie; for as much as of thoſe regiments of footmen which eſcaped by flying, and of thoſe that came from *Caietta* after the accord, there died many by the way, as well by reaſon of the cold, as by ſickneſſe; and ſuch among them as could get to *Rome*, came thither for the moſt part poore and naked, whereof many died in the hoſpitals and in the ſtreets and high wayes, as well by the coldneſſe of the nights, as of hunger. And whether we referre the cauſes of theſe calamities to Deſtinie enuying the *French*, and no leſſe contrary to the Nobilitie then to bodies of inferiour condition, or to the diſeaſes which fell vpon them by the diſcommodities they ſuffered about *Garillan*: many of thoſe who after the accord departing from *Caietta* (where they left the moſt part of their horſes) embarked themſelues to paſſe by ſea, died either by the way, or as ſoone as they were arriued in *France*; amongſt whom were the Marquis of *Saluſſe*, *Sandricourt*, the Bailiffe of the Mountaines, with many other gentlemen

Peter de Medicis drowned.

1504.

of

of marke. But beſides that which might be imputed to the diſcord and ill gouernment of the *French* Captaines, and to the ſharpneſſe of the time, and to the diſabilitie of the *French* and *Swiſſers* in compariſon of the *Spaniſh* to endure the tediouſneſſe of delay, and hard trauels; it was thought there were two impediments to the *French* Kings victory: the one was, the long abode that the armie made vpon the territories of *Rome* after the Popes death, the ſame being the cauſe that Winter came vpon them, and that the *Vrſins* were practiſed withall by *Gonſaluo* afore they could enter into the kingdome; where, if they had entred while the time was yet mild, *Gonſaluo* being farre inferior to them in forces, and not fauoured with the hardneſſe of the time, would haue bene conſtrained to abandon the greateſt part of the kingdome, and to withdraw himſelfe into places of ſtrength. The other was the couetouſneſſe of the officers and treaſurers, who beguiling the King in the pay of the ſouldiers, and not taking ſuch order for victuals as they ought for the performance of their charge, were the principall cauſes of the diminution of that armie, the King hauing made ſuch prouiſion of all things neceſſary, as it is certaine, that when the *French* men were ouerthrowne, there was within *Rome* by his direction, a great quantitie of money, and great prouiſion for victuals: and although at the laſt, after many complaints of the Captaines and of the whole armie, there was leuied an abundant prouiſion of victuals, yet they had ſuffered ſuch ſcarſitie in the beginning, that that diſorder ioyned to other diſcommodities, was the breeder of infinite diſeaſes, of the departing of many, and of the abſenting of many into places thereabout; matters which in the end brought forth the abſolute ruine of ſo braue an armie. For, as for the nouriſhing of the bodie, it is not enough that the head be well diſpoſed, but it is alſo neceſſary that the other members do their office: euen ſo it ſufficeth not that the Prince do his dutie, if withall, the diligence and vertue which ought to be in his miniſters haue not equall action. The ſelfe ſame yeare, wherein ſo great mutations hapned in *Italy*, was made a peace betweene *Baiazet Ottoman* and the *Venetians*, which both parties embraced with great affection: for that the *Turke*, who was of a meeke ſpirit (therein very vnlike his father) and diſpoſed to learning and to the ſtudie of the bookes of his religion, had of his owne nature a mind farre eſtranged from armes: by reaſon whereof, notwithſtanding he had begun the warre with great preparations both by ſea and land, and occupied in *Morea*, the two former yeares, *Naupacto* now called *Lepanto*, *Modono*, *Corono* and *Iunquo*, yet he followed not the warres with ſo great affection, being haply incited thereto beſides the deſire he had to tranquillitie, by a ſuſpition he had, that either their proper dangers, or the loue of religion, would ſtirre vp the Princes of Chriſtendome againſt him: for that Pope *Alexander* had ſent certaine Galliots to the ſuccours of the *Venetians*, and with money had alſo ſtirred vp *Ladiſlaus* King of *Bohemia* and *Hungaria* to make warre vpon the *Turks* frontiers, and the *French* and *Spaniſh* Kings had ſent (but not at one time) their ſeuerall armies to ioyne with the power of the *Venetians*. But this peace was embraced by the State of *Venice* with a greater deſire, for that by reaſon of the wars (to the great detrimēt of their city) the traffik of merchandize which they made in diuers regions of the *Leuant* was diſcontinued: and alſo for that the Citie of *Venice* being wont to haue from certain prouinces of the *Turks*, certaine quantities of corne euery yeare, did ſuffer many neceſſities by the depriuation of that reliefe: but much more for that being accuſtomed to amplifie their iuriſdiction by the warres which they had with other Princes, they feared nothing ſo much as the power of the *Turks*, of whom they had bene alwayes beaten as often as they had had warres together. For, *Amurathes*, grandfather to *Baiazet*, had taken the towne of *Theſſalonica*, now called *Salonica*, which was a parcell of the dominions of *Venice*: and after him *Mahomet* his father, maintaining continuall warre againſt them for 16 yeares, tooke from them the Ile of *Negrepont*, a great part of *Peloponneſus*, now named *Morea*, *Scutari*, with many other townes in *Macedonia* and *Albania*: ſo that as well for that they ſupported the warre againſt the *Turks* with great difficulties and expences, hauing no hope to breed any profite by them; as for that they doubted ſo much the more to be aſſailed by other Chriſtian Princes, they deſired greatly to be at tranquillitie with the *Turkiſh* regions. It was ſuffered to *Baiazet* by the conditions of the peace, to retaine ſtill all he had gotten, and the *Venetians* reſeruing onely the Ile of *Cefalonia*, anciently called *Leucade*, were compelled to yeeld to him *Nerita*, now named *S. Mawra*. But the warre of the *Turks* brought not ſo many diſpleaſures to the *Venetians*, as they receiued harmes by the King of *Portugal*, who had taken from them, and appropriated to himſelfe the trafficke of Spices, which their Merchants and ſhips bringing out of *Alexandria* (a noble Citie in *Egypt*) to *Venice*, they diſperſed

Two cauſes of the ouerthrow of the French men out of the realme of Naples.

Peace betweene the Turke and the Venetians.

diſperſed with a wonder profite through all the prouinces of Chriſtendome. The which being one of the moſt memorable things that haue hapned in the world ſince many ages, and for the harmes which the Citie of *Venice* receiued by it, hauing ſome affinitie with the matters of *Italy*, it cannot much alter the eſtate of our hiſtorie to ſpeake of it at large.

Diſcourſe vpõ the nauigatiõs of the Portugals.

Such men as by deepe ſpeculation and contemplation haue conſidered the wonderfull motions and diſpoſitions of the heauen, and haue left the knowledge thereof recommended to ſucceſſion and poſteritie, haue figured a line running through the round circle of the heauen, from the Weſt to the Eaſt, and bearing an equall diſtance in all parts from the Pole *Septentrionall* and Pole *Meridionall*, called by them the line *Equinoctiall*: for that when the Sunne is vnder it, the day and the night are equall. They haue deuided with imagination the longneſſe of this line into three hundred and threeſcore parts, which they call degrees, as the other circuite of the heauen, by the Poles is likewiſe of three hundred and threeſcore degrees. After theſe men had giuen this rule, the Coſmographers meaſuring and deuiding the earth, haue figured in the earth a line Equinoctiall, which falls perpendicularly vnder the Celeſtiall line figured by the Aſtrologians, deuiding likewiſe the ſame and the circuite of the earth with a line falling perpendicularly vnder the Poles, in largeneſſe of three hundred and threeſcore degrees: ſo as from our Pole to the Pole *Meridionall*, they put a diſtance of an hundred and foureſcore degrees, and from euery one of the Poles to the line *Equinoctiall*, foureſcore and ten degrees. Theſe haue bene the generall opinions of the Coſmographers. But touching the particular deſcription of the earth habitable, after they had made knowne that part of the earth which is vnder our Hemiſphere, they had a perſwaſion that that part of the earth lying vnder the *Zona torrida*, figured in the heauen of the Aſtrologians, and wherein is contained the line *Equinoctiall*, was (as being neareſt the Sunne) vnhabitable by reaſon of his heate: and that from our Hemiſphere there was no paſſage to the lands which are vnder the *Zona torrida*, nor to thoſe regions which beyond it are towards the Pole *Meridionall*, called by the confeſſion of *Ptolomie*, lands and ſeas vnknowne. By reaſon whereof, both he and the others preſuppoſed, that whoſoeuer would paſſe from our Hemiſphere to the *Sino Arabico* and *Sino Perſico*, or to the other parts of *India*, which firſt came to the knowledge of men by the victories of *Alexander* the Great, ſhould be conſtrained to go thither by land, or elſe coming as neare to it as he could by the Mediterrane ſea, ſhould performe the reſidue of the way by land. But the nauigations of the *Portugals* haue made knowne in our time, that thoſe opinions and ſuppoſitions were falſe, for that the Kings of *Portugall*, puſhed on with deſire to enrich themſelues by merchandize, had begun many yeares ſince to coaſt *Africa*, and being guided by litle and litle euen to the Iles of *Cape Verde*, which (according to the opinion of many) the ancients named the *Heſperides*, diſtant fourteen degrees from the *Equinoctial*, drawing towards the Pole *Arctike*, they went on daily more boldly, ſo that making a long circuite towards the South, they came at laſt to the *Cape de bonne Eſperance*, which is a promontory of *Africke*, further diſtant then any other from the line *Equinoctiall*, for that his diſtance containeth eight and thirtie degrees: and drawing from thence towards the Eaſt, they haue ſailed by the Ocean, euen to the *Sino Arabico* and *Sino Perſico*, in which places the merchants of *Alexandria* were wont to buy ſpices which grew there in part, but for the moſt part were brought thither from the Iles *Molucques* and other parts of *India*, and are afterward conueyed by land by a way long and full of incommodities, and with no leſſe charges, into *Alexandria*, where they were ſold to the *Venetian* Merchants; and they bringing them to *Venice*, furniſhed all Chriſtendome, whereby there accrued vnto them very great profite; for that they onely hauing the traffike of ſpices in their hands, layd on them what price they wold, and caried into *Alexandria* many ſorts of merchandize in the ſhips wherein they brought the ſpices; thoſe veſſels likewiſe wherein they conueyed their ſpices into *France*, *Flanders*, *England*, and other places, returning fraughted with other merchandize; the which traffike alſo increaſed much the reuenue of that Cõmonweale, by reaſon of the cuſtomes and fraughts. But the *Portugals* going by ſea frõ *Liſbon* the capitall Citie of their Realme, into theſe regions ſo farre remoued, and hauing confederation in the *Indian* ſea with the Kings of *Calicut* and other regions neare, and paſſing by degrees further, they built with fine fortreſſes in places conuenient, by whoſe oportunitie making friendſhip with certain cities of thoſe countries, and reducing others to obedience by their armes, they haue appropriated to themſelues the traffike of the Spices, which the merchants of *Alexandria* were wont to haue afore: and bringing them by ſea into *Portugal*, they diſtributed them alſo by ſea into the

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ſelfe ſame realmes and countries, where the *Venetians* at the firſt were accuſtomed to vent them. And certainly this nauigation is right wonderfull, for that it containes a courſe of eight thouſand *French* leagues, through ſeas altogether vnknowne, vnder other ſtarres, vnder other firmament, and with other inſtruments: for that the line Equinoctiall being paſſed, they are no more guided by the North ſtarre, and ſtand altogether depriued of the ſeruice and vſe of the Adamant ſtone, and for that they cannot take harbour in ſo long a way, but in regions vnknowne, differing in language, in religion, in cuſtomes, and altogether barbarous, and enemies to ſtrangers. And yet notwithſtanding ſo many difficulties, they haue in time made this nauigation ſo familiar, that where afore they had wont to conſume ten moneths in the voyage, they finiſh it now commonly in leſſe then ſixe, and with farre leſſe danger. But far more maruellous is the nauigation of the *Spaniards*, which was begun by *Chriſtopher Colombo* a *Genoway*, in the yeare 1490, who hauing ſailed many times by the Ocean ſea, and made coniectures by the obſeruation of certaine winds, of that which afterwards ſucceeded to him indeed, he obtained certaine veſſels of the King and Queene of *Spaine*, with the which ſetting his courſe towards the Weſt, he diſcouered at thirtie dayes end in the vttermoſt extremities of our Hemiſphere, certaine Ilands altogether vnknowne to men before: regions happie for the ſweetneſſe of the aire, for the fertilitie of the land, and for that (except certaine people that liued vpon mans fleſh) almoſt all the inhabitants being moſt ſimple in their manners, and contented with that which the liberalitie of nature brought forth for them, were not troubled with paſſions of couetouſneſſe and ambition; but moſt vnhappie, in that the people hauing no certaine religion, no knowledge in learning, no ſcience in negociations or handy crafts, and without armes, without the art of warre, and without knowledge or experience in any thing, be as it were no other then tractable and meeke creatures, and a prey moſt eaſie to whomſoeuer would aſſaile them. By meanes whereof, the *Spaniards* being drawne with the facilitie of commanding thoſe Ilands, and with the profite that might come to them; for that they found there plentifull veines of gold, many of them began to inhabite there, as in their proper countrey: and *Chriſtopher Colombo* paſſing further, and after him *Americo Veſpuccio Florentine*, and ſucceſſiuely many others, haue diſcloſed other Ilands and great countries of firme land, finding in certaine of them (albeit in the moſt part the contrary) as well in their buildings both publicke and priuate, as in the forme of their habites and conuerſation, a conformitie of manners and ciuill comelineſſe; but ſo farre ignorant in the knowledge of armes, that they were a ready prey to the firſt inuader: and the limites of theſe new countries are ſo farre ſtretched out, that they farre ſurmount that part of the habitable world formerly knowne. The *Spaniards* then extending into theſe countries with new ſupplies of people, and with new nauigations, and ſometimes drawing gold and ſiluer out of the mines that are in many places, and alſo in the ſands of the riuers, ſometimes buying it at eaſie prices of the inhabitants, or at leaſt taking it from them by violence, they haue brought infinite quantities into *Spaine*, many ſailing thither at their proper charges and venture, but vnder licence of the King, to whom they retribute the fifth part of all that they bring from thence, or that by any other meanes cometh into their poſſeſſion: yea, the *Spaniards* haue taken ſuch courage, that certaine ſhips aduancing three and fiftie degrees towards the Pole *Antarctike*, alwayes along the coaſts of the firme land, and afterwards falling into a ſtraight ſea, from thence ſailing towards the Eaſt by a very large ſea, and returning afterwards by the nauigation which the *Portugals* make, they haue (as appeareth clearely) ſailed round about the earth. Which makes me ſay, that both the *Portugals* and the *Spaniards*, but ſpecially *Colombo*, the firſt finder out of this wonderfull and perillous nauigation, are worthy to haue their knowledge, their induſtrie, their reſoluteneſſe, their vigilancie, and their paines celebrated with eternal memory, for that by their vertues, men of our age are made capable of the knowledge of great things, which afore lay hid from the ſenſe and vnderſtanding of men. But farre greater had bene their merites, if they had bene induced to fall into theſe paines and dangers, not by an inſatiable thirſting after gold and riches, but with a deſire to get for themſelues and others this knowledge, or elſe to augment the Chriſtian faith: a matter neuertheleſſe hapned conſequently, for that the inhabitants in many places haue ſuffered conuerſion to the Catholike Religion. By theſe nauigations it is knowne that the antients were beguiled in many things touching the knowledge of the earth: that there was paſſage beyond the line *Equinoctiall*: that there was habitation vnder the *Zona torrida*: as alſo (contrary to their opinion) it is knowne by the nauigation of others, that the *Zones* next to the Poles were inhabited,

Nauigation of Spaniards.

inhabited, vnder the which they assured (hauing regard to the situation of the heauen, so farre remoued from the course of the Sunne) that there was no abilitie of dwelling for the ouermuch cold. Besides, it is knowne (which some of the ancients beleeued, and some rebuked) that vnder our feete be other inhabitants, whom they named *Antipodes*.

But returning to the drift of our narration, and to the things which hapned in the yeare 1504, after *Caietta* was rendred to the *Spanish*, the newes of the chase of the *French* neare *Garillan*, and of so many disorders as followed, filled with teares and complaints almost the whole Realme of *France*, no lesse for the generall multitude of bodies that were slaine, then for the losse of so great a Nobilitie: so that all the Court accompanying their teares and weepings with habites of sorrow and mourning, shewed themselues full of heauinesse and affliction; and throughout the whole Realme was heard the complainings of men and women, accursing the day wherein the wretched humor of couetousnes to conquer estates in *Italy* first entred into the heart of their Kings, not contenting themselues with so large a countrey as they possessed. But aboue all other, the King was tormented in his mind, to see himselfe depriued of all hope euer to be able to recouer so noble a Realme, and for so great a diminution of his authority & reputatiõ. He called tõ remembrance the braue words which he had so often obiected against the King of *Spaine*, and how vainly he had promised to himselfe a successe of those huge preparations which he made to inuade him on all sides: but that which made him rise more into fury and complaint, was the consideration that hauing made so great preparations, vsing all diligence, and sparing no expences, and making warre with enemies most poore, and needy of all things, by the couetousnesse and robberies of his owne people he had bene so shamefully ouerthrowne. In so much as crying out against heauen and earth, he protested with many oathes, that since he was serued with so great negligence and infidelitie of his owne seruants, he would from henceforth neuer leaue to his Captaines the charge of any expedition of warre, nor repose himselfe vpon them, but that he would be present in his owne person at all enterprises. But that which vexed him most of all, was the consideration how much his forces were weakned for the losse of such an armie, for the death of so many Captaines, and of so great a Nobilitie: so that if *Maximilian* had made any stirre in the Duchie of *Millan*, or the *Spanish* army had past further then their victory of *Naples*, he doubted much to be able to defend that estate, specially *Ascanius Sforce* ioyning to the one of them, whom the people desired with no litle affection. But touching the Emperour, no man maruelled that he was not awakened in so great oportunitie, for that it was his custome to delay, and to let passe, for the most part, times and occasions: but euery one held a contrary perswasion of *Gonsaluo*, by reason whereof all the *French* faction in *Italy* had a wonderfull feare, lest he, hoping that neither money nor occasions would faile his victorious armie, would follow his victory, to subuert the state of *Millan*, and in his way to alter the affaires of *Tuscan*: which if he had done, it was assuredly beleeued, that the *French* King, drained of money, and abated in courage, had yeelded to the storme without any resistance, specially his people hauing no desire to passe into *Italy*, and such as returned to *Caietta*, hauing passed the Mounts, without hauing any respect to the commandements of their King declared to them at *Genes*. Besides, it was clearly discerned, that the King, hauing no inclination to armes, was wholly prepared to make peace with *Maximilian*, and no lesse disposed to continue the negociations and practises with the King of *Spaine*, for the solicitation whereof (vsing no intermission in the extreme heate of the warre) the *Spanish* Embassadours had still bene and then were at the Court. But *Gonsaluo*, whom hereafter we will call for the most part the Great Captaine, hauing confirmed with so many glorious victories the surname, that before had bene giuen him by a *Spanish* brag, refused to embrace the benefite of so great an occasion, either for that being altogether without money, and indebted to his armie for many payes, he saw it impossible to make his people march either vnder hope of profite, or promise of payes, which would be long in coming, seeing they made great instance either to be satisfied of their pays, or to be bestowed in garrison: or else he was tied to proceed according to the will of his King, whose direction it was not lawfull for him to transgresse: or at the least it seemed not to agree with his securitie, to draw his armie out of the kingdome of *Naples*, till first he had purged it of all his enemies; for that *Lewis d'Ars*, one of the *French* Captaines, who since the iourney of *Cirignola* had put himselfe within *Venousa* with such remainders of *French* men as were not to be despised; and who, whilest the armies were vpon the shores of *Garillan*, had occupied *Troya* and *S. Seuero*, kept in armes all *Puwilla*: and

Complaints of the Frenchmē.

Princes enterprises haue need to looke nearly to their Treasurers & Victuallers.

Gonsaluo deserueth the title of Great Captaine.

certaine Barons alſo of the faction of *Anion*, which were retired vpon their eſtates, ſtood vpon their defence, embracing openly the part of the *French* King: and hereunto was added, that a litle after the victory the Great Captaine fell into a dangerous ſickneſſe, by reaſon whereof, not being able to go in perſon to any expedition, he ſent *Aluiano* with part of his armie to make warre vpon *Lewis d'Ars*. By which his neceſſitie, not able for the preſent to follow his victorie out of the kingdome of *Naples*, the reſidue of *Italy* remained rather in ſuſpition then in trauell. For the *Venetians*, according to their cuſtome, ſtood doubtfull, expecting what would be the iſſue of thoſe things: and the *Florentines* thought they had wonne much, if at a time when they wholly deſpaired to be ſuccored by the *French* King, they were not inuaded by the Great Captaine: and the Pope, referring to another time his ambitious thoughts, ſtudied to bring to paſſe that the Duke *Valentinois*, who held no more in *Romagna* but the Caſtles of *Furly*, of *Ceſena*, and of *Bertinoire*, (for *Anthonie d'Ordelaffi* had a few dayes afore gotten the Caſtle of *Forlimpople* by corrupting of the keeper) might accord to leaue them to him. *Valentinois* condeſcended to giue to the Pope the aſſignement of the Caſtle of *Ceſena*, and *Dom Petro d'Ouiedo* a *Spaniard*, being gone thither to receiue it in the Popes name, was hanged by the caſtle-keeper, obiecting that it was diſhonor to him to obey his Lord whileſt he was a priſoner, & that he that preſumed to impoſe that requeſt vpon him deſerued to be puniſhed. By reaſon whereof the Pope deſpairing to obtaine his deſire without the deliuery of *Valentinois*, he accorded with him (and of this conuention there was a Bull diſpatched in the Conſiſtory for greater ſuretie,) that he ſhould be placed in the rocke of *Oſtia*, vnder the abſolute power of *Bernardin Caruagial* a *Spaniard*, Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, and he to let him go whenſoeuer he had rendred the caſtles of *Ceſena* and *Bertinoire*, and transferred to the Pope the aſſignation of the rock of *Furly*, and appointed in the city of *Rome*, bankers to anſwer fifteen thouſand duckats in recompence of the charges which the caſtle-keeper ſaid he had expended, who had promiſed to render it when he ſhould haue receiued the aſſignation and the ſaid ſumme of money.

But the Pope had another intention, who though he would not apparently breake the faith he had giuen, yet his meaning was to keepe his deliuery in delay, either for feare leſt he being at libertie, the caſtle-keeper of *Furly* would refuſe to render the Rocke, or elſe for the memory of the iniuries he had receiued of his father and him, or at leaſt for the hate which all men indifferently bare him. And *Valentinois* growing into ſuſpition, that the Pope would not hold faith with him, required ſecretly the Great Captaine to giue him ſafeconduct to come to *Naples*, and withall to ſend two galleys to conuey him from *Oſtia*: which requeſt being condeſcended vnto by *Gonſaluo*, the Cardinal of *Santa Croce* holding the ſame ſuſpition with *Valentinois*, ſuffered him to depart without the Popes priuitie, being firſt aduertiſed, that pledge was put in for the fifteen thouſand duckats, with the redeliuery vp of the Caſtles of *Ceſena* and *Bertinoire*: and *Valentinois* without tarrying for the galleys which the Great Captaine ſhould ſend him, went ſecretly by land to *Nettuna*, from whence he ſailed in a litle barke to *Mondragon*, and from thence he went by land to *Naples*, where *Gonſaluo* receiued him with a chearfull countenance and great honor. At *Naples*, communing many times in ſecret with *Gonſaluo*, he ſolicited him to giue him power to paſſe to *Piſa*, aſſuring him, that if he might but once put foote into that Citie, it would be much to the profite and furtherance of his King. *Gonſaluo* making ſemblance to fauour the deuice, and offering him galleys to conuey him thither, and ſuffering him to leuie in the kingdome ſuch regiments of footmen as he would carry with him, entertained him in this hope till he had receiued anſwer from his King conformable to that he had determined to do, alwaies conſulting with him of the affaires of *Piſa* and of *Tuſcan*; and *Aluiano* at the ſame time offering to inuade the *Florentines*, for the deſire he had to ſee the family of the *Medices* reſtored. But the galleys being now prepared, and his bands of footmen in readineſſe to march the day following, *Valentinois* after he had conferred long & ſame night with *Gonſaluo*, who gaue him a kind farewell, with demonſtration of great affection, embracing one another at parting (according to the faire ſhewes that the old *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* was ſaid to haue vſed to *Iaques Piccinin*) was by his commandement, as ſoone as he was out of the chamber, retained in the Caſtle, ſending forthwith into his lodging to take away the ſafeconduct that had bene ſent him before he departed from *Oſtia*. *Gonſaluo* excuſed himſelfe vpon the authoritie of his King, who ſending warrant to apprehend him priſoner, his Maieſties commandement (he ſaid) was of more force then his ſafe conduct; for that the aſſurance that was giuen by the proper authoritie of a ſeruant, was not auaileable againſt the will of his Lord; adding beſides, that it was neceſſary to hold him reſtrained,

Valentinois made priſoner by Gonſaluo.

ned, for that, not ſatisfied with ſo many leud practiſes done in times paſt, he ſtudied ſtill to trouble the eſtates of others, he deuiſed to innouate things, he ſowed vniuſt ſlanders, and ſought to kindle a fire through all *Italy*: and ſhortly after he ſent him in a light galley priſoner into *Spaine*, leauing him of all his traine but one Page to ſerue him: and there he was impriſoned within the Caſtle of *Medino del Campo*. About this time truce was made both by ſea and land, as well for *Italy* as the nations beyond the Mounts, betweene the *French* King and the King of *Spaine*: whereunto (the *French* deſiring it greatly) the King of *Spaine* conſented willingly, for that he thought it better to confirme by that meanes with greater ſuretie and reſt, that which he had conquered, then to referre all to hazard by new warres, which being full of perill and expences, bring forth oftentimes other iſſues then are hoped for. The conditions were, That euery one ſhould retaine that which he poſſeſſed: That it ſhould be ſuffered to the ſubiects of both parties to traffike through all their realmes and eſtates, except in the kingdom of *Naples*, with the which exception the Great Captaine obtained indirectly that which was forbidden to him directly. For, in the frontiers of thoſe places which the *French* held (which were onely *Roſſano* in *Calabria*, *Oiro* in the land of *Otranto*, and in *Powilla*, *Venouſa*, *Conuerſan*, and the Mount Caſtle) *Gonſaluo* beſtowed men to giue impediment, that not one of the ſouldiers or men of thoſe townes ſhould vſe conuerſation with any peece poſſeſſed by the *Spaniſh*; which brought them ſuddenly into ſuch neceſſitie, that *Lewis d'Ars* with the other Barons and ſouldiers of thoſe places went their way, knowing that the inhabitants, not able to endure ſo many diſcommodities, were determined to yeeld themſelues to the *Spaniards*. And yet the kingdome of *Naples*, notwithſtanding the enemies were all expulſed, enioyed not the fruites of the peace: for that the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers, to whom were due their payes for more then one yeare, not contented that the Great Captaine (the better to containe them till he had leuied prouiſions for money) had beſtowed them in ſundry places where they liued vpon the people (which men of warre call, to liue by diſcretion,) breaking all bonds of diſcipline and obedience, had entred *Capua* and the ſea Caſtle, from whence they would not depart till they were ſatisfied of their payes for the time paſt: and becauſe the money could not well by leuied (the ſumme being great) without laying an exceſſiue taxation on the realme, being already drained and conſumed by the long warres, the conditions of men were very miſerable, ſeeing the medicine was no leſſe grieuous then the diſeaſe they went about to cure: matters ſo much the more grieuous, by how much they were new, and without former examples. For, notwithſtanding that ſince the ancient times, wherein the diſcipline of warre was exerciſed with ſeueritie, the ſouldiers had alwayes bene full of libertie, and troubleſome to the peoples; yet things being as yet not wholly diſordered, they liued for the moſt part of their payes, and their libertie was not altogether intollerable. But the *Spaniards* were the firſt that began in *Italy* to liue wholly vpon the ſubſtance of the people, the diſabilitie of their Kings giuing them the occaſion, or haply the neceſſitie ſo to do, by reaſon they were ill payed: of which beginning, diſorders alwayes increaſing (for the imitation of an ill is alwayes greater then the example; as on the contrary, the imitation of good is alwayes leſſe) both the *Spaniards* themſelues and the *Italians* alſo, whether they were payd or not payd, haue euer ſince continued that cuſtome, and haue gone ſo farre, that to the great diſhonour of the diſcipline of warre at this day, the goods of friends are no more aſſured from the inſolencie of ſouldiers, then thoſe of the enemie. What by the taking of *Valentinois*, and this truce betweene the two Kings, with opinion that the peace would ſucceed immediatly, *Romagna* was put wholly in reſt: for *Imola* was diuolued afore by the wils of the chiefe of the Citie into the power of the Pope, and not without the conſent of the Cardinall *S. George*, whom the Pope entertained with a vaine hope that he would render it eſtſoones to his nephewes. And about theſe ſeaſons *Lewis* his baſtard brother being entred into *Furly* by the death of *Anthony d'Ordelaffi*, that Citie had fallen into the hands of the *Venetians*, to whom *Lewis* offered it (knowing he was not able enough to hold it) had not the conditions of the preſent time made them feare to accept it, leſt they ſhould further incenſe the Pope, who without any reſiſtance obtained the towne abandoned by *Lewis*; and had likewiſe, paying fifteene thouſand duckats, the Citadell: a place which the keeper being faithfull to *Valentinois*, would neuer giue vp, till he was aſſured of his impriſonment by men which he ſent expreſly to *Naples*.

Truce betweene the kings of Spaine and France.

Thus armes being layd downe in all the other parts of *Italy*, the *Florentines* notwithſtanding forbare not in the beginning of Sommer to continue the warre vpon the *Piſans*, according to

their cuſtome: for, hauing newly taken into their pay *Iohn Paul Baillon*, with other Captaines and men at armes of the *Colonnois* and *Sauelleis*, and raiſing farre greater forces then they were wont, they ſent them to ſpoile the corne of the *Piſans*, wherein they proceeded with the greater courage, for that they doubted no impediment by the *Spaniard*: not ſo much for that the King of *Spaine* had not named the *Piſans* in the truce (wherein both the Kings had libertie to comprehend their friends and adherents) as for that the Great Captaine, after his victory againſt the *French* men, although from the beginning he had giuen great hopes to the *Piſans*, had exerciſed gracious and ſweete ſpeeches with the *Florentines*, hoping at the leaſt by his cunning to ſeparate them from the *French* King: and albeit afterwards he found himſelfe diſappointed of this hope, yet wiſely forbearing to incenſe them, as not to giue them occaſion to be the more for the *French* King, he was, by the meanes of *Proſper Colonne*, almoſt entred (but no otherwiſe then with words onely) into ſecret intelligence with them, that if it hapned the *French* King eſtſoones to renew the warres of *Naples*, that they ſhould not miniſter to him any aide, as alſo for his part he would not giue ſuccours to the *Piſans*, except the *Florentines* ſhould ſend an armie with artilleries to take the ſame Citie, which he wiſhed they ſhould not recouer ſo long as they followed the amitie of the *French* King. The *Florentine* army prepared to ſpoile not onely thoſe parts of the countrey of *Piſa* which they had waſted in times paſt, but alſo to ouerrun *S. Roſſoro* and *Barbaricino*, and ſo to the vales of *Serclo* and *Oſolo*, places ioyning to *Piſa*, whereunto they could not go without danger when their armie was leſſe. This being done, they incamped before *Librafatta*, which being manned with a very ſlender garriſon, was within few dayes conſtrained to yeeld to diſcretion. And it is not to be doubted but that the *Piſans* that yeare had bene compelled by famine to receiue the yoke of the *Florentines*, if they had not bene ſuccored by their neighbours, but principally by the *Genoways* and *Lucquoys* (for *Pandolfe Petrucci* very apt to ſtirre vp others, and very large in his promiſes to contribute to expences, was very long in effects,) with whoſe moneys *Reniero* of *Saſſetto*, a ſouldier of the Great Captain, with certaine other leaders (with his leaue) led to *Piſa* by ſea two hundred horſemen, and the *Genoways* ſent thither a Prouoſt with a thouſand footmen: ouer and beſides which prouiſions, *Bardello de Porto Venere* a famous rouer in the ſea *Tyrrheneum*, being paid by the ſaid helpers, was called the Captaine of the *Piſans*, and reuictualled *Piſa* continually with a Gallion and other Brigandines: by reaſon whereof the *Florentines* holding it neceſſary, that beſides the trauels they gaue them by land, they ſhould alſo take from them the vſe of the ſea, entertained three light galleys of King *Federike* which were in *Prouence*; with the which, as their Captaine *Dom Dimas Ricaenſe* approched *Liuorne*, *Bardello* retired; and yet ſometimes taking the occaſion of the winds, he brought ſome barks laden with victuals to the mouth of *Arne*, from whence they fel eaſily into the towne of *Piſa*, which at the ſame time ſuffered many perplexities by land. For, after the army of *Florence* had taken *Librafatta*, deuiding themſelues into many parts, they looked how to giue impediment to the tilling of the lands for the yeare following, and to reſtraine the paſſage of victuals both by the way of *Lucques* and the ſea: and beſides this, in the end of ſommer they ſpoiled the Millet, & all other ſuch kinds of graines, whereof that country brings forth a great quantitie. Furthermore, the *Florentines* vnwearied with ſo great expences, & holding nothing impoſſible that gaue them hope to accõpliſh their purpoſe, they deuiſed to trouble the *Piſans* in a new faſhion, by aſſaying to turne the riuer of *Arne*, which runneth by the town of *Piſa* frõ the tower of *Fagiana* fiue miles frõ *Piſa*, into the poole which is betweene *Piſa* and *Liuorne*: which if they had brought to paſſe, there could haue bene no more portage of things to *Piſa* by ſea through the riuer of *Arne*; and the raine waters, for that the countrey is low, not able to be conueyed into the ſea, the Citie had remained as it were in the midſt of a marriſh; as alſo for the difficultie to paſſe *Arne*, the *Piſans* could not haue runne from thence forward along the hils to hinder the traffike from *Liuorne* to *Florence*; and laſtly, they ſhould haue bene conſtrained to fortifie that part of *Piſa*, by the which the riuer entred and iſſued, leſt it ſhould be open to the incurſions of their enemies. But this enterpriſe, which was begun with a very great hope, and followed with farre greater expences, was in the end made vaine: for that, as it often hapneth, that like enterpriſes, notwithſtanding they be laid out by meaſure and line, are yet found fallible by experience, which is the certaine proofe of the difference that is betweene the deuiſing of things and the doing of them: beſides many difficulties, not conſidered before, cauſed by the courſe of the riuer, which when they thought to reſtraine, abated of it ſelfe, fretting his channell; the bottome of the poole where they would haue

haue it enter, contrary to the reaſons and opinions of many enginiſts and water-workers, was found to be higher then the channell of *Arne*. Beſides, in ſo great a deſire to obtaine *Piſa*, fortune alſo ſhewed her ſelfe contrary to the *Florentines*, for that the galleys which they had entertained, going to *Villefranche* to take a ſhippe of the *Piſans* loaden with graine, in their returne were ſo weatherbeaten neare to *Rapalle*, that they ſuffered ſhipwracke, the Captaine with the reſidue ſauing themſelues with great difficultie. But the *Florentines* minding to make triall of all ſort of meanes, after they had proued to bring the *Piſans* to reaſon by armes and threatnings, they ſought to reclaime them by gentleneſſe and courteſie, making a new law, by the which it was granted, That euery citizen or ſubiect of the countrey of *Piſa*, that within a certaine time would withdraw himſelfe to his liuing or dwelling place, ſhould obtaine pardon of all faults committed, with full reſtitution of goods. But notwithſtanding this law, there were very few of reſolute heart and faith, which would depart out of *Piſa*, but they ſuffered all ſuch as were vnprofitable for the warre to go their way: the ſame being the cauſe that both the dearth of victuals which raged afore, was not now ſo great, and alſo that they receiued afterwards certaine commoditie of reuenues from others that ſecretly aided them. The neceſſitie of the *Piſans* was by theſe meanes ſomewhat diminiſhed, yet not ſo much, but that they found themſelues much vexed with their great pouerty & wants: neuertheles hauing all things in leſſe horror then the name of the *Florentines*, notwithſtanding the minds of the Peaſants did oftentimes wauer, they determined to endure all extremities rather then to yeeld themſelues. Therefore they offered to giue themſelues vp to the *Genoways*, with whom they had ſo often fought for the iuriſdiction, and for their ſafetie, and by whom their power had bene in time paſt afflicted and embaſed: of which offer, the *Lucquoys* and *Pandolfe Petrucci* were the cauſe, for the deſire they had (to auoide in themſelues the continuall expences and troubles) to bind the *Genoways* to the defence of *Piſa*, offering (the more eaſily to induce them to accord) to defray part of the expences for three yeares. Whereupon the *Genoways*, hauing a deliberation to embrace the offer, notwithſtanding *Iohn Lewis de Fieſque* with many others were againſt it, made an inſtance to the *French* King to ſuffer them, without whoſe conſent they had no power to execute any deliberation; ſhewing vnto him how dangerous it would be, that the *Piſans*, excluded from this their laſt and almoſt onely hope, ſhould come to offer themſelues to the King of *Spaine*; from whence would ſucceed, to his great preiudice, that both *Genes* ſhould be in continuall trauell and danger, and almoſt all *Tuſcan* ſhould be conſtrained to follow the *Spaniſh* faction. Theſe reaſons, albeit at the beginning they ſo much moued the King that he was almoſt at a point to grant their demands, yet his Councell conſidering, that if the *Genoways* ſhould begin to vndertake warres of themſelues, and for a deſire of impery, to haue confederation with other Potentates, it would be cauſe, that coming afterwards to raiſe their thoughts to greater things, they would put themthemſelues into abſolute libertie: he forbad them expreſly to accept the iuriſdiction of *Piſa*, and yet he permitted them to perſiſt in aiding and ſuccouring of them, notwithſtanding the *Florentines* had made great complaints vnto him.

About this time the peace was earneſtly laboured betweene the King of *France* and the King and Queene of *Spaine*, who offered diſſemblingly to render the Realme of *Naples* to King *Federike*, or to the Duke of *Calabria* his ſonne, to whom the *French* King ſhould reſigne and giue vp all his claime, ſo farre forth as the mariage were accompliſhed betweene the Duke and the Queene widow, Neece to the ſame King, hauing afore bene wife to yong *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* King of *Naples*. And it was without doubt, that the *French* King had a mind ſo farre eſtranged from the affaires of the kingdome of *Naples*, that for his owne regard, he had accepted all ſorts of peace, if it had not bene for theſe two difficulties that reſtrained him: the one, and the leaſt, was the ſhame that would redound to him, to leaue abandoned the Barons, who, for that they followed his faction, had ſuffered priuation of their eſtates, and to whom were offered conditions hard and intollerable: the other, which moued him ſomewhat more, was the doubt wherein he was, leſt the King and Queene of *Spaine* hauing other intentions, offered, according to their accuſtomed ſubtilties, this reſtitution for ſome end, the which, though his Maieſtie conſented, the effect ſhould not follow: and leſt in the meane while the Archduke ſhould be eſtranged from him, who deſiring to haue the kingdome of *Naples* for his ſonne, made inſtance that there ſhould be continuation of the peace which he had formerly made. Therefore he anſwered generally, that he deſired the peace, but that he could not with honour giue vp to an *Aragon*

the rights which he had in the ſame Realme: and on the other part, he continued the ancient practiſes with the Emperour and the Archduke; and when he was almoſt certaine of the concluſion and effect, to the end they ſhould not be interrupted by the incertaine promiſes of the king of *Spaine*, he let call before him the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadors, (giuing to vnderſtand for his greater honour, that the reſpects and intereſts of the Barons did chiefly moue him,) and being ſet in the chaire royall, in the aſpect and preſence of all the Court, with ſolemne ceremonies farre aboue the vſage of former times, he complained that their King expreſſed in words a deſire and diſpoſition to the peace, hauing his intentions diſſembled, in which regard, and alſo for that it was not a thing worthy the vertue and honour of a King, to conſume the time in vaine practiſes, he told them it were their beſt to depart out of the Realme of *France*. And when they were gone, the Embaſſadours of *Maximilian* and the Archduke came to giue perfection to that which had bene negociated: in which action (becauſe there were plots layed to greater purpoſes) was aſſiſtant the Biſhop of *Ciſteron* the Popes ordinary Nuncio in that Court, and the Marquis of *Finale*, whom the Pope ſent expreſly about this buſineſſe; which hauing bene many times afore throughly debated, for the profite which appeared very great to all thoſe Princes, was finally ſet downe, without much difficultie, vnder theſe conditions: That the mariage of the Lady *Claude* the *French* Kings daughter, communed vpon long time before, ſhould now grow to effect with *Charles* the eldeſt ſonne to the Archduke: and for more firme confirmation of the ſame, there ſhould be ioyned to the oath and ſubſcription of the *French* King, the ratification of *Frances* Earle of *Angouleſme*, who, the King dying without iſſue male, was next heire to the Crowne, together with many of the principals of that kingdome: That all the inueſtitures of the ſtate of *Millan*, allowed till that day, being razed and cancelled for iuſt and honeſt occaſions, *Maximilian* ſhould transferre the inueſtiture thereof to the *French* King, for himſelfe and his heires males, and for want of ſuch iſſue, it ſhould be (in fauor of the mariage) conueyed to Madame *Claude* and to *Charles*, and if *Charles* ſhould die before the conſummation of the mariage, then it ſhould deſcend to the Lady *Claude*, and to the ſecond ſonne of the Archduke if ſhe married with him: That betweene the Pope, the Emperour, the *French* King, and the Archduke, ſhould be made a confederation for their common defence, and to offend the *Venetians*, from whom they all determined to withdraw thoſe places which they occupied of theirs: That the Emperour ſhould paſſe in perſon into *Italy* againſt the *Venetians*, and afterwards go to *Rome* to take the Crowne Imperiall: That the *French* King, as ſoone as the Charters ſhould be diſpatched, ſhould pay for the inueſtiture threeſcore thouſand florins of *Rhein*, and threeſcore thouſand others within ſixe moneths, and euery yeare a paire of ſpurres of gold, vpon the day of the Natiuitie of our Lord: That there ſhould be place left for the King of *Spaine* to enter into this confederation within foure moneths: but it was not expreſſed, that in caſe he did not enter, it ſhould be lawfull for the *French* King to inuade the kingdome of *Naples*: That the *French* King ſhould giue no more aide nor ſuccours to the Count *Palatine*, who ſtirred vp by him, and entertained with hope of his ſuccours, was in great warre with the Emperour. The *Venetians* were excluded out of this league, notwithſtanding that the King had always giuen willing eare to their Embaſſadours, and that the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* (to put them out of ſuſpition) had nouriſhed them with aſſured promiſes and oathes, that the King would neuer go againſt that confederation which he had with them. Theſe matters were contained in letters which were ſolemnly paſſed: beſides the which it was moued that the King and *Maximilian* ſhould ſpeake together at another time in ſome place conuenient: and the King promiſed at that time, that he would deliuer *Lodowike Sforce* out of priſon, and endue him with conuenient meanes to liue in the Realme of *France*; the ſafetie of whom *Maximilian* had ſhame not to procure, for that he knew well, that the promiſes he had made him, and the hopes he had vainly repoſed in him, had bene cauſes to haſten his ruine: for which cauſe, when the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* went to him at *Trent*, he wrought ſo, that he ſhould no more be ſo ſtraitly kept as he had bene, making now importunate inſtance that he might remaine at libertie in the Court of *France*, or in ſuch place of the Realme as it pleaſed the King. The King promiſed alſo, at his requeſt, that the exiles of the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould returne, whereupon there aroſe many difficulties in the negociation of *Trent*. This capitulation being ſo greatly to the aduantage of the Archduke and *Maximilian*, it was beleeued that notwithſtanding his ordinary variations, he would keepe it, the Pope being comprehended, and being no leſſe agreeable to the *French* King, not ſo much for the deſire he had

Confederation betweene the Pope, the Emperour, and the French king againſt the Venetians.

had at that time to make new enterprises, as for an ambitious respect to obtaine the inuestiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, and to be assured not to be molested neither by *Cæsar* nor his sonne. King *Federike* died much about this time, being wholly depriued of all hope to recouer by accord the kingdome of *Naples*, although he was perswaded afore (as euery one naturally suffereth himselfe to be beguiled by desire) that the King of *Spaine* had a better deuotion to it then the *French* King: not considering that in that time it was a thing vaine to hope for the restitution of so noble a Realme, such examples being rare euen in ancient times, wherein men were much more disposed to acts of vertue and nobilitie, then in the times succeeding: nor thinking that it was a thing out of all likelihood, that he which had vsed so many deceits to occupie the moitie of a kingdome, would now that he had won all, depriue himselfe of the fruite and glorie of his victory. But in the managing of the businesse he might haue perceiued, that the one made no lesse difficultie then the other; yea that he had more reason rather to despaire, that he that was already possessed would not restore, then that he which held nothing in the kingdome, would not consent.

The death of king Federike.

In the end of this yeare died *Elizabeth* Queene of *Spaine*, a Lady of most honest and honourable conditions, who wonne in the opinion of her subiects a right worthy name of magnanimitie and prudence: to her did properly appertaine the kingdome of *Castile*, which is the greatest and most puissant part of *Spaine*, to the which she succeeded after the death of *Henry* her brother, but not without bloud and warre. For albeit it was beleeued for a long time, that *Henry* by nature was vnable to procreation, and for that reason *Beltramise* could not be his daughter, which was brought forth by his wife, and by him nourished many yeares as the fruite of his bodie, and that for that occasion *Elizabeth* sister of *Henry* was acknowledged for Princesse of *Castile*, a title neerest to the succession: yet many Barons of the Realme rising after his death in fauour of *Beltramise*, and the King of *Portugal* her allie ministring succours by armes; the parties coming at last to battell, the cause of *Elizabeth* was approued the most iust by the issue of the field, *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* her husband leading the armie, who likewise was descended of the house of the Kings of *Castile*, and conioyned to *Elizabeth* in the third degree of consanguinitie, and who succeeding afterward by the death of *John* his father to the Realme of *Aragon*, they both tooke vpon them the title of King and Queene of *Spaine*: for that the kingdome of *Valence* being vnited to the Crown of *Aragon*, together with the country of *Catalogna*, they were Lords ouer all the Prouince of *Spaine*, which is contained betweene the Mounts *Pirenei*, the Ocean sea, and the Mediterrane sea: vnder which title, for that that region had bin occupied by many Kings of the *Mores*, the title of many kingdomes is comprehended, as euery one of them had a title separate by it selfe; except notwithstanding the kingdome of *Granado*, which being at that time possessed by the *Mores*, was afterwards by the vertue of this King and Queene, gloriously subdued to the Empire of *Castile*, together with the litle kingdome of *Portugal*, and that of *Nauarre* which is much lesse, all which had Kings particular. But the kingdome of *Aragon*, with *Sicilia*, *Sardignia*, and other Ilands appertaining by inheritance to *Ferdinand*, were gouerned by him onely, without interposing the name or authoritie of the Queene, contrary to the policie and course of gouernment in *Castile*. The reason was, for that that kingdome belonging by law of succession to *Elizabeth*, and standing in a state endowed to *Ferdinand*, things were administred vnder their common name, as well in demonstrations as in effects, nothing being executed which was not debated, ordained and subscribed by them both. The title of the King of *Spaine* was common, their Embassadours dispatched in common, their armies leuied in common, their warres administred in common, and neither of them in particular appropriating more then the other in authoritie and gouernment of the kingdome. But by the death of *Elizabeth* without issue male, the succession of *Castile*, by the lawes of that kingdome (which regarding more the proximitie then the sexe, exclude not the woman) belonged to *Iane* the daughter of *Ferdinand* and her, and wife to the Archduke, for that their eldest daughter, which had bene married to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*, together with her litle son, were dead long time before: by reason whereof, the administration of the Realme appertaining no more to *Ferdinand*, he was to returne into his litle kingdome of *Aragon*; litle in comparison of the Realme of *Castile*, for the straitnesse of the country, and smalnesse of the reuenues, and for that the Kings of *Aragon*, not hauing absolute regall authoritie in all things, be in many points subiect to the constitutions and customes of the same prouinces, which limite much the power of their Kings. But *Elizabeth* drawing

The death of Elizabeth Queene of Spaine.

The teſtament of Queene Elizabeth.

ing towards her death, ordained by her teſtament, that *Ferdinand* ſo long as he liued ſhould be gouernour of *Caſtile*, as well for that ſhe deſired he might be kept in his firſt greatneſſe, for the amitie that had bene mutually betweene them, as alſo for that ſhe knew it concerned the profite of her ſubiects to be continued vnder the moderate gouernment of *Ferdinand*, and imported no leſſe the commoditie of her ſonne in law and daughter, who, ſeeing in the end they ſhould likewiſe ſucceed *Ferdinand*, had reaſon to eſteeme it much to their behoofe, that vntill *Philip*, borne and nouriſhed in *Flanders* where things were gouerned diuerſly, had attained a riper age, & taken better knowledge of the laws, cuſtomes, nature, and manners of *Spaine*, all their realmes might be preſerued for them vnder one peaceable and well ordered gouernment, the countries of *Caſtile* and *Aragon* being maintained in the meane while as one body. The death of the Queene cauſed new troubles in *Spaine*: but the affaires of *Italy*, as we meane to expreſſe hereafter, were better diſpoſed to a new peace.

1505. The yeare 1505 things continued in the ſame eſtate of tranquillitie wherein they had bene the yeare before, which was ſuch, that had not the quarell betweene the *Florentines* and *Piſans* brought ſome alteration, the actions of armes for that yeare had wholly ſurceaſſed, one part of the Potentates being deſirous of peace, and thoſe that were moſt inclined to warre, reſtrained for many reaſons. For it ſufficed the King of *Spaine* (who continued ſtill in the ſame title) being poſſeſſed with the thoughts of his dead wife, to keepe the kingdome of *Naples* by meanes of the truce that had bene made: and the *French* King was entred into a great ſuſpition, for that *Caſar*, following in this as in all other things, his wandring nature, had not ratified the peace: and the Pope, albeit he was deſirous of innouation, yet he neither durſt nor could ſtirre, vnleſſe he were accompanied with the armes of ſome mightie Prince: and the *Venetians* eſteemed it to no ſmall thing, if in ſo great matters as had bene debated againſt them, and in ſo ill a diſpoſition of the Pope, they were not moleſted by others: and to appeaſe the Pope, they had offered many moneths before to leaue him *Rimini*, and all that they had poſſeſſed in *Romagna* ſince the death of Pope *Alexander*, ſo that he would conſent that they might retaine *Faenza* with the territories: which offer they made for the feare they had of the *French* King, and for that *Caſar* at the ſolicitation of the Pope, had ſent his Embaſſadours to *Venice* to ſummon them to make reſtitution of the lands of the Church. But the Pope hauing giuen them anſwer according to the conſtancie of his mind, and free nature to expreſſe his conceptions, that he would not conſent to the retaining onely of a litle tower, but did hope to recouer before his death both *Rauenna* and *Cerua*, Cities which they poſſeſſed no leſſe vniuſtly then they did *Faenza*, they paſſed no further. But in the beginning of this yeare, their feares being become greater, they offered by the means of the Duke of *Vrbin* (a friend common to them both) to reſtore all that they had occupied, which was not of the appertenances of *Faenza* and *Rimini*, ſo that the Pope, who afore would not admit their Embaſſadours to tender their obedience, would now conſent to receiue them. To which demand albeit the Pope made ſome ſhew of difficultie, ſuppoſing that thereby he ſhould do wrong to his dignitie, and that it ſeemed to him inconuenient to allow it, conſidering the great quarels and threatnings he had vſed againſt them; yet hauing regard to the perplexities that were endured by them of *Furly*, *Imola*, and *Ceſena*, (who being depriued of the greateſt part of their countries, ſuffered many incommodities) and ſeeing withall no other meanes to redreſſe things with ſpeed, for that the affaires betweene *Caſar* and the *French* King proceeded with ſo great a longneſſe, at laſt he conſented to that, which in effect was a gaine without loſſe, ſince neither by words nor writings he was bound to any thing. So the townes being reſtored, eight Embaſſadours of the principals of the Senate, choſen ſince he was created Pope, were ſent to him (which was the greateſt companie of Embaſſadours which that Commonweale had euer ſent to any Pope, if he were not a *Venetian*:) who after they had tendred their obedience with the ceremonies accuſtomed, they brought not backe to *Venice* any ſigne, whereby it might be iudged that the Pope was become more milde or more tractable. About this time the *French* King deſiring to put end to that which had bene debated, ſent the Cardinal of *Amboiſe* to *Haguenau* a towne of baſe *Almaine*, where *Caſar* and the Archduke attended him, hauing newly taken that towne from the Count *Palatine*. The Cardinall being arriued, there were publiſhed and ſolemnly ſworne the conuentions that had bene made, and the Cardinall payed the moitie of the money promiſed for the inueſtiture, with promiſe that *Caſar* ſhould receiue the other moitie as ſoone as he ſhould paſſe into *Italy*: although both at the preſent

ſent he gaue to vnderſtand, and a litle after he declared, that he could not paſſe that yeare for the impediments which were in *Germanie*; by reaſon whereof the ſuſpition of warre was ſo much the leſſe, the *French* King being determined to enter into no new attempt without him. Onely the warre, almoſt continuall betweene the *Florentines* and *Piſans*, remained kindled in *Italy*; the which proceeding ſlowly, and no otherwiſe purſued but when occaſions were offered to the one or the other partie, who otherwiſe had not any ſetled enterpriſe, it hapned that *Luke Sauelle* iſſued out of *Caſcina*, where the *Florentines* made the ſeate of the warre, and with him certaine Captaines and chieftaines of the *Florentines*, with foure hundred horſe and many bands of footmen, to reuictuall *Librafatta*, and by the ſame meanes to take certaine heards of cattell of the *Piſans* which were on the other ſide the riuer of *Sercle*, vpon the grounds of the *Lucquoys*, not ſo much for the benefite of the prey, as for a deſire they had to draw the *Piſans* to fight, hauing a confidence to ouerthrow them, as being the ſtronger in the field: and when they had conueyed victuals into *Librafatta*, and poſſeſſed the prey they pretended, they returned with leiſure by the ſame way, to the end to giue time enough to the *Piſans* to come and charge them. *Tarlatin* chiefe commander ouer their men of warre, iſſued out of *Piſa* as ſoone as he vnderſtood the enemie droue away their cattell; and becauſe the chiefe point of the reſcue reſted in expedition, he tooke no more with him then fifteene men at armes, fortie light horſemen, and threeſcore footmen, leauing order that a greater ſtrength ſhould follow him: and vnderſtanding that certaine of the *Florentine* horſemen were run vp euen to *S. Iaques* neare *Piſa*, he made towards them, who retiring to their ſtrength which ſtayed at the bridge *Capella* vpon the riuer of *Oſolo*, and three miles from *Piſa*, where they tarried for the droues of cattell that were taken, and the Mulets with the which they had reuictualled *Librafatta* coming behind, and as yet beyond the bridge, which the firſt bands of footmen had gained, and manned the loopeholes and trenches, *Tarlatin* followed them euen to the bridge, not perceiuing that all the armie of the *Florentines* was in that place, till he was ſo neare that he could not returne without manifeſt danger; and therefore he determined to aſſault the bridge, declaring to his companie, that that whereunto their perill conſtrained them, was not without great hope and poſſibilitie to be ouercome; for that in a place ſo ſtraite, where few men could fight, the great number of their enemies could not endomage them; ſo that if they could not paſſe the bridge, yet they might eaſily maintaine defence till the regiments of *Piſa* which he had ſent for, were come to their ſuccours: but if they could winne the bridge, the victory would be eaſie to them, for that the way beyond the bridge, which lieth betweene the bridge and the mountaine, being ſtraite and narrow, the multitude of their enemies, encombred with the mulets and beaſts they had ſtolen, would of themſelues fall eaſily into diſorder, being drawne into a place ſo inconuenient either to fight or to flie. His words were iuſtified with deeds, for he being the foremoſt, giuing with great valour the ſpurres to his horſe, charged the bridge, but being compelled to retire, another did the like, and after him a third, whoſe horſe being hurt, the Captaine returned with great furie to ſuccour him, and what with the force of his weapon and fury of his horſe, he paſſed ouer the bridge, the footmen that defended giuing him way, and foure others of his companie did the like. Then whileſt they entertained the skirmiſh on the other ſide the bridge with the footmen of the enemie in a ſtraite medow, certaine footmen of the *Piſans* paſſed ouer the riuer, in water vp to the chin, the horſemen likewiſe paſſing without impediment ouer the bridge which was now abandoned, and thoſe that came from *Piſa* diſperſed and without order, beginning to arriue, the *Florentine* ſouldiers ſeeing themſelues reduced into a place ſtraite and narrow, fell into confuſion amongſt themſelues, and being quite diſcouraged, and the men at armes yet more then the footmen, hauing no Captaine of authoritie to retaine them in order, they turned their backes, and fell to flying: in ſo much as they which were farre mightier in forces, and marched in warlike order, left the victory to thoſe whoſe numbers were farre inferiour, and came altogether disbanded, with intention rather to make ſhew onely, then to fight indeed, many Captains of the footmen and other men of mark, remaining either dead, priſoners, or hurt, and ſuch as fled, being for the moſt part ſtripped by the people of the plaine country of *Lucques*. This defeate of the *Florentines*, brought a great diſorder to their affaires in the country of *Piſa*, for that a ſmall number of horſemen being left within *Caſcina*, they were not able for many dayes to let the *Piſans* (whom their late victory had made inſolent) to ouer-run and pill the whole countrey. And that which was of greater importance, *Pandolfe Petrucci* by this accident being entred into hope, that

The Florentins broken by the Piſans.

that they might eaſily giue impediment that Sommer to the *Florentines* for ſpoiling the corne of the *Piſans*, who maintaining defence with their accuſtomed difficulties, were (but in cold maner) aided by the *Genowais* and *Lucquois*, (for the *Siennois* aided them rather with counſell, then with money or victuals,) he wrought ſo, that *Iohn Paul Baillon*, in whom the *Florentines* repoſed much, for that they had bene the principall cauſe of his returne into *Perouſa*, refuſed during the time of his ſeruice, to continue in their pay; alledging that *Marke Anthonie* and *Mucio Colonne*, with *Luke* and *Iaques Sauelles*, who al together had a greater number of men then he, being in the ſame pay, he could not remaine there without danger, for the diuerſitie of factions. And to the end they ſhould haue leſſe time to prouide themſelues, he temporiſed and taried as long as he could, to diſcloſe wholly that which he had in his thought; and to induce them to giue more credite to his excuſe, he promiſed the *Florentines* not to take armes againſt them. Wherein to keepe them the more aſſured, he left as a gage, his ſon *Malateſte*, a very yong man, in their pay with fifteene men at armes: and becauſe himſelfe would not remaine altogether without appointment, he tooke pay of the *Siennois* with threeſcore and ten men at armes. But becauſe they of *Sienna* were not able to ſupport ſo great expences, the *Lucquoys* who did communicate in that counſell, tooke into their pay with threeſcore and ten men at armes, *Troilus Sauellus*, who afore was mercenary to the *Siennois*.

For the ſudden and vnlooked for departing of *Iohn Paul*, and the harmes receiued at the bridge of *Capello*, the *Florentines* looking into their owne weakneſſe, would not that yeare giue the ſpoile to the lands of the *Piſans*; yea they ſaw how farre they were conſtrained to deuiſe how they might put remedie to greater dangers. For the ancient humor of affection being reuiued in *Iohn Paul* and in *Pandolfe*, they debated ſecretly with the Cardinall of *Medicis* to trouble the eſtate of the *Florentines*, making their principall foundation of *Bartlemew Aluiano*, who being in ſome diſagreement with the Great Captaine, was newly come to *Rome*, where he drew to him many ſouldiers with diuers hopes and promiſes: to which counſell the Cardinall *Aſcanius* was thought to be priuie, hauing a purpoſe (things ſucceeding happily in *Tuſcan*) to aſſaile the Duchie of *Millan*, with the ioynt forces of the *Florentines* and others conſenting to this conſpiracie: for the hope they had, that aſſailing it, there would eaſily riſe ſome mutation, ſeeing there was but a ſlender ſtrength of men at armes of *France*, many of the Nobilitie in exile, the peoples much inclined to the name of *Sforce*, and the *French* King (on whom was fallen a great maladie) languiſhing in ſo dangerous extremitie, that for many houres there was a generall deſpaire of his life, and though afterward he reuiued ſomewhat, yet he was ſo ill diſpoſed, that there was ſmall hope of life. And ſuch as looked into things with a deeper counſell, doubted leſt *Aſcanius* (with whom at that time the *Venetian* Embaſſadour had familiar conuerſation at *Rome*) entertained ſecret intelligence not onely with the Great Captain, but alſo with the *Venetians*, who had bene of late more ready and more bold to offend the *French* then in times paſt; for that the *French* King, who newly was entred into ſuſpition and diſtruſt of the Emperour and his ſonne, conſidering what would be the greatneſſe of the Archduke after the death of the Queene of *Spaine*, and leauing apparently their amitie, aided againſt the Archduke the Duke of *Gueldres* his ſharp enemy, and inclined to practiſe particular intelligence with the King of *Spaine*. But as the thoughts of men are deceitfull, and their hopes full of frailtie, ſo, whileſt theſe things were in ſolicitation, the *French* King, whoſe recouery was holden deſperate, dayly recouered ſtrength, and Cardinall *Aſcanius* died ſuddenly at *Rome* of the plague. By whoſe death albeit the danger of the eſtate of *Millan* was cut off, yet the plots layed to moleſt the *Florentines* were not altogether remoued: and therefore *Pandolfe Petrucci*, *Iohn Paul Baillon*, and *Bartlemew Aluiano* aſſembled together in the borough of *Pregai*, which is vpon the confines of the *Perufins* and *Siennois*, not with hope to be ſtrong enough to reſtore the *Medices* into *Florence*, but to the end that *Aluiano* entring into *Piſa*, with the wils of the *Piſans*, might inuade (for the ſuretie of that Citie) the frontiers of the *Florentines*, with intent to paſſe further as occaſion ſhould be offered. Theſe preparations beginning now to be manifeſt, the *Florentines* were very doubtfull of the diſpoſition of the Great Captaine, for that they knew well that the time for the which *Aluiano* was entertained in the *Spaniſh* pay, remained yet till the next Nouember, and alſo for that they could not beleeue that *Pandolfe Petrucci* would enter into new enterpriſes without his conſent; ſeeing that the ſaid *Petrucci*, neuer minding to pay the *French* King the ſummes of money which he promiſed, and hauing oftentimes abuſed him, he depended altogether on the King of *Spaine*. And the ſuſpi-

The death of Cardinall Aſcanius.

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tion of the *Florentines* was further augmented in this, for that (the Lord of *Plombin*, which was vnder the protection of the *Spaniſh* King, fearing to be aſſailed by the *Genoways*) *Gonſaluo* had ſent to *Plombin* for his ſuretie a thouſand footmen vnder the charge of *Nugno de Campo*, and to the riuer of *Plombin* three ſhips, two galleys, with certaine other veſſels: which forces brought into a place ſo neare the *Florentines*, gaue them great occaſion to feare that they were come to ioyne with *Aluiano*, as he ſaid they had bene promiſed him. But the truth was, that the King of *Spaine*, after the truce made with the *French* King, gaue direction (for diminution of the expences) that as well the regiment of *Aluiano*, as the bands of others which had bene limited, ſhould be reduced to an hundred Lances. Whereupon he taking occaſion to be grieued, did not onely refuſe to bind himſelfe eftſoones with a new oath, but alſo maintained that he was acquitted of the firſt, both for that he was not ſatisfied of his payes paſt, and alſo that the Great Captaine would not hold his promiſe to giue him after the conqueſt of *Naples*, two thouſand footmen to ſerue his turne againſt the *Florentines* in fauour of the *Medices*. And the mind of *Aluiano* was naturally deſirous of new things, and altogether impatient of reſt. The *Florentines*, for their defence againſt ſo violent ſtormes, had recourſe to the *French* King, who was bound by the capitulations of protection to defend them with foure hundred Lances, and required him to ſend them two hundred. But he, being more caried with couetouſneſſe of money, then moued with the prayers or compaſſion of his ancient confederates, anſwered, that he would giue them no ſuccours, if firſt they ſatisfied him not of the thirtie thouſand duckats which were due to him by the obligation of protection. And albeit the *Florentines* intreated him to expect a litle, alledging that they were much grieued and ouercharged with neceſſary expences for their defence; yet he perſeuered obſtinately in his firſt deliberation, in ſo much as he whom they ſuſpected, and had offended, miniſtred more helpe to their ſafetie, then he in whom they had moſt confidence, and to whom they had done great pleaſures. For the Great Captaine deſiring that the tranquillity of *Italy* ſhould not be troubled, either becauſe he wold not that the practiſes of peace begun of new betweene the two Kings ſhould be broken, or for that he nouriſhed ſome deuice to appropriate to himſelfe the kingdome of *Naples*, vſing the occaſion of the death of the Queene, and the ſeeds of future diſcord betweene the father in law and the ſonne: he vſed all diligence to induce *Aluiano* to reenter into the pay, who was gone to *Petillano*, the Pope hauing commanded him either to diſmiſſe his armie, or elſe to depart out of the Church dominions: and commanded him as a vaſſall and ſouldier of his King, to make no further proceeding, vpon paine of depriuation of the eſtates which he had in the kingdome of *Naples*, bearing a value in yearely reuenue of ſeuen thouſand duckats: and ſignified to the *Piſans*, whom a litle before he had ſecretly receiued into the protection of his King, and alſo to the Lord of *Plombin*, that they ſhould not receiue him: and he cauſed to be told and offered to the *Florentines*, that he was content they ſhould haue the ſeruice of his footmen that were within *Plombin*, whom he appointed to be commanded by *Marke Anthonie Colonne* their Captaine. He ſent alſo to *Pandolfe Petrucci*, that he ſhould in no wiſe ſupport *Aluiano*, forbidding to follow him, *Lewis* ſonne of the Count *Petillano*, *Francis Vrſin*, and *Iohn de Cery*, who were in his pay. But notwithſtanding all theſe inhibitions, *Aluiano*, with whom were *Iohn Lewis Vitelli*, *Iohn Conrad Vrſin*, three hundred men at armes, and fiue hundred footmen of good reſolution, paſſing alwayes further (though ſlowly,) and the *Siennois* furniſhing him with victuals, he came at laſt to the coaſts of *Sienna* into the plaine of *Scarlina*, a towne ſubiect to *Plombin*, and a litle dayes iourney from the frontiers of the *Florentines*, where came to him a meſſenger expreſly ſent from the Great Captaine, to forbid him againe not to go to *Piſa*, nor to offend the *Florentines*: to whom he anſwered, that he was at libertie to do what he liſt, for that the Great Captaine had not holden promiſe with him; and went to lodge neare to *Campilla* a towne of the *Florentines*, where there was a light skirmiſh betweene him and the *Florentine* bands that were aſſembled at *Bibona*. He came afterwards to the territory of *Cornia* betweene the confines of the *Florentines* and *Sugeret*, but with plots and hopes very vncertaine, finding dayly greater difficulties, both for that there came no victuals to him frō *Plombin*, and alſo *Iohn Paul Baillon* and the *Vitellies*, whoſe reſolutions for the moſt part depēded of the euent of things, failed to ſend him ſuch bands of footmen as they had promiſed: alſo *Pandolfe Petrucci* was in his fauors more doubtful thē before: neither was he aſſured that the *Piſans*, for feare to diſobey the Great Captaine, would receiue him. For which reaſons, ioyned to the continuall ſolicitation that was vſed to hire him again, wherein the hope was ſo much the greater,

Gonſaluo aideth the Florentines.

greater, by how much he refuſed no more to reſt contented with an hundred Lances, he retired to *Vignalo*, a towne appertaining to the Lord of *Plombin*, giuing out a bruit, that he taried there to expect the laſt reſolution from *Naples*. But the *Piſans* hauing in the meane while condeſcended to receiue him into their towne, he iſſued out of *Vignalo* where he had remained ten dayes, and early in the morning on the ſeuenteenth day of Auguſt he appeared with his army in battel array a mile beneath *Campilla*, with intention to fight in that place with the *Florentine* armie, which was gone to incampe there the day before. But they hauing aduertiſement by eſpials coming from the campe of *Aluiano*, retired themſelues the ſame night neare the walls of *Campilla*, where *Aluiano* ſeeing no poſſibilitie to aſſaile them but to his great diſaduantage, he returned toward *Piſa* by the way called the Tower of *S. Vincent* which is fiue miles from *Campilla*: and on the other part, the bands of the *Florentines* led by *Hercules Bentiuole*, (who for the experience he had of the countrey, deſired nothing more then to fight in that place, by reaſon of the opportunitie of his ſeate) tooke the way that goeth from *Campilla* to the ſaid Tower of *S. Vincent*. Here *Hercules* ſeuered the light horſemen into two bands, the one followed the armie of *Aluiano*, charging alwayes vpon his reareguard, and the other went before to affront the enemie, holding the ſame way by the which the *Florentine* armie came after: and being come to the Tower before the bands of *Aluiano*, and vndertaken the skirmiſh with thoſe that came firſt, by whom they were eaſily repulſed, they retired towards their armie, which was now come within halfe a mile, where bringing tidings that the moſt part of the enemies had already paſſed the Tower, *Hercules Bentiuole* marching leyſurely, arriued iuſt vpon their taile, hard by the ruines of the Tower of *S. Vincent*, where their men at armes and footmen had made head: and when he was in full and abſolute paſſage, he charged them reſolutely on the flanke with the moitie of his armie, making them giue backe after he had entertained the fight a good ſpace of time. In this firſt aſſault their footmen were ſo broken and chaſed euen to the ſea, that afterwards they neuer made head: but the horſmen which were withdrawne a bowſhot beyond the ditch of the Tower of *S. Vincent* towards *Bibbona*, being reaſſembled, made head againe, and keeping themſelues in a cloſe and ſtrong array, charged with great valour the regiments of the *Florentines*, and with the ſame vertue repulſed them euen to the ditch: by reaſon whereof *Hercules Bentiuole* cauſed the reſidue of his people to march on, and drawing thither from all parts the whole ſtrength of the armie, the fight became furious there for a good ſpace of time, the victory as yet inclining to no part. *Aluiano* did in that action both the office of a ſouldier and a Captaine, bearing two eſtockados in his face, and laboured painfully to driue his enemies from that place, which if he had wonne, he had ſtood in great poſſibilitie of the victory. But *Hercules*, who many dayes afore had foretold, that if the battell were performed in that place, he ſhould obtaine the victory by induſtrie and without danger, cauſed to be planted vpon the brinke of the Tower ditch ſixe falconets which he brought with him, with the which hauing begun to batter the campe, and perceiuing that being not able to ſuſtaine the fury of the artillery, they began now to ſhake and fall into diſorder, practiſing the occaſion with the which he had alwayes promiſed himſelfe the victory, he ſet vpon them furiouſly in many places with the whole forces of his army, to wit, with his light horſmen he ſcoured towards the ſea coaſts, with his men at armes he occupied the high wayes, and with his footmen along the plaine by the wood, ſo that he brake them, and put them eaſily to the chaſe, *Aluiano* ſauing himſelfe with much ado, being followed with a very few of his lighteſt running horſes, with whom he fled to *Montrotondo* in the countrey of *Sienna*, and the reſidue of his people were almoſt all taken and ſtripped betweene the Tower of *S. Vincent* and the riuer of *Cecina*, and all their Enſignes loſt; onely a very few horſemen eſcaped. This was the end of the ſtirre of *Bartlemew Aluiano*, which expreſſed more apparences and greatneſſe by the practiſes that were made of long time, and by his braue behauior full of fury and threatnings, then by his forces or any other ſtable foundation which his enterpriſe had. *Hercules Bentiuole* and *Anthonio Iacomino* camp-maiſter, being encouraged by this victory, ſignified to the *Florentines* both by vehement letters and many meſſengers, that it were good to cauſe the victorious armie to approach the walls of *Piſa*, being carefull afore to furniſh with diligence all thoſe things that might be neceſſary to take it: and that becauſe they hoped the *Piſans* being enuironed on al ſides with great difficulties, and now depriued of all hope of the ſuccours of *Aluiano*; and ioyning withall, that all things giuing place to the reputation of conquerours, they thought they ſhould eaſily carry it; whereof they had the better hope by reaſon of a certaine intelligence which they had

had with certaine of the townesmen in *Pisa*.

But at *Florence* the Magistrate appointed director of the matters of warre, asking counsell of those Citizens which of custome were to be communicated with in matters of importance, that deliberation was with a generall consent reproued of all: for that they presuppoſed that in the *Pisans* was still continued their accustomed obstinacie, and that being of so long time experienced and trained in warre, the name and reputation of the victory which they had gotten against others, would not be sufficient to vanquish them, their forces being no whit diminished: but rather it stood them vpon, according to the examples of times past, to set vpon them with a resolute force, which men of warre did onely feare: and for that that course was full of apparent difficulties, the Citie of *Pisa* being enuironed as well as any towne in *Italy* with good and strong walls, well fortified, and withall defended by men valiant and resolute, could not be forced but with a great and puissant armie, compounded of souldiers not inferiour to the *Pisans* in valour, which yet would not be sufficient to carry it by assault or by a short siege: so that it would be necessary to incampe in the places about it for many dayes, to the end to approch it with more suretie, searching out aduantages, and as it were rather tiring and wearying them, then forcing them: That the season of the yeare, was contrary to those things, not being able suddenly to erect an armie of footmen, of other bodies then such as should be leuied in haste, nor to approch it with any intention to make long abode there, both for the inclemencie of the aire corrupted with the winds of the sea, which being become pestiferous through the vapours of the pooles and marrishes, was harmfull to armies, as was well experienced when *Paul Vitelli* incamped there: And also for that the countrey of *Pisa* beginneth from the moneth of September to be subiect to raines, which, by reason of the lowneſſe of the place, do so ouerdrowne it, that it takes away all oportunities for an armie to remaine there: That in such an vniuersall obstinacie there could be no assured foundation reposed in practises or priuate intelligences; for that such things being for the most part feigned and dissembled, or at least managed by persons vnable to execute that they promise, cannot succeed well. Besides, notwithstanding there had bin no publike faith giuen to the Great Captaine, yet *Prosper Colonne* (but of his owne authoritie) almost vnder their secret consent, had signified and promised, that for that yeare there should be made no approch with artillery to the walls of *Pisa*: and therefore they ought to hold for certaine, that the Great Captaine as well for that disdaine, as for the promises he had many times made to the *Pisans*, and also for that this successe of the *Florentines* was not profitable for his affaires, he would oppose himselfe against this enterprise: a matter very easie for him to do, for that he might in few houres put into *Pisa* the *Spanish* bands of footmen which were at *Plombin*, as he had oftentimes assured them to do whensoeuer there was preparation to besiege them: That it were better to vse the occasion of the victory in such place, where, albeit the profite were lesse, things should be found without all comparison farre more easie, and yet not without notable profite: That there was not one that had more opposed, nor did more continually resist their enterprises, not one that had more hindred the recouery of *Pisa*, nor more procured to change the present gouernment, then *Pandolfe Petrucci*: That he had stirred vp Duke *Valentinois* to enter in armes vpon their lands: That he had bene the principall author and guide of the enterprise of *Vitellozze*, and of the rebellion of *Aretze*: That by his counsell and solicitation, the *Genoways* and *Lucquoys* were ioyned with the estate of *Sienna* to support the *Pisans*: That it was he that had induced *Gonsaluo* to take the protection of *Plombin*, to intermeddle with the affaires of *Pisa*, and to intrude himselfe into the matters of *Tuscan*: That he had bene the prouoker and supporter of this bursting out of *Aluiano*: That it was against him that they ought to turne their armie, and to pill and ouerrunne all the countrey of *Sienna*, where there would be found no resistance: That by the reputation of their armies, there might happen against him some commotion in the Citie, wherein he had already many enemies; and at least that they should want no occasion to occupie any place of importance in that countrey, which they might hold in counterchange, or as a pawne to haue againe *Montpulcian*: hauing hope by this reuenge to do that which hitherto could not be accomplished with benefites and pleasures, and that *Pandolfe* hereafter would not be so ready to offend them: That afterwards in the same maner they should make incursions in the countreys of ỹ *Lucquoys*, being very harmfull to respect them so much: Lastly, that by these meanes there was hope to draw some honour and profite of the victory gotten; whereas if they went about to besiege *Pisa*, there was to be reaped no other thing then expen-

The Florentins debate whether they should besiege Pisa.

ces and diſhonour. Theſe reaſons, albeit they were alledged with common accord, yet did they nothing abate the deſire of the people (which for the moſt part is more guided by will then by reaſon) to haue the campe planted afore *Piſa*, being blinded with a iealous opinion they had taken of long time, that the recouering of *Piſa* was no whit pleaſing to many of the principall citizens for many ambitious reſpects. In this ſentence *Peter Soderin* Gonfalonnier hauing no leſſe deſire then the reſidue of the ſiege of *Piſa*, calling the great councell of the people, with whom they had not bene accuſtomed to communicate in matters of that nature, asked if they were of opinion that the campe ſhould go afore *Piſa*; whereunto euery one anſwering affirmatiuely, wiſedome was ſurmounted with raſhneſſe, the authoritie of the better ſort giuing place to the will of the greater part. And therefore they applied themſelues to make proniſions with a celeritie incredible, euery one hauing deſire to preuent no leſſe the expected ſuccours of the Great Captaine, then the danger of the rainie ſeaſon; in ſo much as the ſixt day of September the armie approched the walls of *Piſa* with ſixe hundred men at armes, ſeuen thouſand footmen, ſixteene Cannons, and many other peeces of artillerie, the Campe being pitched betweene *Santa Croce* and *San Michel*, in the ſelfe ſame place wherein the *French* men had incamped before. And as the artilleries were ſuddenly planted in the night, ſo they battered the day following with great fury, all that was between the gate of *Calci* and the turret of *S. Francis*, where the walls make within an angle: and hauing from the Sunne riſing (when the artillery began to play) in one and twentie houres brought to the earth more then thirtie fadomes of the wall, there was entertained where the ruine was moſt, a hote skirmiſh, but to very litle profite, for that there was not throwne downe ſo great a quantitie and ſpace of wall as had bene neceſſary in a towne where the men preſented themſelues to the defence with their ancient valour and hardineſſe. Therefore the morning following, to the end to make a greater opening of the wall, they began another battery in a place a litle remoued, (that place of the wall which aforetimes had bene battered by the *French*, remaining betweene the one and other battery) and after they had caſt downe ſo much of the wall as was thought ſufficient, *Hercules* ſought to aduance the footbands which were in battell to giue a rough aſſault both to the one and other breach; where the *Piſans* trauelling according to their accuſtomed maner, the women no leſſe venturous then the men reſolute, had during the battery drawne a rampier with a ditch afore; but there was not in the *Italian* footbands which had bene leuied in haſte, neither that action nor that ſpirit that was ſufficient to force ſuch a reſiſtance. Then that Enſigne of footmen to whom by lot appertained the firſt aſſault, beginning to refuſe through cowardiſe to go to the walls, neither the authoritie of the Captain, nor the preſence of the Superintendent of *Florence*, neither the regard of their proper honour, nor the honor common to the men of ſeruice of *Italy*, were ſufficient to cauſe them to go forward: the example of whom being followed of thoſe that ſhould haue ſeconded them, all the regiments retited to their lodgings, hauing done no other thing then rendred the infantery of *Italy* infamous through all *Europe*, blemiſhing the glorie of the victory obtained againſt *Aluiano*, and defacing the reputation of the Captaine and Campemaiſter, which was great on the behalfe of the *Florentines*, if, content with the glory they had gotten, they could haue moderated their proper fortune. When the ſouldiers were once retired to their lodgings, there was made no more doubt to leuie the Campe, chiefly for that the ſame day ſixe hundred *Spaniſh* footmen of thoſe that were at *Plombin* were entred *Piſa*, by direction from the Great Captaine: ſo that the day following the *Florentine* armie retired to *Caſcina*, with great diſhonour. And a few dayes after there entred into *Piſa* fifteene hundred *Spaniſh* footmen; who, becauſe the ſeruice had no neceſſitie of them, after they had in vaine giuen an aſſault to the towne of *Bientina* at the incitation of the *Piſans*, they continued their nauigation toward *Spain*, whither they were ſent by the Great Captaine, for that the peace was already eſtabliſhed betweene the *French* King and *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, to the which (all difficulties that earſt hindred it, being now remoued, as both the regard of the honour of the *French* King, and the feare to make the Archduke his enemie) the death of the Queen of *Spaine* had giuen perfection: for that the *French* King, to whom ſuch a greatneſſe of the Archduke was much diſpleaſing, deſired to diſappoint his purpoſes: and the King of *Spaine*, being aduertiſed that the Archduke diſdaining the laſt will of his mother in law, had determined to take from him the gouernment of the kingdome of *Caſtile*, was conſtrained to make his ſtay vpon new alliances. For this cauſe the mariage was agreed vpon betweene him and the Ladie *Germaine de Foix*, ſiſters daughter to the

The Florentins armie afore Piſa.

the *French* King, with condition that the King ſhould giue her in dowrie that part of the kingdome of *Naples* that appertained to him, the King of *Spaine* binding himſelfe to pay him within ten yeares ſeuen hundred thouſand duckats in recompence of expences, and to endow the new maried Ladie with three hundred thouſand duckats. This mariage being ratified and accompanied with the peace, it was agreed that the Barons of the faction of *Anjow*, and all ſuch as had followed the *French* part, ſhould be reſtored without any paiment, into their libertie, countrey, eſtates, dignities, and goods, and reeſtabliſhed in the ſame condition and degree that they were in the day that the warres began betweene the *French* and *Spaniſh*, which they account to be the day that the *French* men ran to *Tripaldo*: That all confiſcations made by the King of *Spaine* and by King *Federike*, ſhould be holden for cancelled and voide: That the Prince of *Roſſana*, the Marquis of *Bitonto* and of *Geſualdo*, *Alphonſo* and *Honorio* of *S. Seuerin*, with all the other Barons which were priſoners to the *Spaniſh* in the kingdome of *Naples*, ſhould be deliuered: That the *French* King ſhould no more intitle himſelfe King of *Ieruſalem* and *Naples*: That the homages and fealties of the Barons ſhould be made according to the conuentions aforeſaid, and that in the ſame maner the inueſtiture ſhould be demanded of the Pope: That in caſe the Queene *Germaine* ſhould die in mariage without iſſue, her part of dowry ſhould be transferred to *Ferdinand*; but if he died firſt, it ſhould reuert to the Crowne of *France*: That King *Ferdinand* ſhould be bound to aide *Gaſton* Earle of *Foix* and brother to his new wife, to conquer the kingdome of *Nauarre*, which he pretended to appertaine to him, and which was poſſeſſed with a title royall by *Katherne de Foix*, and by *Iohn* her husband, ſonne to *Monſieur d'Albret*: That the *French* King ſhould conſtraine the widow of King *Federike*, with her two children that were with him, to go into *Spaine*, where ſhould be aſſigned to her a competent portion to liue: and if ſhe refuſed to depart, then the King ſhould command her to go out of his Realme, without making any further allowance to her or to her children by way of penſion, or other meanes to relieue them: That neither of the parties ſhould enterpriſe any thing againſt thoſe whom any of them ſhould name: and they named ioyntly in *Italy* the Pope; and the *French* King apart named the *Florentines*: That for ſtrengthening of this peace, there was meant to be made betweene the two Kings perpetuall confederation for the defence of their eſtates, whereunto the King ſhould be bound with a thouſand Lances and ſixe thouſand footmen; and *Ferdinand* with three hundred Lances, two thouſand Gennitairs, and ſixe thouſand footmen. After the peace was made and publiſhed, wherein the King of *England* promiſed obſeruation for both the parties, the Barons of *Anjow* who were in *France*, hauing taken their leaue of the King, went almoſt all with the Queen *Germaine* into *Spaine*, the King vſing towards them at their departure a very ſmall gratulation for their ſeruices paſt. And *Iſabel* the widow of *Federike* hauing leaue alſo, went to *Ferrara*, refuſing to put her children into the power of the Catholike King. In this towne of *Ferrara* (*Hercules d'Eſte* being dead a litle before, and *Alphonſo* his ſonne ſucceeding in the Dukedome) there hapned vpon the end of the yeare, a ſtrange and tragicall accident, ſuch as had ſome ſimilitude with the barbarous actions of the ancient *Thebans*, but vpon a more light occaſion; if the vnbridled fury of loue be leſſe, then the burning deſire to reigne. The Cardinall *Hippolito d'Eſte*, louing feruently a yong maide his kinſwoman, who for her part was no leſſe amorous of *Don Iulio* the baſtard brother of the Cardinall, and confeſſing her ſelfe to the Cardinall, that that which aboue all other things made her affection ſo vehement to his brother, was, the ſweete aſpect and beautie of his eyes: the Cardinall being full of wrath, hauing ſpied a time when he ſhould go out of the towne on hunting, ſet vpon him in the field, and plucking him from his horſe, cauſed ſome of his pages to plucke his eyes out of his head, for that they were the companions of his loue; and he had the heart to behold the doing of ſo wicked an act: which afterwards was the cauſe of very great ſcandals among many of the brethren. Such was the end of the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and fiue.

Peace betweene the French king and the king of Spaine.

An horrible act of a Cardinall.

The end of the ſixth Booke.

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Many treaties are made. Pope Iulio the ſecond takes the gouernment of Bolognia. The Genoways rebell againſt the French King, by reaſon of the quarels betwixt the Nobles and the communaltie: which the King ſeeketh to redreſſe by mildneſſe. The King of Aragon meeteth with the French King, and communicateth with him. The Diet is holden at Conſtance. The Emperour demands paſſage of the Venetians to go take the Crowne at Rome. The Venetians offer him paſſage if he came without an armie, otherwiſe not. He inuadeth their lands, and afterwards maketh truce with them. The French King complaineth of the Florentines, who do pertinently excuſe themſelues. An offer to bring the Piſans vnder the obedience of the Florentines, but without effect, by reaſon of the contrary minds in them that dealt in that buſineſſe.

THeſe were the accidents of the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and fiue, in which albeit there remained hope that the tranquillitie of *Italy* would continue (the warres for the quarrell of *Naples* being now at an end,) yet there began to appeare in other places, no ſmall ſeeds of approching troubles. For *Philip*, which now tooke vpon him the title of King of *Caſtile*, & was not content that ſuch a kingdom ſhould be gouerned by his father in law, being incited by many Barons, prepared himſelfe to paſſe into *Spaine* againſt his will, pretending, as the truth was, that the late Queene had no power to preſcribe lawes for the gouernment of the kingdome after her death. The Emperour alſo taking courage by the greatneſſe of his ſonne, intended to paſſe into *Italy*. And laſtly the *French* King, albeit the yeare before he was much diſcontented with the Pope, for that he had diſpoſed of the benefices which were voide by the death of Cardinall *Aſcanius* and others, in the Duchie of *Millan*, without his participation; and for that alſo hauing created many Cardinals, he had refuſed to call the Biſhop of *Achx* nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, and the Biſhop of *Bayeux* nephew to *Monſieur Trimouille*, being earneſtly ſolicited by the King, who in thoſe regards had cauſed to ſequeſter the fruites of the benefices which the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula* and others of the Popes fauourites poſſeſſed in the eſtate of *Millan*; neuertheleſſe on the other ſide, beginning to feare the greatneſſe of *Cæſar* and his ſonne, he iudged it neceſſary not to nouriſh occaſions of reuenge, but to reenter into reconcilement with the Pope, to whom after he had releaſed all the ſequeſtrations, he ſent in the beginning of this yeare the Biſhop of *Ciſteron* the Apoſtolical Nuncio, to negociate with him many plots and offers againſt the *Venetians*, to whom he knew well that the Pope continued to beare ill will, and very great hatred, for the deſire he had to recouer the townes of *Romagna*, although vntill that day he had proceeded in all things ſo mildly and peaceably, that he gaue to all men great occaſion to maruell, that he, who when he was Cardinall had bene alway full of immoderate and aſpiring thoughts, and who in the time of the Popes *Siſtus*, *Innocent*, and *Alexander*, had bene many times the inſtrument to trouble *Italy*, expreſſed now that he was become Pope (an eſtate for the moſt part adminiſtred with ambition and troubleſome imaginations) to be more eaſie and abated in courage, then did well agree with the ambitious profeſſion which he had always made to the contrary, not making any ſhew or demonſtration to remember old iniuries, or to ſeeme to be like to himſelfe. But the intention of *Iulius* was farre otherwiſe, who purpoſing to ſurmount the opinion that was formerly had of him, and to do more then was expected, bent all his wits (contrary to the cuſtome of his ancient magnanimitie) to heape vp a wonderfull maſſe of treaſure, to the end that to the will he had

Seeds of new warres.

Diſſimulation very dangerous in the perſons of great men.

had to kindle the warre, might be ioyned alſo the meanes and power to ſuſtaine it. And finding at that time, that he was already furniſhed with ſufficient ſtore of money, he began to diſcouer his thoughts, aſpiring to right great things. Therefore the Biſhop of *Ciſteron* being receiued and heard with great gladneſſe, was diſpatched and ſent backe againe with diligence, to ſolicite betweene them a new reunion and amitie: wherein the better to diſpoſe the mind of the King and the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, he promiſed by writ which the ſaid Nuncio caried with him, the dignitie of Cardinall to the Biſhops of *Achx* and *Bayeux*. And yet in ſo great a forwardneſſe, he entred oftentimes into many doubts and difficulties, for that, either for a certaine ſecret hatred which he had conceiued againſt the *French* King, at ſuch time as he fled into *France*, to eſchue the ambuſhes of Pope *Alexander*, or for that it much diſcontented him to be drawne as it were by compulſion, by the power and importunitie of the *French* King, to tranſferre to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, the legation of the kingdome of *France*: or laſtly, for that he ſuſpected leſt the ſaid Cardinall, whoſe behauiours tended directly to the Popedome, not hauing the patience to tarrie for his death, would ſeeke to aſpire to that place by wayes ſiniſter and extraordinary, he was not fully reſolued to ioyne with the *French* King; without which coniunction, he knew it was impoſſible that at that time any thing of conſequence ſhould ſucceed with him. For which reaſons, he had ſent (on the other ſide) to *Piſa*, *Baltaſar Blaſquo* a *Genoway*, Captaine of his galleys, with commiſſion to arme two light galleys which Pope *Alexander* had cauſed to be built there: and it was thought that it was to the end to be more ready to deliuer *Genes* from the gouernment of the *French*, in caſe the King, who yet remained vexed with reliques of his diſeaſe, ſhould happen to die. Thus matters hanging in ſuch an eſtate of ſuſpence, the firſt action of this yeare 1506 began by the embarking of King *Philip* to ſaile out of *Flanders* into *Spaine* with a great armie by ſea. And to reduce his going to more facilitie (for he feared leſt his father in law by the aide of the *French*, would hinder his paſſage) he practiſed the *Spaniſh* ſubtilties, and agreed with him to leaue vnto him the managing and policie of the moſt part of affaires, and that they ſhould take in common the title of King of *Spaine*, according to the example in the Queenes time: and laſtly, that the reuenues and tributes ſhould be deuided in an order certaine and indifferent. By reaſon of which accord, his father in law, notwithſtanding he was not aſſured of the obſeruation, ſent him into *Flanders* many ſhip to furniſh his voyage: with the which, hauing embarked his wife and *Ferdinand* his ſecond ſonne, he tooke his courſe into *Spaine* with forward winds, which, within two dayes turning cleane contrary, after his ſhips had run a dangerous fortune, and made long reſiſtance againſt the fury of the ſea, they were caſt vpon ſundry coaſts of *England* and *Brittaine*, his owne perſon with two or three ſhips being driuen with manifeſt perill vpon *England* into the hauen of *Southhampton*: whereof *Henrie* the ſeuenth King of that Nation being aduertiſed, ſent to him with ſpeed many Barons to receiue him with honour, and to deſire him to come to his Court, then at *London*: a requeſt which *Philip*, who found himſelfe almoſt deſolate and without ſhips, could not well denie. He remained in the Court of *England*, vntill all his Nauie was reaſſembled and eſtſoones rigged, making in the meane while betweene them new capitulations: and albeit *Philip* in all other things held himſelfe vſed as a King, yet in this one thing he complained, that he was conſtrained as a priſoner, to conſent to redeliuer into King *Henries* hands the Duke of *Suffolke*, whom he held priſoner within the Caſtle of *Namur*, and whom the King of *England* deſired much to haue in his power, for that he quarelled the title of the Crowne, pretending the right of the kingdome to appertaine to him: onely the King of *England* aſſured *Philip* by the faith and word of a King, that he would not put him to death, by meanes whereof he was kept in priſon ſo long as King *Henrie* liued, and afterwards beheaded by the commandement of his ſonne. King *Philip* ſailed afterwards with a more happie nauigation into *Spaine*; where, almoſt all the Barons flocking vnto him, his father in law, who was not ſtrong enough of himſelfe to reſiſt him, and who iudged that in the *French* promiſes was no ſure foundation, had neuer thought of other thing then of the accord, finding himſelfe abandoned almoſt of euery one, and finding hard acceſſe vnto his ſonne in law, was conſtrained to agree to ſuch conditions as were offered to him, without any reſpect to the former accord betweene them: and yet they proceeded not rigorouſly, for the good nature of *Philip*, but much more for the perſwaſions of thoſe which had ſhewed themſelues great enemies to *Ferdinand*; who being in continuall doubt, leſt by his wiſedome and authoritie he would get better fauour with his ſonne in law, they ſolicited as much as they could his departure out of

1506. *King Philip ſaileth out of Flanders into Spaine.*

King Philip caſt by caſualtie of ſea vpon the coaſt of England.

Philip promiſeth to redeliuer to king Henry the Duke of Suffolke.

Capitulations betweene Ferdinand and Philip.

the kingdome of *Caſtile*. It was accorded, that *Ferdinand* ſhould giue ouer the gouernment which his wife had left to him by teſtament, together with all that he could pretend in that regard; and that he ſhould ſpeedily depart out of *Caſtile*, with promiſe to returne no more: That *Ferdinand* ſhould poſſeſſe the kingdome of *Naples* as his owne, notwithſtanding there were that alledged, that it appertained to *Philip*, for that it was conquered with the armes and power of the kingdome of *Caſtile*: which was the ſame reaſon (and haply more iuſt) by the which *Ferdinand* was wont to pretend the ſaid Realme to appertaine to him, as being won by the treaſures and forces of the ſtate of *Aragon*. The tributes of the Iles of *India* were reſerued to him during his life, together with the three great Maiſterſhips of *S. Iames*, of *Alcantara*, & of *Calatraua*: and it was alſo agreed, that he ſhould take euery yeare fiue and twentie thouſand duckats of the reuenue of the realme of *Caſtile*. As ſoone as this contract was reſolued, *Ferdinand*, whō hereafter we will call either the Catholik King, or King of *Aragon*, went forthwith into *Aragon*, with intention to paſſe by ſea to *Naples* with all the diligence he might, not ſo much for the deſire he had to ſee that kingdome, and to reeſtabliſh it, as to remoue the Great Captaine, againſt whom, ſince the death of the Queene, he had conceiued many ſuſpitions, either that he aſpired to transferre to himſelfe that kingdome, or at leaſt that he was inclined to giue it rather to *Philip* then to him.

The condition of imperie and dignitie iealous.

And for as much as he had often ſummoned him in vaine to returne into *Spaine*, which he excuſed by the many impediments which retained him, referring his departure to another time, he feared that if he went not thither in perſon, he ſhould not eaſily remoue him from the gouernment, notwithſtanding that ſince the laſt contract, King *Philip* had giuen him to vnderſtand that hereafter he was to yeeld all his obedience to the King of *Aragon*. In this time the *French* King beginning to be in good health, was trauelled with many, diuers and contrary thoughts: for he was diſcontented with the *Venetians*, for the diſdaine he conceiued againſt them ſince the time of the warre of *Naples*, for the deſire he had to recouer that which was of the ancient appertenances of the Duchie of *Millan*, and for an opinion that through diuers accidents, their power and greatneſſe might ſometimes hurt him; the which, among other reſpects, had induced him to make confederation with the Emperour and *Philip* his ſonne: and on the other ſide, the deſcending of the Emperour into *Italy*, was nothing agreeable to him, knowing that he prepared to furniſh his iourney with very ſtrong forces: a thing which he feared more then euer, for the power of *Philip*, ſucceſſor to ſuch a greatneſſe; ſpecially being in doubt that whileſt he was in *England*, he had contracted with the King there certaine new and ſtraite alliances: and for that alſo one of the principall occaſions for which he had entred confederation with them, was ceaſſed and cut off by the peace made with the Catholike King, by reaſon whereof he had left off all thoughts touching the kingdome of *Naples*. But whileſt he was in this perplexitie of mind, the Embaſſadours of the Emperour *Maximilian* came to ſignifie to him their maiſters deliberation to paſſe into *Italy*, and to ſummon him to giue order for the fiue hundred lances which he had promiſed to furniſh in his fauour, and to performe his word touching the reſtoring of the baniſhed men of the eſtate of *Millan*; and withall to intreate him to aduance the paiment of the money which ſhould be due to him within few moneths. To theſe demands albeit the *French* King had no great will to condeſcend, yet he made ſhew of the contrary, neuertheles onely for the regard of ſuch as for that time required but words: for he expreſſed how much he deſired that the articles of accord ſhould be executed, offering for his part in due ſeaſon a ready accompliſhment of all things he was bound vnto; onely he refuſed with many excuſes to aduance the money. On the other part, the Emperour repoſing as litle in the will of the *French* King, as the *French* King did in his, and deſiring vehemently to paſſe to *Rome*, chiefly to take the Crowne Imperiall, to the end afterwards to cauſe his ſon to be choſen King of *Romanes*, he ſtudied in the ſame time by what other meanes he might atchieue the effect of his expectations. Therfore he ſolicited the *Swiſſers* to ioyne with him, who, after many counſels and diſputes among themſelues, determined to obſerue the alliance which yet remained for two yeares with the *French* King: and he demanded paſſage of the *Venetians* through their lands, who being loth for their owne particular to grant him paſſage with an armie ſo mightie, the offers of the *French* King inciting them to ioyne with him to let his paſſage, gaue them the courage to anſwer him in generall termes. And now the *French* King ſhewing himſelfe openly eſtranged from the confederation made with him and with *Philip*, gaue in mariage the Lady *Claude* his daughter, to *Francis* Lord of *Angouleſme*, to whom belonged the ſucceſſion of the Crowne after his death without

Imaginations of the French king.

without iſſue male: yet making ſhew as though he had bene drawne to that action, by the importunities of his ſubiects, hauing aforehand ordained for that effect, that all the Courts of Parliament and principall townes of his kingdome, ſhould ſend Embaſſadours to beſeech him, as in a matter moſt profitable to the Realme, ſince the hope to haue iſſue male diminiſhed in him daily more and more. This he ſignified with ſpeed to King *Philip* by expreſſe Embaſſadours, excuſing himſelfe, that he had no power to reſiſt ſo great a deſire of his whole Realme and communitie of his ſubiects. Beſides this, he had ſent bands of men to the ſuccours of the Duke of *Gueldres* againſt *Philip*, to turne *Maximilian* from paſſing into *Italy*, who of himſelfe had already left off thoſe cogitations: for that vnderſtanding that *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungary* was very ſicke, he drew neare the confines of that kingdome, according to an ancient deſire of his father and himſelfe, to make himſelfe King, for the right which he pretended thereto. For *Ladiſlaus* King of *Hungaria* and *Bohemia*, ſonne of *Albert*, which was brother to the Emperour *Federike*, dying many yeares before without iſſue, the people of *Hungaria*, who pretended that their King dying without iſſue, the ſucceſſion of the next of bloud could haue no place, but that the election of the new King belonged to them, had choſen for their King (hauing regard to the vertues of his father) *Matthias*, he who afterwards to the great reputation and glory of ſo litle a kingdom, vexed ſo often the Empire of the *Turks*: who, to auoide in the beginning of his reigne, warre with *Federike*, agreed with him to take no wife, to the end that after his death the kingdome might diuolue to *Federike* or to his children; the which albeit he did not obſerue, yet he died without iſſue: but for all that *Federike* had not the accompliſhment of his deſire, for that the *Hungarians* choſe againe for their King, *Ladiſlaus* King of *Polonia*; for which cauſe new warres being eftſoones raiſed againſt them by *Federike* and *Maximilian*, they agreed at laſt (the Barons of the kingdome taking a ſolemne oath) that if *Ladiſlaus* ſhould die without iſſue, they would receiue *Maximilian* for their King. He then aſpiring to this ſucceſſion, after he was aduertiſed of the infirmitie of *Ladiſlaus*, drew neare to the borders of *Hungaria*, giuing ouer for that time all thoughts for *Italy*.

The eſtate of Hungaria after the death of Matthias.

But whileſt theſe things were debated betweene the Princes of beyond the Mounts with ſo great diuerſitie, the Pope knowing that without the aide of the *French* King he could not moleſt the *Venetians*, and hauing no patience to ſuffer the yeares of his Pontificacie to paſſe away and conſume without profite or honor, he prayed the *French* King to help him to recouer to the obedience of the Church, the Cities of *Bologna* and *Perouſa*, which belonging of antiquitie to the Sea Apoſtolike, were now tyrannized, the one by *Iohn Paul Baillon*, and the other by *Iohn Bentiuole*, whoſe predeceſſors in the times of ciuill warres, riſing from priuate citizens to be chiefe of a faction, after they had chaſed or ſlaine all their aduerſaries, were become abſolute Lords, and nothing elſe reſtrained them from taking the title of lawfull Princes, but onely the regard which they bare to the Popes, who in the one and the other Citie retained ſomewhat more then the ſimple name of Lordſhip, for that they tooke a certaine part of the reuenues, albeit very litle, and ordained gouernours there in the name of the Church, who ſerued rather as ſhadowes and apparences, then to rule or command, the power and deliberation of all matters of importance reſting in the authoritie of others. But the towne of *Perouſa*, either for her more nearneſſe to the Citie of *Rome*, or for other occaſions, was longer time entertained in the obedience of the Church then *Bologna*: for that Citie did oftentimes change in the aduerſities of the Popes, ſometimes being gouerned in libertie, ſometimes oppreſſed by the citizens, ſometimes made ſubiect to ſtrange Princes, and then againe reduced to the abſolute ſubiection of the Popes; and laſtly returning in the time of Pope *Nicholas* the fifth, vnder the obedience of the Church, but with certaine limitations, and ſuch communion of authoritie betweene the Pope and them, that with tract of time the name and demonſtration of things remaining onely to the Popes, the effect and ſubſtance of the policie and gouernment reſted wholly in the power of the *Bentiuoles*: of whom, *Iohn Bentiuole* who commanded for the preſent, hauing by litle and litle drawne all things to him, & embaſed thoſe mightie families which had bene contrary to his elders and him in the firſt founding and eſtabliſhing of his tyrannie, and being alſo much grieued for the inſolencies and intollerable expences which his foure ſonnes made, and for this cauſe becomming hatefull almoſt to euery one, he ruled now more by crueltie and armes, then with clemencie and affabilitie, leauing very litle place to equitie and innocencie. That which incited the Pope to this enterpriſe, was principally the deſire of glorie, for which cauſe he had determined (albeit vn-

The Pope deuiſeth to win againe Bologna.

der the ſhadow of pietie and zeale to religion) to reconquer to the ſea Apoſtolike, all thoſe places, of what nature ſoeuer, that had bene vſurped vpon the Church. And he was more particularly incited to recouer *Bologna*, by a hatred newly conceiued againſt *Iohn Bentiuole*; for that in the time when he durſt not remaine at *Rome*, and ſtayed at *Cento* a towne of his Biſhopricke of *Bologna*, he was driuen to ſteale away by night, hearing a bruite publiſhed at randon, that *Bentiuole* had a reſolution to apprehend him priſoner, at the inſtance of Pope *Alexander*. Now this requeſt of the Pope was to the good liking of the King, who tooke it for an apt occaſion to keepe him in his amitie: for knowing how much it did preiudice his affaires, that the Pope had alliance with the *Venetians*, he began to grow into feares that he would ſuddenly reuolt, holding him alſo in ſuſpition to haue communitie in a certaine practiſe which *Octauian Fregoſo* had made to depriue him of the iuriſdiction of *Genes*: and further, he eſteemed *Bentiuole* (albeit he was vnder his protection) more inclined to *Caſar* then to him. Whereunto was added his diſdaine againſt *Iohn Paul Baillon*, for that he had refuſed (notwithſtanding he was poſſeſſed of the fourteene thouſand duckats) to go and ioyne with his army being vpon the riuer of *Garillan*; together with his deſire to offend *Pandolfe Petrucci*, vnder an occaſion to ſend men into *Tuſcan*, for that he had both failed to pay him the money he had promiſed, and alſo had wholly followed the fortune of the *Spaniards*. For theſe cauſes he willingly agreed to aide the Pope; and the Pope for his part, gaue him the writs of Cardinalſhip for the Biſhops of *Achx* and *Bayeux*, with power to diſpoſe of the benefices in the Duchie of *Millan*, in the ſame fulneſſe that *Francis Sforce* had vſed before. Theſe practiſes being reſolued and concluded by the ſolicitation of the Biſhop of *Ciſteron*, newly endued with the Archbiſhopricke of *Achx*, the onely and immediate interpoſer betweene them, yet the execution was not ſo ready; for that the Pope hauing deferred for certaine moneths to put the enterpriſe to action, it hapned that *Maximilian*, who hauing begun the warre againſt the King of *Hungary*, had eſtranged his thoughts from *Italy*, made now a new peace with him, renewing the accord touching the ſucceſſion; and returned into *Auſtria*, making preparations whereby he made knowne that he meant to paſſe into *Italy*: and deſiring that the *Venetians* ſhould not oppoſe againſt his intention, he diſpatched foure Embaſſadours, to aduertiſe that State, that he was determined to go to *Rome* to take the Imperial Crowne, deſiring them to giue him libertie of paſſage for him and his armie; and offering to aſſure them to march through their lands without grieuing them or theirs in any ſort; and deſired, by proteſtation, to be vnited with that Commonweale, whereof the meanes might eaſily be found, not onely with ſuretie, but alſo with the augmentation and exaltation of both the parties, couertly inferring vnder this perſwaſion, that it would make for their common profite to conſpire together againſt the *French* King. The *Venetians*, after they had long debated in counſell, returned a very gracious anſwer, expreſſing how much their Commonweale deſired to be conformable to his will, and to ſatisfie his requeſts in all things which they might without their great preiudice, which in that caſe could be neither greater nor more euident; for that the regions of *Italy* being made deſperate by ſo many calamities which they had ſuffered, were drawne into an vniuerſall mutinie at the onely bruite of his deſcending with ſo mightie an armie, ſtanding generally reſolued to take armes to cut off all occaſions of new troubles, and that the *French* king was to do the like for the ſuretie of the eſtate of *Millan*: That by that meanes, his coming into *Italy* with an armie, was no other thing then to giue occaſion to the *Italians* to take armes to make mightie reſiſtance againſt him: an action of no litle importance and danger againſt them, for that if they ſhould conſent to his paſſing, all the Potentates of *Italy*, together with the *French* King, would iudge of them no otherwiſe, then of ſuch as had not eſteemed of the common benefite in reſpect of their proper intereſts: That it would be more aſſured for all, and in the end more honorable for him, coming to an act peaceable & pleaſing to euery one, to paſſe diſarmed into *Italy*, where the Imperiall Maieſtie, ſhewing himſelfe no leſſe gracious and affable, then mightie and terrible, ſhould find a great and vniuerſall fauour: And that he ſhould (to his perpetuall glorie) beare the honorable reputation to be the protector of the tranquillitie of *Italy*, proceeding to his coronation in the ſame forme which his father and many of his renowmed predeceſſors had obſerued afore him; in which caſe that Senate wold vſe towards him, all the obſeruances and offices which he could deſire. Theſe preparations for armes, and things practiſed by *Caſar*, were the cauſes that the Pope who was fully reſolued to execute the enterpriſe of *Bologna*, and had ſent to ſummon the *French* King to his promiſe, was friendly aduiſed by

A diſpleaſure done to a great one, doth coſt deare at the laſt.

by the King (to whom it ſeemed not fit at that time to make ſuch an enterpriſe) to deferre it till another ſeaſon, leſt by this accident all *Italy* ſhould fall into commotion: for that he feared leſt he ſhould hereby ſtir vp the minds of the *Venetians*, who had already ſignified to him that they were reſolued to take armes for the defence of *Bologna*, if the Pope would not firſt endue them with the grant of thoſe patronages and rights of *Faenza* which appertained to the Church. But the Pope, who by nature was impatient and ſodaine, ſought out ſtill all the meanes he could, whereby (notwithſtanding all difficulties and impediments) he might come to the end of his deſire, and that in a furious and violent maner. For hauing called together into the Conſiſtory all the Cardinals, and ſhewed that he was touched with a iuſt deſire to deliuer from the hands of tyrants the Cities of *Bologna* and *Perouſa*, members ſo noble and ſo much importing the Sea Apoſtolike; his concluſion was, that he would go thither in perſon: aſſuring them, that beſides his owne forces, he ſhould be aided by the *French* King, by the *Florentines*, and many other Potentates of *Italy*, and that God who is iuſt, would not leaue abandoned ſuch as ſought to helpe his Church. This deliberation being publiſhed in *France*, ſeemed ſo ridiculous to the King, that the Pope ſhould promiſe himſelfe a ſuccour of his people without being otherwiſe certified, that making it a ieſting talke at his table, and minding to taxe his notorious drunkenneſſe, he ſaid, it could not be but the Pope was well drunke the night before; not diſcerning that that ſodaine deliberation did conſtraine him, either to come to manifeſt controuerſie with him, or elſe to giue him of his men againſt his will. But the Pope without expecting any other reſolution, iſſued out of *Rome* with fiue hundred men at armes, and ſending afore *Anthonie dal Monte* to ſignifie his coming to the *Bolognois*, with direction to command them to make prouiſion to receiue him, and to beſtow in the country fiue hundred *French* Lances, he marched ſlowly, hauing determined not to paſſe *Perouſa*, till he were well aſſured whether the *French* bands would come to his ſuccours: and *Iohn Paul Baillon* fearing his coming, by the counſell of the Duke of *Vrbin* and other his friends, and vnder their aſſurance, went to meete the Pope at *Oruietto*, who receiued him into grace and fauour, after he had wholly ſubmitted himſelfe to his diſcretion, with promiſe to follow him in perſon with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, and alſo to render vp into his hands the fortreſſes of *Perouſa* and *Peruſin*, and the guard of the Citie, giuing for obſeruation his two ſonnes in hoſtage to the Duke of *Vrbin*. This compoſition made, the Pope entred without any ſtrength into *Perouſa*, being in the full power of *Iohn Paul Baillon* to make him priſoner with all his Court, if he would haue made ſound throughout the world in a matter of ſuch greatneſſe and weight, that diſloyaltie, which had already made his name infamous in things more inferiour and of farre meaner qualitie. At *Perouſa* the Pope gaue audience to the Cardinall of *Narbona*, ſent to him from the *French* King, to perſwade him to deferre the enterpriſe till another time, and to proteſt the Kings excuſes, in that (contrary to his deſire) he could not ſend him men, for that in reſpect of the great ſuſpitions he had of *Ceſar*, it was not conuenient to leaue the Duchie of *Millan* diſarmed. With which embaſſage the Pope being much moued, and yet for all that making no ſhew that he had any inclination or will to change aduice, he began to leuie new bands of footmen, and to increaſe all his prouiſions: and yet many beleeued, that what by the difficulties that appeared, and the eaſineſſe of his nature to be appeaſed vpon ſubmiſſion, that if *Bentiuole*, who offered by his Embaſſadours to ſend in his foure ſonnes, had diſpoſed himſelfe to come in perſon, according to the example of *Iohn Paul*, he had found ſome tollerable forme for his affaires. But whileſt he could not reſolue with himſelfe, or, as ſome ſay, whileſt he was holden in ſuſpence by the contradiction of his wife, he had aduertiſement that *Monſieur de Chaumont* had receiued direction from the *French* King to go to the ſuccours of the Pope in perſon with fiue hundred Lances. For albeit the King (in the abſence of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*) had no inclination to ſend him, yet the Cardinall perſwading afterwards the contrary, and conſidering how much the Pope would be offended if he ſhould refuſe that which he had not onely promiſed him at the beginning, but alſo ſince had vrged him to vſe the ſeruice of his men, he changed aduice. Whereunto he was ſo much the more eaſily induced, by how much the demonſtrations of *Maximilian* began now to waxe cold, according to his cuſtome; and the Pope, ſomewhat to ſatisfie the King, was content to make promiſe (yet not by writing, but with ſimple words) that he would not moleſt the *Venetians* for the townes of *Romagna*. And yet notwithſtanding the Pope, not able to abſtaine from diſcloſing what a ſetled deſire he bare that way, going from *Perouſa* to *Ceſena*, he tooke the way of the mountaine; for that if he had

The Pope will go in perſon to the enterpriſe of Bologna.

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marched along the plaine, he ſhould haue bene conſtrained to paſſe vpon the lands of *Rimini*, which the *Venetians* held. As ſoone as he was come to *Ceſena*, he admoniſhed *Bentiuole* to depart from *Bolognia* vnder moſt grieuous cenſures and paines ſpirituall and temporall, ſtretching them out againſt all ſuch as ſhould hold any conuerſation or confederacie with him: and receiuing intelligence in this place, that *Monſieur de Chaumont* marched with ſix hundred lances and three thouſand footmen, all paid of the Church treaſures, he tooke courage, and continued on his way without deferring. And turning from the wayes and territories of *Faenza* for the ſame reſpects he turned from *Rimini*, he tooke the way of the mountaine, notwithſtanding it was very troubleſome and full of incommodities: and paſſing by the townes which the *Florentines* poſſeſſed beyond the *Appenine*, he went to *Imola*, where his armie aſſembled: wherein, beſides many bands of footmen which he had leuied, were foure hundred men at armes in his pay, an hundred and fiftie led by *John Paul Baillon*, an hundred lent by the *Florentines* vnder the guide of *Marke Anthonie Colonne*, an hundred lent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, many bands of Eſtradiots leuied in the kingdome of *Naples*, and two hundred light horſemen brought thither by the Marquis of *Mantua*, deputie Lieutenant of the armie. At *Bolognia* on the other ſide, *Bentiuole* and his faction omitted no preparation that might reſpect their ſuretie, hoping that if they were not defended, at the leaſt they ſhould not be offended by the *French*: for that the King being called vpon to aide them, according to the contract of protection, had anſwered, that albeit he could not with armes oppoſe againſt the enterpriſe of the Pope, yet he would forbeare to miniſter either men, or other nature of aide againſt them: by reaſon whereof they hoped to be able with eaſe to reſiſt the army Eccleſiaſtike. But all hope failed them by the coming of *Monſieur de Chaumont*, who, albeit as he marched had made diuers anſwers to their people, yet the ſame day he arriued at *Caſtelfranco* vpon the territories of *Bolognia*, (being the ſame day wherein the Marquis of *Mantua* with the Popes regiments made himſelfe Lord ouer the borough of *S. Peter*) he ſent to ſignifie to *Bentiuole*, that the King not minding to faile of that he was bound vnto by the capitulations of protection, had an intention not onely to cauſe ſafetie and preſeruation of his goods, but alſo to procure him ſuch further grace and fauour, that reſigning to the Church the gouernment and policie of the Citie, he ſhould with ſuretie remaine in *Bolognia* with his ſonnes, ſo that within three dayes he ſubmitted himſelfe wholly to the obedience and commandements of the Pope. By reaſon whereof *Bentiuole* and his ſonnes, who with great threatnings afore had publiſhed to all the world their diſpoſition to defend themſelues, became now abated in courage, and not remembring with what vpbraidings they had exclaimed againſt *Peter de Medicis*, for that without effuſion of bloud he had forſaken *Florence*; made anſwer, that they would referre themſelues to his arbitration, beſeeching him to be a meanes that at the leaſt they might obtaine conditions tollerable. Therefore, being now come to the bridge of *Rene*, three miles from *Bolognia*, interpoſing with the Pope, he made an agreement, that it ſhould be lawfull to *Iohn Bentiuole* and his ſonnes, with *Geneura Sforce* his wife, ſafely to go out of *Bolognia*, and remaine in the Duchie of *Millan* in any place at their beſt liking: That it ſhould be lawfull for them either to ſell or carry away from *Bolognia*, all their goods moueable, and not to be moleſted for their immoueables which they poſſeſſed with iuſt title. By the benefite of which accord ratified and confirmed, they departed with ſpeed out of *Bolognia*, hauing obtained of *Monſieur de Chaumont*, to whom they gaue twelue thouſand duckats, a very large ſafeconduct, with promiſe ſubſcribed, not onely to ſee obſerued all that is contained in the articles of protection, but alſo that he and his family ſhould continue in ſuretie in the Duchie of *Millan*. The *Bentiuoleis* being departed, the people of *Bolognia* addreſſed with diligence their Embaſſadours to the Pope, to put into his hands the abſolute iuriſdiction of their Citie, to demand pardon and abſolution of the Cenſures, and to require order that the *French* ſhould not enter into *Bolognia*; who being vnwilling to be ruled, made their approch to the walls, and ſtroue to enter: but the people hauing repulſed them, they lodged neare the walls, betweene the gates of *S. Felix* and *Sarageſſe*, vpon the channell which drawing from the riuer of *Rene*, paſſeth through *Bolognia*, and from thence is nauigable to *Ferrara*; being ignorant, that it was in the power of the inhabitants of *Bolognia* by plucking vp a ſluce of the channell that entreth the Citie, to drowne all the countrey about: the which being done, the channell that afore was ſwelled with water, brake forth and ouerflowed the low places where the *French* bands were incamped; who leauing their artillerie in the mire, and much of their baggage, retired in great tumult and diſorder to the bridge of

Rene,

Rene, where they remained till the Pope entred into *Bologna*, which was on Saint *Martins* day, performing his entrie with all pompe and ceremonies Pontificall. Thus fell into the power of the Church, to the great felicitie of the inhabitants the Citie of *Bologna*, which with good right beareth the name and reputation amongst the most noble and flourishing Cities of *Italy*, as well for the infinitie of the dwellers, as for the fertilitie of soile and oportunitie of situation: in which Citie, albeit the Pope did institute new Magistrates by the example of antiquitie, leauing in many things great signes and apparences of libertie, yet, touching the effect, he brought it wholly to the obedience of the Church, shewing himselfe very liberall in this, that releasing diuers exemptions, (doing the like in all other Cities) he laboured to allure the multitude to a liking of the gouernment of the Church. He gaue to *Monsieur de Chaumont*, who returned immediatly to the Duchie of *Millan*, eight thousand duckats, and ten thousand to be distributed amongst his regiment, and he confirmed with Bull subsigned, the promise he had made before to create Cardinall, his brother the Bishop of *Alby*; and yet (bending all his wits how he might annoy the *Venetians*) to leaue quicker motions in the *French* King and Cardinall of *Amboise* to aide him, he would not at that time publish Cardinals the Bishops of *Achx* and *Bayeux*, according to the solicitations that were made, and writs which were already subscribed.

About this time the King of *Aragon* passed by sea into *Italy*, and before he embarked at *Barcelona*, there came to him a Gentleman from the Great Captaine, to declare his readinesse to receiue the King, and to yeeld him obedience: to whom in recompence of his fidelitie and merites, the King ratified not onely the donation of the Duchie of *Saint Ange*, which King *Federike* had giuen him, but also all his other goods which he possessed in the kingdome of *Naples*, amounting to more then twentie thousand duckats in the yearely reuenue, and confirmed to him the office of great Constable of the same kingdome, with promise to be great Maister of *Saint Iames*, both subsigned vnder the Kings owne hand. Thus the King of *Aragon* embarking at *Barcelona* with no lesse contentment of the present, then better hope hereafter, was honourably receiued together with his wife, in all the ports of *Prouence*, according to the *French* Kings commandements, and with the same honour was welcomed into the hauen of *Genes*, where he was expected by the Great Captaine, who was gone thither to meete him, not without the admiration of many, for that not onely the popular sort, but euen the Pope himselfe was of opinion, that as wel for his disobedience past, as for the present suspition which the King had in him, (possibly not without cause) he would passe into *Spaine*, fearing to stand in the presence of the King. The King of *Aragon* departing from *Genes*, remained many dayes at *Portofino*, both for that the wind was contrary, and also he held it not conuenient to be far from the shore with his light galleys. Whilest he soiourned at *Portofino*, he was aduertised that King *Philip* his sonne in law, yong in yeares, and well disposed in bodie, had changed this life for a better within the towne of *Burgos*, of a feauer, which held him but very few dayes, happning in the very floure of his age, and in a time wherein he was lifted to his greatest felicitie, as Fortune doth oftentimes shew her selfe verie variable: neuertheless the King (of whom it was beleeued, that for the desire he had to recontinue in the gouernment of *Castile*, he would eftsoones turne saile to *Barcelona*) kept on his first way, and entred the port of *Caietta* the same day that the Pope marching to *Bologna*, made his entrie into *Imola*: from whence he was conueyed to *Naples*, and receiued into that Citie (which was wont to reioyce in the Kings of *Aragon*) with great magnificence, and with so much the more desire of all men, for an opinion they had, that vnder a King so glorious for the many victories he had obtained as well against the Infidels as the Christians, and so reuerenced for his wisedome, and of whom the generall report of his singular iustice, by the which he had guided his Realmes in tranquillitie, was famous: he would also restore and relieue the kingdome of *Naples* of so many afflictions and oppressions, and reduce it into an estate peaceable and happie, with restitution of the ports which the *Venetians* held there, to the great displeasure of the whole kingdome. There came to him to *Naples* from all parts of *Italy* many Embassadours, not onely to congratulate and honour so great a Prince, but also for many practises and occasions, euery one being perswaded that with his authoritie and wisedome, he would bring things into a better form, and be the euen ballance & counterpoise for many matters: for that both the Pope, who although he were discontented with him, for that he had not sent to him Embassadors to acknowledge obedience, according to the custome, studied to kindle him against the *Venetians*, thinking that for the desire he had to recouer the ports of *Pouilla*, he wished their declination and

The Great Captaine confirmed in the Duchie of S. Ange.

The death of King Philip.

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embasing: and the *Venetians* on the contrary solicited to be continued in his amitie: and also the *Florentines*, with the other people of *Tuscan*, negociated with him diuersly for the regard of *Pisa*, which this yeare was lesse molested then others with the incursions of the *Florentines* (not hindering their harueſt) either for that they were wearie of the charges, or else that the experience of the yeare passed made them esteeme it a thing vaine and without fruite, knowing that the States of *Genes* and *Lucques* had agreed together to support that Citie for one yeare with a determinate and certaine charge, whereunto *Pandolfe Petrucci* had prepared them before, offering the like portion of contribution on the behalfe of the *Siennoys*: notwithstanding on the other side (being a man dissembled in all his intentions) he obtained of the *Florentines*, by disclosing the estate of the negociation, and to the end to separate himselfe from the rest, that the truce which yet continued between the *Florentines* and *Siennois*, should haue prolongation for three yeares, with an expresse couenant, that it should not be lawfull to the *Siennois*, nor to *Pandolfe*, to minister any aide to the *Pisans*: with which excuse forbearing to be at any expences for them, he refused not to fauour them with all the counsels and actions he could in any other sort. This yeare there hapned a new and strange accident of the tragedie which had bene begun before at *Ferrara*: for *Ferdinand* brother to Duke *Alphonso* and *Iulio*, whose eyes the Cardinall had violently caused to be pluckt out, (but by the readie helpe of Physitions were restored without losse of his sight,) conspired together with the said *Iulio*, the death of the Duke; *Ferdinand*, who was next in succession after the Duke, being moued to this conspiracie by an aspiring desire to occupie that State; and *Iulio* by an opinion he had that *Alphonso* was not sensible of the wrong that had bene done him, and for that he was out of hope to be able otherwise to be reuenged vpon the Cardinall; in which counsels and practise did participate the Count *Albertin Boschet* a gentleman of *Modena*; and hauing wonne and corrupted certaine fellowes of base condition, which were alwayes about the person of *Alphonso* to make him sport, they had many times faire oportunities to haue slaine him: but being withholden by a certaine fatall timorousnesse, they alwayes let passe the oportunitie: so that (as it happeneth for the most part when the execution of conspiracies is deferred) the treason being detected, *Ferdinand* with the other conspirators were imprisoned, and *Iulio*, who was fled to his sister at *Mantua*, was by the direction of the Marquis, sent prisoner to *Alphonso*, hauing receiued promise of him that he should not be put to death: but a litle after the Count *Albertin* being condemned iudicially, was quartered with the others that were found guiltie, and the two brethren passed ouer to perpetuall prison in the New castle of *Ferrara*. And in this place I must say somewhat of the audacitie and industrie of *Valentinois*, who being subtilly slided downe by a cord out of the Rocke of *Medina del Campo*, fled into the kingdome of *Nauarre* to King *Iohn* brother to his wife, where (to the end that henceforth we may speake no more of him) after he had remained certaine yeares in base condition, (for the *French* King, who had confisked both the Duchie of *Valence*, and taken away the pension of twentie thousand franks which he gaue him in supply of reuenue, would not suffer him to go into *France*, because he would do nothing that might discontent the King of *Aragon*) he was at last slaine, commanding ouer the men of warre of the King of *Nauarre* in the campe at *Viano*, a litle place in the said Realme, fighting against the enemies, which came out of an ambush.

A continuance of the historie of Iulio d'Este

The death of Valentinois.

Vpon the end of this yeare, to the end that the next should not begin without matter of new warres, the *Genoways* rebelled against the *French* King, hauing no other incitation then of themselues, the matter taking his foundation not of any desire they had to rebell, but rather of ciuill discords, which carrie men beyond their former deliberations. The Citie of *Genes*, a Citie seated in a place most apt to command the sea, if so great an oportunitie were not hindred by the pestiferous poison of ciuill dissentions, is not, as many other great townes in *Italy*, subiect to one particular diuision, but is deuided into many parties and factions: for that the relikes of the ancient quarels betweene the *Guelfes* and *Gibelins* are yet remaining there, and also the dissention betweene the gentlemen and populars, by the which heretofore in *Italy*, but specially in *Tuscan* many cities haue bene brought to extreme ruine. For the communaltie vnwilling to beare the pride of the Nobles, bridled much their authoritie and power by many rigorous laws: and amongst others, suffering them to communicate with all other offices and honours, they excluded them particularly from the dignitie of Dukedome: a supreme estate which was giuen for life to any other that was chosen, notwithstanding by the inconstancie of that Citie, very few or none were suffered to continue in that place till they died. But no lesse great is the

The Citie of Genes rebelleth.

Rebellion increaseth in occasions.

The seate of dominion very casuall, where it dissolueth by election.

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diuiſion betweene the families of the *Adorni* and *Fregoſi*, who from baſe condition and popular houſes, being riſen to the dignitie of *Cappellaci* (ſo do the *Genowayes* call ſuch as are aſpired to any great power) contend together for the dignitie of Duke, which for many yeares hath continued for the moſt part in one of thoſe two families. For the Gentlemen of the *Guelfes* and *Gibelins*, not able to aſcend to that place for the impediment of the lawes, ſought to make it fall to ſuch of the populars as were of their faction: and the *Gibelins* fauouring the *Adornes*, and the *Guelfes* the houſe of *Fregoſa*, time hath made thoſe two families more noble and mightie, then thoſe whoſe name & authority they formerly followed: and all thoſe diuiſions are ſo confounded, that oftentimes they that be of one part againſt the partie oppoſite, are in themſelues deuided into diuers parts, and of the contrary conioyned in one with thoſe that follow another faction. This yeare began to kindle betweene the Gentlemen and Commons, a debate, which breeding at the firſt vpon the inſolencies of certaine of the Nobles, and working by litle and litle the moſt part of the minds of both the one and other ſide ill diſpoſed, it quickly turned from priuate contentions into publike diſcords, eaſie enough to kindle in cities ſo abounding in riches as did *Genes* at that time. Theſe quarels increaſed ſo farre, that the people poſſeſſed with furie, drew into tumult, and made violent ſlaughter of one of the family of *Oria*, and hurt certaine other gentlemen: wherein offering all things to ſpoile and ruine, they obtained in that mutinie, more by force then free will of the Citie, that the day after it might be ordained in the publike Councels (wherein were aſſiſtant very few of the Nobles) that of thoſe offices which afore were deuided equally between the Nobles and Commons, there might be hereafter diſtribution made of two parts to the people, and one onely reſerued to the Nobles: to which deliberation *Roccabertin* guiding the Citie in the abſence of *Philip Rauaſtin* then gouernour for the King, conſented for feare of greater perils. Neuertheleſſe the populars not being quieted for all this, ſtirred vp within few dayes after a new tumult, and put the Noblemens houſes to ſacke: by reaſon whereof, the moſt part of the Nobilitie finding no ſuretie in their naturall regions, abandoned the Citie. The gouernour being aduertiſed of theſe mutations, returned with ſpeed out of *France* to *Genes* with an hundred and fiftie horſe, and ſeuen hundred footmen: but neither with his authoritie, his perſwaſions, his preſence, nor with his forces, could he reduce things to a better eſtate; but oftentimes being compelled to apply himſelfe to the will of the people, he commanded certaine other troupes that were appointed to come after him out of *France*, to retire. By theſe beginnings, the Commons becoming dayly more inſolent, and (as it hapneth often in Cities ſeditious) the gouernment, contrary to the will of many of the beſt ſort of the Commons, fell almoſt abſolutely into the power of the dregs of the people, who in their furie created to themſelues a new magiſtracie or office of eight men of the populars with a great authoritie; and they, the rather to keepe the whole, incenſed by the dignitie of their name, were called Tribunes of the people. Theſe occupied with armes the towne of *Spetia*, with certaine other townes of the riuer of *Leuant*, whereof *Iohn Lewis de Fieſquo* was gouernour for the King. But *Iohn Lewis* complained to the King of theſe inſolencies, both in the name of the whole Nobilitie, and for his particular intereſt, declaring to his Maieſtie the manifeſt danger to loſe the iuriſdiction of *Genes*, ſeeing the inſolent libertie of the Commons had caried them ſo farre, that beſides other oppreſſions and harmes, they aſpired (proceeding directly againſt the authoritie of the King) to manage the townes of the riuer: That vſing expedition, there might be raiſed remedies conuenient to repreſſe ſo great a furie, ſeeing they were as yet protected and fauoured by none: whereas if he became ſlow in prouiding remedie, the euill would with tract of time take more firme roote, for that the importance of *Genes* was ſuch both by ſea and land, that it would eaſily allure ſome forreine Prince to nouriſh ſuch a diuiſion, ſo hurtfull for his eſtate: and the Commons coming to know that that which at the beginning was perhaps but a ſedition, was now turned into rebellion, would ioyne with any that would giue hope to defend it. But on the other part, the Embaſſadours ſent to the King from the people of *Genes*, laboured to iuſtifie the action, and to make their cauſe good: declaring, that no other thing had moued the people, but the pride of the Gentlemen, who, not contented with the honors fit for Nobilitie, ſought to be redoubted as Lords and Princes: That the people had long borne ỹ yoke of their inſolencies, but at laſt hauing receiued many wrongs, not onely in their goods, but alſo in their proper perſons, it was not poſſible to containe themſelues any longer: and that for all that they had not proceeded to any other actions, then ſuch as without the which their libertie could not be aſſured: for that the Gen-

tlemen communicating by equall part in the offices, there was no possibilitie by the meanes of magistrates and iudgements, to resist their tyrannie: and *John Lewis* commanding ouer the townes of the riuers, without the traffike whereof *Genes* stood as it were besieged, there was no safetie for the Commons to entertain traffike and conuersation there: That the people had bene alwayes most deuout and faithfull to the Kings Maiestie, and that the mutations of *Genes* had in all times more proceeded of the ambition of the Gentlemen, then of the infidelity of the people: That they besought the King to pardon those offences, which during the heate of the contentions, certaine particulars had committed against the vniuersall consent, and that he would confirme the law made for the distribution of offices, and suffer the townes of the riuers to be gouerned vnder the name publike: Lastly, that by that meanes the Gentlemen enioying honorably their degrees and dignities, and the populars also possessing their libertie with suretie, and all things being reduced by his Maiesties authoritie into such an estate of tranquillitie, they should be bound to honour perpetually the clemencie, goodnesse and iustice of the King. The King was much troubled with these tumults, either for that the licentious behauiour of the Commons was suspected to him, or perhaps for the honorable inclination which the *French* do commonly beare to the name of Gentlemen: in so much that he could haue bene disposed to haue punished the authors of these insolencies, and reduce all things to their first degree, sauing that he feared lest if he should vse sharpe remedies, the *Genoways* would haue recourse to *Cæsar*, whose sonne was not yet dead. For this cause then, hauing determined to proceed with clemencie, he pardoned all their offences, and ratified their new law for disposing of offices, so far forth as they would put into his hands the townes of the riuers which they occupied: and the better to incline and dispose the people, he sent to *Genes* Doctor *Michael Riccio*, a banished man of *Naples*, to perswade the Commons, that they were better to embrace the occasion of the Kings clemencie, then (adding to their faults, contumacie) to compell him to proceed against them with seueritie. But being blind with immoderate couetousnesse, prudence (suffocated with rashnes) hauing no place in their minds, the people and Tribunes (notwithstanding the lawfull Magistrates were of the contrary opinion) would not onely not render the places they occupied, but going on from ill to worse, determined to assaile the borough of *Monaco*, which *Lucian Grimault* possessed: which they did either in regard of a common hatred they bore against all the Gentlemen of *Genes*, or else for that it is of great importance for the Citie of *Genes*, hauing his situation vpon the sea in a place of great conueniencie: or at least for certaine particular hatreds, since he who hath that place in his power, abstaineth very hardly from piracies and robbing by sea, being allured thereto by the situation thereof, very fit for such actions: or lastly, because (as they suggested) that borough appertained rightfully to the Commonweale. And therefore the Gouernor in vaine contradicting them, they sent thither many bands both by sea and land to besiege it: by reason whereof *Philip de Rauastin* perceiuing that he tarried there vnprofitably, and, by the accidents that might happen, not without danger of his person, went his way, and left *Roccabertin* in his place: and the King despairing that things could not be ranged into a better forme, and iudging that if he should consent that they should continue in that estate, it might be preiudiciall to his dignitie and suretie, and that if he suffered things to go on in that sort, the danger would be somewhat the greater, he began openly to make preparations both by sea and land, to reduce the *Genoways* to his obedience.

Rashnes hath no societie with discretiō.

This deliberation was the cause, that matters which were negociated betweene the Pope and him against the *Venetians*, were dissolued and broken: enterprises much desired by the King, who for the death of King *Philip*, found himselfe well deliuered of the suspitions which he had taken against *Maximilian*: but much more wished for by the Pope, by reason of the townes which the *Venetians* occupied in *Romagna*, and for that without any respect to the Sea Apostolike, they disposed of the Bishopricks vacant in their iurisdiction, and intruded themselues into many things appertaining to the iurisdiction of the Church. By reason whereof, bearing a setled inclination to entertaine amitie with the King, he solicited him to passe into *Italy*, and to haue conference together; whereunto the King consented, the Pope hauing afore in gratification of his requests, consecrated Cardinals the Bishops of *Bayeux* and *Achx*. But the Pope vnderstanding afterwards that the King had determined to take armes against the Commons of *Genes* in fauour of the Gentlemen, he tooke it very grieuously, for that hauing of long time frowned vpon the Gentlemen, he had alwayes borne fauour to the people: wherein he

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made great inſtance to the King to hold himſelfe contented, without changing the eſtate popular, to haue that Citie in his obedience; and perſwaded him as much as he could to abſtaine from armes, alledging many reaſons, but chiefly the danger, leſt by that meanes ſome great alteration kindling in *Italy*, the warres which they had determined againſt the *Venetians*, might be hindered. The King bearing no inclination to theſe demands, the Pope, either ouerruled with anger or ſorow, or elſe for that the old ſuſpition of the aſpiring mind of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* did eftſoones ſtir in him, either of his owne accord, or by the ſubtill ſuggeſtion of others, (which made him feare to be retained by the King when they ſhould meete together) and perhaps as well for the one as the other occaſion; he publiſhed on the ſudden, in the beginning of the yeare 1507, againſt the expectation of euery one, that he would returne to *Rome*, and for no other reaſon, then that the aire of *Bologna* was contrary to his health, and that his reuenues were much diminiſhed by his abſence from *Rome*. This deliberation brought no litle maruell to euery one, but ſpecially to the King, for that without occaſion he would leaue vnperfect the practiſes he had ſo much deſired to aduance, and breake of himſelfe the enterview and conference which he had ſo much required: and therefore calling into conſideration the eſtate and intricate diſpoſition of things, he laboured what he could to draw him from that new counſell, and make him change his opinion: wherein his paines were more hurtfull to him then vaine, for that the Pope entring into a greater ſuſpition for the requeſt that the King made vnto him, ſtood more reſolute in his firſt counſell, and departing from *Bologna* vpon the end of Februarie, he expreſſed how litle he could diſſemble the contempt he had conceiued againſt the King. Afore he iſſued out of the Citie, he ſet with vnfortunate ſignes the firſt ſtone of the Caſtle, which was made there by his commandement, neare the gate which leads to *Ferrara*, in the ſelfe ſame place where *Philip Maria Viſcount* Duke of *Millan* had aforetime erected another with no leſſe ill fortune. And his new anger againſt the *French* King hauing in ſome ſort qualified his ancient hatred againſt the *Venetians*, and not minding to turne out of his right way, he determined to paſſe by the Citie of *Faenza*, new controuerſies happening from time to time betweene the *French* king and him, both for that he required that the family of the *Bentiuoleis* might be expulſed the Duchie of *Millan*, notwithſtanding they were permitted to dwell there by his conſent; and alſo for that he would not render to the Pronotarie the ſonne of *Iohn*, the poſſeſſion of thoſe benefices which he had promiſed of his owne accord and conſent: ſo often preuailed more in him the contention of his ſpirit, then either reaſon or equitie. Which diſpoſition the King laboured not to appeaſe with any art or diligence, but being angrie for ſo great a variation, and entring withall into ſuſpition, leſt (as the truth was) he gaue ſecret encouragement to the people of *Genes*, he forbare not to threaten him openly, and to obiect with iniurious words, his infamous birth: for all knew well enough that the Pope was very baſely deſcended, and that he had bene trained vp for many yeares in very vile eſtate. And the King being yet more and more confirmed in his firſt deliberation touching the affaires of *Genes*, prepared his armie with great diligence to go thither in perſon, hauing well experienced by his former ſucceſſes in the kingdome of *Naples*, what difference there is to adminiſter a warre in proper perſon, and to recommend it ouer to the managing of his captains. Theſe preparations amazed nothing the *Genowayes*, being buſie to take *Monaco*, about the which they kept employed many veſſels, and ſixe thouſand men leuied of the cõmunaltie & cõuntreys of *Genes*, cõmanded by *Tarlatin* a Captain of the *Piſans*, who, together with *Peter Shortlegge* and certaine other ſouldiers, had bene ſent by them in fauour of the *Genowayes*. And at *Genes*, as they perſeuered in their firſt offences, adding alwayes ſome new tranſgreſſion, the Captaine of the Caſtle, who till then had expreſſed no action, nor had bene moleſted by the people, vpon the ſudden made many of the Commons priſoners, and began to vexe the hauen and citie with his artilleries. This was either by the Kings commandement, or vpon his owne authoritie, with a deſire to make pillage: by reaſon whereof, *Rocabertin* fearing the danger of his owne perſon, went his way, and the footbands of the *French* which were ſet to guard the publike Pallace, retired into the Caſtle. A litle after, the ſiege which had remained afore *Monaco* many moneths, tooke end; the reaſon was, for that ſuch as were encamped afore it, vnderſtanding that *Iues d'Alegre* and many gentlemen were at hand to ſuccour it with a ſtrength of three thouſand footmen of their owne pay, and certaine other bands which the Duke of *Sauoy* had ſent, hauing not the courage to abide their coming, had leuied the ſiege: and alſo the bruite ranne, that the armie appointed by the King, paſſed continually into *Lombardie*: by rea-

1507.

ſon whereof, the fury of thoſe men increaſing, who ought to haue bene the authors of better counſels, the Commons that till that day had diſſembled with words, the rebellion which they had exerciſed in deeds, and which called vpon the name of the *French* King, and had not remoued his armes out of the publike places, created Duke of *Genes* one *Paul de Noue* a ſilke dier, a man of very baſe condition: declaring themſelues in this, manifeſt rebels; for that to the creation of the Duke was ioyned a declaration, that the Citie of *Genes* ſhould not be in ſubiection to any Prince. Theſe things ſtirring the King to greater anger, and the Gentlemen informing him, that in the place of his armes they had put thoſe of *Caſar*, he redoubled the preparations which he had prouided afore; being ſo much the more kindled in wrath, by how much *Caſar*, at the perſwaſions of the *Genoways*, and haply by the Popes ſecret ſetting on, had written to him that he ought not to moleſt *Genes* as a towne of the Empire, offering ſo to labour, that the people ſhould be ranged and reduced to all things iuſt and reaſonable. The Duke and Tribunes were ſomewhat nouriſhed in their raſh boldneſſe, by the proſperous ſucceſſes they had on the coaſt of Leuant. For *Ierome* the ſonne of *John Lewis de Fieſque*, hauing reconquered *Rapalle* with two thouſand footmen and certaine horſe, as he went by night to ſurpriſe *Recqua*, he encountred the bands that were ſent from *Genes* to ſuccour it; and without coming to blowes he fell diſorderly to flying: whereupon *Orlandin* nephew to *John Lewis*, which was marched as farre as *Recqua* with another regiment, hearing the noiſe of the chaſe, did the like: and by this fortune the Duke and the Tribunes became more inſolent, and proceeded to beſiege *Caſtellaccio*, an ancient Caſtle which the ancient Lords of *Millan* builded in the mountaines aboue *Genes*, at ſuch time as they were commanders ouer that Citie, to ſerue as a helpe that thoſe companies which they ſhould ſend out of *Lombardie*, might haue oportunitie to approch neare *Genes*, and ſuccor the Caſtle; which containing a very ſmall garriſon, they tooke eaſily: for that thoſe few *French* bands that were there, yeelded vnder promiſe to haue their goods and liues preſerued, which was not obſerued, thoſe that were the executors of ſuch outrages returning to *Genes* with bloudie hands and great reioycing. At the ſame time alſo they began to batter with their artilleries the Caſtle, and the Church of *Saint Francis* ioyning to it. But the King was now paſſed into *Italy*, and reenforced his armie continually to aſſaile *Genes* without delay: and yet the *Genoways* abandoned of all ſuccours (for the Catholicke King, notwithſtanding he wiſhed their conſeruation, would not ſhew himſelfe deuided from the *French* King, but furniſhed him with foure light galleys: and the Pope durſt not otherwiſe diſcloſe his intentions, then in giuing them ſecret hopes; they hauing onely three hundred footmen forreiners, not one Captaine experienced in warre, and great lacke of munitions) perſiſted in their obſtinacie, hoping by reaſon of the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſages, and the difficultie and hardneſſe of the countrey, they might eaſily let the enemie for coming neare *Genes*; and in regard of theſe vaine hopes they deſpiſed the admonitions of many, and ſpecially of the Cardinall of *Finale*, who accompanying the *French* armie, perſwaded them by many meſſengers and letters, to offer vp themſelues to the Kings will, giuing them hope eaſily to obtaine pardon and conditions tollerable. But the armie marching already by the way of the borough of *Fornaro* and *Seruallo*, the vanitie of the plots of the *Genoways* began to appeare, being not meaſured nor directed by men trained in warre, but followed with clamours and vaine braggings of the baſe and ignorant multitude. Therefore the courages of men nothing anſwering in this preſent perill to that which they had promiſed themſelues when they were without feare, ſixe hundred of their footmen ſet to guard their firſt ſtraights, being charged by the *French* men, fled cowardly; by whoſe example, the reſidue that kept the other paſſages, abandoned their places and retired to *Genes*, leauing all the ſtraights open to the *French*, whoſe armie hauing paſſed without impediment ouer the top of the mountaines, was now deſcended into the vale of *Pozzeuero*, within ſeuen miles of *Genes*: which did not a litle amaze the *Genoways*, for that contrary to their vndiſcreete expectations, they ſaw the armie ſo hardie, as to incampe in that valley which was frontired with troubleſome mountaines, and in the midſt of the enemies countrey. At the ſame alſo the Kings nauie which contained eight light galleys, eight gallions, with many Foiſts and Brigantines, preſented themſelues before *Genes*, and from thence ſailed towards *Portouenere* and *Spetia*, purſuing the *Genoway* nauie, being ſeuen galleys and ſixe barkes, which not daring to keepe the hauen of *Genes*, were withdrawne into thoſe places. From the valley of *Pozzeuero* the armie drew to the borough of *Riuarola*, within two miles of *Genes*, and neare to the Church of *S. Peter d'Arena*, which is ioyning to the ſea: and albeit as they

they marched, they met in many places with diuers footbands of the *Genowayes*, yet they being all poſſeſſed with one puſillanimitie of mind, fled afore them; and the ſame day arriued in the armie the perſon of the King, and was lodged in the Abbey of *Boſchet*, right ouer againſt the borough of *Riuarola*, being accõpanied with the moſt part of the Nobles of *France*, with very many Gentlemen of the Duchie of *Millan*, and with the Marquis of *Mantua*, whom not many dayes before, the King had declared Captaine of the Order of *Saint Michael*, and had giuen vnto him the ſtanderd, which had not bene giuen to any ſince the death of King *Lewis* the eleuenth. In the *French* army were eight hundred Lances, (the King conſidering the difficulties of the countrey, had left the reſidue in *Lombardie*) eighteene hundred light horſemen, fixe thouſand *Swiſſers*, and fixe thouſand footmen of other nations. It is to be vnderſtood, that the *Genowayes* (becauſe they would not leaue free that way which leades by the mountaines to *Caſtellaccio*, and ſo to *Genes*, a ſhorter way then by *Saint Peter d'Arene*, and ioyning to the ſea) had builded a baſtillion on the top of the mountaine called the Promontorie hill, betweene the borough of *Riuarola* and *Saint Peter d'Arene*, from which Baſtillion the way lay from *Caſtellaccio* by the backſide of the litle hil. The armie then that lay encamped at *Riuarola*, marched the ſame day to the ſaid baſtillion: and on the other part, there iſſued out of *Genes* eight thouſand footmen, guided by *Iaques Corſe* Lieutenant to *Tarlatin*: for *Tarlatin* and the ſouldiers of the *Piſans* which were encloſed in *Vintemille* when the campe was raiſed from before *Monaco*, albeit they were reuoked by the *Genowayes*, who for their conduction ſent them the ſhip of *Demetrius Iuſtinian*, could not returne to *Genes* by land for the impediment of the *French*, nor by ſea, for that the winds were contrary. But the *French* beginning now to iſſue and aſcend, diſcouered the foot-troopes of the *Genowayes*, who being aſcended to the mountain by that ſide of the litle hill that leades to the baſtillion; and afterwards the moſt part of them being deſcended, had made head aboue a rocke which is in the mid way of the mountaine; againſt whom *Monſieur de Chaumont* ſent many gentlemen with a good ſtrength of footmen. The *Genowayes*, as well for their oddes in numbers, as the aduantage of the place, made a valiant defence, and that to the great domage of the *French*, who deſpiſing their enemies, for that they were for the moſt part artificers and other people gathered together, went gallantly to charge them, without conſidering the ſtrength and ſituation of the place: and as *Monſieur de Paliſſa* was hurt in the throate, but with no perill of life, *Monſieur de Chaumont* ſeeking to driue them from thence, cauſed to be mounted on high two Cannons, which beating them in flanke, conſtrained them to retire to the mountaine, where the reſidue of their ſtrength remained: whither the *French* following them in good order of warre, thoſe that guarded the baſtillion (albeit for his ſeate and fortification, they might with ſuretie abide the Cannon) fearing leſt vpon them and ſuch as were vpon the mountaine, might fall ſome of the *French* bands, they left it abandoned, to their great infamie; by meanes whereof, ſuch as from the litle hill had begun to retire towards the baſtillion, ſeeing their way was cut off, returned eſtſoones to *Genes* by ditches and cawſeys, leauing the ordinary paths, and loſing in the retraite about three hundred bodies.

The contents of the French armie.

The firſt deſeate of the Genowayes.

By reaſon of this ſucceſſe, the Citie was filled with incredible feare, and depending wholly vpon the wils of the inferiour multitude, was neither directed by counſell of warre, nor ruled by ciuill wiſedome. They ſent then two Embaſſadors to the armie, to ſolicite to render themſelues vnder couenants conuenient: who when they could not haue acceſſe to the King, were referred to be heard by the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who made them anſwer, that the King had determined not to accept them, if without any other contract they did not ſubmit both their liues and goods wholly to his mercie. But during the parley with the Cardinall, part of the Commons which could not endure to heare of reconcilement, going out of *Genes* by heapes, ſhewed themſelues with many footbands, vpon the hills and ſides of the valley which leadeth from *Caſtellaccio*, and approched within a quarter of a mile of the baſtillion, hoping to recouer it; and entertaining the skirmiſh for three houres with certaine of the *French* bands that came againſt them, they retired at laſt to *Caſtellaccio*, neither reioycing in their fortune, nor leauing to their enemies any aduantage. In the meane while, the King more fearfull of a greater ſtirre, then well aſſured of the conqueſt, remained alwayes armed on horſebacke, in a plaine betweene the riuer of *Pozzeuero* and the place where the armie was encamped: but the night following, the *Genowayes* beginning to deſpaire, and the bruite running, that the chiefe of the people had ſecretly compounded with the King, euen from the time he entred *Aſt*; and the Commons complaining

The Genowayes ſend to ſolicite for pardon.

that they were abuſed, the Duke, with many of thoſe that hoped for no pardon for the faults committed, together with all the regiments of *Piſans*, departed to go to *Piſa*: and the morning following by the breake of day, the Embaſſadours returned eftſoones to the campe, and conſented to giue vp the towne to the Kings diſcretion, the *Genoways* hauing ſuſtained the warre not aboue eight dayes, with a notable example of the ignorance and confuſion of multitudes, who grounding their doings vpon fallible hopes and vaine expectations, and being furious when the danger is farre off, and very irreſolute when perill approcheth, are altogether irregulate and immoderate. The accord being made, the King with his armie approched neare *Genes*, the footmen being beſtowed in the ſuburbes, who became almoſt intractable, ſpecially the *Swiſſers*, whom there was much ado to reſtraine from entring the towne, to ſacke and make pillage of the goods. After this, *Monſieur de Chaumont* entred into *Genes* with the moſt part of the other regiments, hauing firſt furniſhed *Caſtellaccio* with garriſon: and the *Genoways* deliuered vnto him all their armour as well publike as priuate, which was immediatly beſtowed in the Caſtle, with three peeces of artillery which were brought thither by the *Piſans*, and afterwards reconueyed to *Millan*. The next day being the nine and twentieth of Aprill, the perſon of the King made his entrie into *Genes*, with all the companies of men at armes and archers of his guard: and as he was alighted and ſtanding vnder a ſtately arch, holding in his hand a naked ſword, and himſelfe all attired in white garments, there came afore him the ancient men of the citie, accompanied with many of the moſt honorable citizens, who falling at his feete, with teares in their eyes, one of them, in the name of the whole, after ſilence was granted, ſpake in this ſort: We may well affirme (moſt Chriſtian King) that although ſince the beginning of our commotions againſt our Gentlemen, the moſt part of the commons were actors therein, yet touching things that haue bene inſolently done, but chiefly the contempt and diſobedience to your commandements, they haue proceeded onely from the dregs of the moſt baſe and inferiour ſort of people, whoſe raſhneſſe, neither we, nor the other citizens, merchants, and honeſt artizans, were euer able to reſtraine: and therefore the puniſhment that ſhall be impoſed either vpon this towne, or vpon vs, will afflict the innocents, without hurting the authors of ſo hainous tranſgreſſions, who being vagabonds and men cleane without all meanes, are not eſteemed with vs in the ſocietie of men, and much leſſe for citizens; neither do they hold this wretched Citie for their countrey. But our intention is, ſetting aſide all excuſes, to haue recourſe to the magnanimitie and mercy of ſo great a King, repoſing ſimply therein, moſt humbly beſeeching your Maieſty, that as not long ſince the offenders of *Millan* found fauor in your eyes for faults far greater, you would be pleaſed to vſe the ſame propertie of grace and forgiueneſſe vpon that Citie, which within few moneths paſt was one of the moſt happie regions in the world, and now is an example of all deſolation and miſerie. Call to mind, Sir, with what glorie to your name, your clemencie was then celebrated through the world; & how much more honorable it will be to confirme it now, vſing the like compaſſion, then to obſcure it by exerciſing crueltie. Remember that your title of moſt Chriſtian, took his beginning of Chriſt who redeemed mankind, & that therfore by his example you ought aboue all things to vſe clemencie & mercie, which properly do belong vnto him. Let the faults committed be neuer ſo great, yea let them be ineſtimable, yet ſhall they not be able to ſurmount your pietie and goodneſſe. You are our King, by your dignitie and power repreſenting the image of the great God, (for what other thing are Kings in reſpect of their ſubiects, but gods?) and therefore you are bound ſo much the more to repreſent him with the ſemblance and ſimilitude of will and of worker, whereof there is not one more glorious, none more agreeable, nor any that makes his name more wonderfull, then the action of mercie. Theſe ſpeeches were ſeconded with the loud voices of euery one, crying, Mercie, mercie. But the King paſſed on without giuing any anſwer, bidding them neuertheleſſe to riſe: and deliuering his naked ſword which he held in his hand, he ſhewed ſome tokens of a mind inclined to compaſſion and benignitie. After this he went to the great Church, where infinite flocks of women and children, all clothed in white, fell proſtrate at his feete, crying vpon his clemencie and mercie, with weeping and wringing of hands. With this aſpect (as the report goeth) the King was much moued, ſo that albeit he had determined to depriue the Citie of all gouernment and authoritie, and to confiske the reuenues which vnder the name of *S. George* belonged to many priuate perſons, and taking from them all ſhew of libertie, to reduce them to the ſame ſtate of ſubiection which he had done the townes of *Millan*; yet conſidering afterwards, that by this maner of proceeding,

The rebels of Genes yeeld to the French king.

The French king entreth as a conqueror into Genes.

The ſubmiſſion of the rebels of Genes.

not

not onely many innocents ſhould be puniſhed, but alſo the minds of the whole Nobilitie eſtranged from him, and that it would be more eaſie for him to keepe them in obedience by vſing ſome mildneſſe, then altogether with rigour; he reconfirmed the ancient gouernment, and left it in the ſame ſtate wherein it was before theſe laſt ſeditions: and yet to temper his mercie with ſome iuſtice, he condemned the communaltie in an hundred thouſand duckats for the penaltie of the offence, and a litle after in a penaltie of two hundred thouſand duckats more, payable within a certaine time, both to defray the charges he had ſuſtained, and alſo to edifie a Citadell in the place where is the Tower of *Codifa*, not farre from *Genes*, and ſtanding vpon the ſea, aboue that ſuburbe which leadeth to the valley of *Pozzeuero* and *S. Peter in Arena*: which Citadell, for that it may command the hauen and whole Citie, is rightfully called the Bridle. He ordained alſo that they ſhould furniſh a greater garriſon then they were wont, and keepe continually armed in the hauen for his ſeruice, three galleys, and fortifie the Citadell and *Caſtellaccio*. He brake all the capitulations and couenants that had bene made afore betweene the citie and him, granting to them againe almoſt all the ſame things, but in forme of priuiledge, and not in the nature of couenant, to the end it might always ſtand in his power to take them away again. He defaced out of their coines their ancient ſtampes, cauſing them afterwards to vſe his ſtampe, in ſigne of abſolute ſuperioritie. To theſe actions was added the death of *Demetrius Iuſtinian*, who was beheaded, diſcloſing in his examination all the practiſes which the Pope had vſed, together with the hopes he had giuen them; and within a few moneths after was alſo beheaded *Paul de Nouo* lately made Duke, who ſailing from *Piſa* to *Rome*, was betrayed by a pirat that had bene his ſouldier, and ſold to the *French* men. After the King had done all theſe things, and ſolemnly receiued of the *Genoways* an oath of fidelitie, and giuen pardon to all, except to threeſcore whom he committed to the diſpoſition of the law, he went to *Millan*, diſperſing his armie as ſoone as he had done with the *Genoways*, with the which if he had followed ỹ courſe of his victorie, he might eaſily haue oppreſſed in *Italy* whom he had liſted, all the Potentates there ſtanding more in feare of his power, then any way prouided to make reſiſtance. But he diſſolued his army, the better to aſſure the Pope, the Emperour, and the *Venetians* (who were not without great ſuſpitions) that his deſcending into *Italy* was for no other end then to recouer the Citie of *Genes*.

But nothing could appeaſe the Pope, who taking all things in the worſt part, complained againe (not a litle) of the King, as if it had bene by his meanes, that *Annibal Bentiuole* with ſixe hundred footmen leuied in the Duchie of *Millan*, had aſſayed in thoſe times to enter *Bologna*, aſſuring that if he had preuailed in that action, the King would haue declared himſelfe yet more againſt the eſtate Eccleſiaſtike: wherewith the Pope being wroth, notwithſtanding he had before with great difficultie publiſhed Cardinals the Biſhops of *Achx* and *Bayeux*, he refuſed to raiſe to that dignitie the Biſhop of *Albie*, complaining that *Monſieur de Chaumont* his brother, had ſuffered the *Bentiuoleis* to dwell in the Duchie of *Millan*: yea (which was of greater conſequence) the Pope no leſſe ouerruled with hate then by ſuſpition, when the King publiſhed that he would reduce the *Genoways* to his obedience by armes, ſignified by his Nuncioes and by a Briefe, to the Emperour and Electors of the Empire, that the *French* King prepared to paſſe into *Italy* with a moſt mightie armie, vnder colour to reappeaſe the tumults of *Genes*, which he might redreſſe by his authoritie, but indeed with intention to oppreſſe the ſtate of the Church, and vſurpe the dignitie of the Empire: and the *Venetians* ſignified vnto him the ſame things, for the feares they had of the coming of the *French* King into *Italy* with ſo great an armie. Which aduertiſements being communicated with *Maximilian*, whoſe inclination naturally embraced new things, and being newly returned from *Flanders*, where he had practiſed in vaine to take the gouernment of his nephew; he aſſembled in the towne of *Conſtance*, the Princes of *Germanie* and the free townes. Thoſe are called the free Cities, which acknowledging by a certaine determinate tribute the authoritie of the Empire, do gouerne themſelues notwithſtanding in all other things by their owne lawes, not ſeeking to amplifie their territories, but to preſerue their libertie. At this aſſembly appeared all the Princes, Barons, and communalties of *Germanie*, perhaps with more readineſſe and in greater numbers then had bene ſeene a long time before in any Dyot: for thither reſorted in perſon, all the Electors and Princes of *Germanie* both Eccleſiaſtike and Secular, except ſuch as were reſtrained by lawfull impediments; in whoſe places notwithſtanding were ſent, either their ſonnes, their brethren, or ſome very neare kindred to repreſent their perſons: and alſo all the free townes ſent thither Embaſſadours. In which generall aſſem-

The Pope and the Venetians incite the Emperour to make warre vpon the French king.

The Dyot of Conſtance.

bly, *Cæsar* caused to be read the Popes writ, with many other letters from diuers places, signifying the same thing: some of them expressing that the *French* Kings intention was to aduance the Cardinall of *Amboise* to the Pontificall seate, and to receiue of him the Imperiall Crowne. These aduertisements breeding no small indignation in the minds of all the audience, *Cæsar*, when the noise was ended, spake to them in this sort: You see now (most noble Electors, Princes and honourable Embassadours) what effects, the long patience we haue hitherunto vsed, hath brought forth, and what fruites are gathered of the small reckning that hath bene made of my former complaints expressed in so many Diots. Now you perceiue, that the *French* King, who heretofore durst make no attempt against any thing that appertained to the sacred Empire, but vpon great occasions and colours very apparent, doth now prepare openly, not to protect our rebels as he was wont, or to vsurpe any thing which pertaineth to the Empire; but to dispoile *Germanie* of the Imperiall dignitie, so honorably gotten, and so long time continued, by the vertue and valour of our ancestors. He is not entred into this great boldnesse, by any persuasion either that our forces are diminished, or that his power is increased; neither can he be ignorant by how much the region of *Germanie* is more mightie then the nation of *France*; but by the hope that he hath gotten by the experience of things past, that we will still be like our selues, that our dissentions and ciuill factions will preuaile more with vs, then the prouocations of glorie, yea then the consideration of our particular safetie; that for the same respects for which we haue suffered him to our common shame, to vsurpe the Duchie of *Millan*, to nourish in our owne bosomes our ciuill quarrels, and to defend and protect the rebels of the Empire; we shall likewise endure that the dignitie of the Empire should by him be rauished from vs, and the glory and felicitie of this nation transported into *France*. How much lesse infamous a thing would it be to our common name? and how much lesse would it be grieuous to me in particular, if it were knowne to the world, that the power of *Germanie* were inferiour to the forces of *France*? For, the domage should afflict me lesse then the infamie, since at the least, that should not be imputed to our negligence and indiscretion, which might proceed either of the conditions of times, or of the malice of Fortune. What greater calamitie can happen? what miserie more? then to be reduced to such termes, as either to wish to be lesse mightie, or to make a willing election of a great domage, onely to auoide (since otherwise it cannot be) the perpetuall infamie and dishonour of our name? although the magnanimitie of euery one of you, so many times experienced in matters particular, and the resolute courage proper and peculiar to this nation; with the memory of the ancient vertue and triumphs of our elders (the very terrour heretofore of all other nations) do giue me hope, yea almost assurance, that in an action of so great importance, your warlike and inuincible minds will be awaked. For here is now no question of the alienation of the Duchie of *Millan*, nor of the reuolting of the *Swissers*, in which actions of so great consequence there was made no great account of my authoritie, both in regard of the affinitie I had with *Lodowike Sforce*, and for the particular interests of the house of *Austrich*. But now my Lords, what excuse may be pretended? what colour or couerture may be giuen to our ignominie? That which is now in question, is, whether the *Almaines*, who stand possessed of the *Romane* Empire, not by the hand of Fortune, but by their proper vertue, who haue heretofore with their armes terrified almost all the world, and whose name is yet at this day dreadfull to all the Princes of Christendome, should now cowardly lose so great a dignitie, and remaine the perpetuall example of infamie, and of the chiefe and most glorious nation of the whole world, become the most base, the most contemptible and despised. If these reasons, these interests, and these disdaines will not moue you, what else is there that can euer moue you? What can kindle in you the seeds of the valour and resolution of your elders, if your minds be not inclined to the consideration of these things? In ages and posterities to come, with what sorow shall your children and descendants remember your names, if you leaue not vnto them the name of *Almaines* in the same degree of greatnesse, authoritie, and reputation, wherein your fathers left it transferred to you? But let vs fall from these sorts of exhortations & persuasions, for that it is an office inconuenient in me, whom you haue lifted to the height of this place, to vse such libertie of words, but rather to recommend to you deeds and examples. I am determined to passe into *Italy*, vnder pretence to receiue the Imperiall Crowne; a solemnitie, as you know, more full of ceremonie then of substance, for that the authoritie and dignitie Imperiall depends wholly vpon your election. But my principall intention is, to breake

The Emperour speaketh in the Diot.

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the wicked purpoſes and plots of the *French*, and to chaſe them out of the Duchie of *Millan*, » ſeeing we haue no other ſuretie againſt their inſolencies. I hope there reſteth in none of you all » any difficultie, to accompanie me, according to your cuſtome with other Emperours going to » be crowned, neither doubt I, that carrying with me your hearts and affections, ioyning withall » your forces to mine, I ſhall not paſſe a iourney victorious, marching with ſuch felicitie, as the » moſt of the Potentates and Cõmunalties in *Italy* will meet me as petitioners, ſome to confirme » their priuiledges, ſome to implore our iuſtice againſt the oppreſſions they ſuffer, and ſome to » appeaſe with a deuout ſubmiſſion the ire of the victor. The *French* King will giue place at the » firſt bruite of our coming, that nation bearing yet in memory, that being but yong and almoſt » a child, I brake with true valour and magnanimitie the armie of King *Lewis* the eleuenth neare » *Guignegaſte*, ſince which time that nation refuſing to make experience of my armes, haue ne- » uer fought with me but by ambuſhes and conſpiracies. Conſider, I pray you, with that reputa- » tion and magnanimitie, which is proper to the *Almaines*, how it agreeth with your honour and » renowne, in ſo great and common a perill to be ſo litle moued, as in a caſe ſo extraordinarie, not » to make extraordinarie prouiſions. The glorie and greatneſſe of our name, to the which this hath » bene alwayes proper, to defend the dignitie of the Popes of *Rome*, and the authoritie of the Sea » Apoſtolike, which are now wickedly defiled by the ambition and impietie of the *French* King, » calleth vs, I ſay, with the common decree of all *Germanie*, to take armes powerfully to this in- » tent. This buſineſſe is wholly yours, ſeeing I haue ſufficiently acquited the dutie I owe, in making » ſo ready aſſembly of you, to lay afore you the common danger, vrging you with the example » of mine owne deliberation. For the reſolution of courage ſhall not want in me to expoſe my » ſelfe to all dangers, nor the diſpoſition of my perſon, accuſtomed of long time to endure paine » and trauell; neither is my counſell in conducting a warre, ſo inſufficient, by reaſon of mine age » and long experience, as, in this enterpriſe you may haue want of a leader worthy of all honor. » And by how much you ſhall honour your King with fulneſſe of authoritie, by how much you » ſhall enuiron him with an armie mightie and appointed, with ſo much the more facilitie, to your » perpetuall glorie, ſhall he defend the libertie of the Church of *Rome* our common mother, and » exalt euen to heauen, together with the reputation of the *Almaine* name, the Imperiall dignitie » in glorie and greatneſſe, common to you all, and to this moſt puiſſant and valiant nation. »

This ſpeech wrought maruellouſly in the minds of all the aſſiſtants, being aſhamed that in the other Diots his complaints had found no better fauour: and now it was eaſie to ſet on fire their minds already kindled. Then euery one hauing a vehement diſdaine, that by their negligence the maieſtie of the Empire ſhould be tranſlated into other nations, they began with great vnitie to treate vpon articles neceſſary, holding it conuenient to leuie a moſt mightie armie, and of ſuch ſufficient power, as (though the whole regions of *Italy* would oppoſe againſt them, with the *French* King) might be able to renew and recouer againe in *Italy* the ancient rights of the Empire, which had bene vſurped, either by the diſabilitie, or other fault of the former Emperors: for ſo the glorie of the *Almaine* name required, and the aſſembly of ſo many Princes and of all the free townes: and that once it was neceſſary to ſhew to all the world, that though the wils of the *Almaines* had remained long in diuiſion, that yet the nation was no leſſe mightie, nor their ſpirits depriued of that magnanimitie which had made their anceſtors terrible to all the world: by meanes whereof, both in generall there was diuolued to the nation of *Germaines* a liberall glorie, with the dignitie Imperiall, and in particular, many noble perſonages had aſpired to much greatneſſe and dominion, many of the beſt houſes in *Italy* hauing by long preſcription reigned in eſtates gotten by their valour. Theſe things were begun to be debated with ſo great forwardneſſe and inclination, that it is manifeſt that in no Diot aſſembled of long time, was expectation of ſo great euents, the multitude perſwading themſelues vniuerſally, that beſides all other reaſons, the Electors with the reſidue of the Princes, expreſſed a more quicke readineſſe to the enterpriſe, for a hope they had, that (for the minoritie of the children of King *Philip*) the Imperial dignitie which had ſucceſſiuely continued in *Albert*, *Federike*, and *Maximilian*, all three of the houſe of *Auſtria*, would at laſt be paſſed into another family.

Theſe things coming to the knowledge of the *French* King, had induced him to diſſolue his armie immediatly after the action of *Genes*, to take away the occaſion of ſo great a ſuſpition, yea his own perſon had as ſpeedily repaſſed ouer the Mounts, had it not bene for a deſire he had to ſpeake with the King of *Aragon*, who prepared to returne into *Spaine*, altogether diſpoſed to

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reſume the gouernment of *Caſtile*, for that *Iane* his daughter was vnable to ſo great an adminiſtration; not ſo much for the imbecillitie of her ſexe, as for that by a ſuperabundance of melancholy, growne ſince the death of her husband, ſhe was become ſomewhat eſtranged from her vnderſtanding; and alſo for the minoritie of the children common between King *Philip* and her, whereof the eldeſt had not yet attained ten yeares. Beſides, he was puſhed forward by the deſires of many, which called him to that gouernment, by a remembrance that they had bene iuſtly gouerned, and that thoſe kingdomes had flouriſhed vnder him by a long continuance of peace, the diuiſions already begun amongſt the great Barons, together with the manifeſt ſignes of troubles to come, much increaſing this deſire. But his coming was no leſſe deſired of his daughter, who, wandring in mind in all other actions, was alwayes conſtant in this, that ſhe deſired the returne of her father, refuſing obſtinately, againſt the perſwaſions and importunities of many, to ſubſcribe with her owne hand to any expedition, without which ſubſcription, according to the cuſtome of thoſe realmes, the affaires occurrent had not their perfection. For theſe reaſons the King of *Aragon* departed from *Naples*, where he had remained but ſeuen moneths, leauing vnſatisfied the great expectatiõ that was had of him; not ſo much for the ſhortneſſe of the time, and for that it is hard to anſwer the conceptions of men, which for the moſt part are inconſiderate and not meaſured with due proportions; as for the many difficulties and impediments that oppoſed againſt him, by reaſon whereof he did nothing worthy of memorie for the vniuerſall benefite of *Italy*, nor any thing for the particular profite of the kingdome of *Naples*. For his deſire ſo ſoone to returne againe to the gouernment of *Caſtile* (the principall pillar of his greatneſſe) gaue him no leiſure to thinke of the affaires of *Italy*, but conſtrained him to turne all his thoughts to keepe himſelfe in amitie with the Emperour and the *French* King, leſt that the one by his authoritie, being grandfather to the litle children of the dead King, and the other by his neighbouring power, giuing courage to who would oppoſe againſt him, might giue impediments to his returne. And the obligation wherein he was bound by the treatie of peace made with the *French* King to reſtore the eſtates that had bene taken from the Barons of *Anion*, and diſtributed either by couenant or by recompence to ſuch as had followed his faction, hindred him to redreſſe and gratifie the kingdome of *Naples*. For not minding to eſtrange from him the minds of his good ſeruants, he was conſtrained to recompẽce thoſe of *Anion* either with eſtates of equal reuenue (which he muſt buy of others) or with ready mony; whereunto when his wealth was not ſufficient, he was compelled not onely to raiſe improuements vpon his reuenues, and to refuſe, according to the cuſtome of new Kings, to diſtribute grace and exemptions, and to exerciſe any ſort of liberalitie; but alſo with the incredible complaint of euery one, to taxe his peoples, who expected to be diſcharged of their intollerable burdens. And the complaints made by the Barons of both the one and other part, were nothing inferiour, for that to ſuch as were poſſeſſed, beſides that they reſigned their eſtates with ill will, neceſſitie made their recompences ſparing and limited: and touching others, there was reſtrained as much as was poſſible, the benefite of reſtitution in all thoſe things wherein there hapned any difference, for that how much the leſſe was reſtored to theſe, ſo much the leſſe was the recompence of others. The Great Captaine departed with him, leauing behind him a good will incredible, and a renowne nothing inferiour; of whom, beſides his praiſes in other times, his liberalities were much magnified, promiſing and diſpoſing gifts of great valour, at his departure; for performance whereof, not being otherwiſe of ſufficient abilitie, he ſold a great part of his owne eſtates, to the end not to faile in ſuch an action of honour. But the King departed from *Naples* very ill contented with the Pope, for that demanding the inueſtiture of the kingdome, the Pope refuſed to giue it him, but with thoſe taxations and tributes wherewith it had bene giuen afore times to the former Kings: and the King made inſtance that there might be made to him the ſame diminution which had bene made to *Ferdinand* his couſin, and to his ſonnes and nephewes, demanding the inueſtiture of the whole realme in his owne name, as ſucceſſor to the old *Alfonſo*; in which forme whileſt he was at *Naples*, he had receiued oath and homage, notwithſtanding in the capitulations of peace made with the *French* King, it was agreed that touching the land of *Lauoro* and *Abruzze* the name of the Queene ſhould be ioyntly acknowledged. It was thought that the refuſall which the Pope made of the inueſtiture, was the cauſe that *Ferdinand* would not ſpeake with the Pope, who hauing at the ſame time remained many dayes in the rocke of *Oſtia*, it was ſaid, he tarried there to expect his paſſage. But how ſoeuer the truth was, the King of *Aragon* tooke his

his course to *Sauona*, where it was agreed that he should haue enteruiew and speech with the *French* King, who staying for that cause in *Italy*, was come thither from *Millan* as soone as he vnderstood he had taken passage from *Naples*. In this enteruiew and conference, the demonstrations on all sides were manifest, free, and full of confidence; and such, for the libertie thereof, as in no memorie had bene seen in any such like meeting: for that other Princes, between whom were either priuate enuies or ancient quarels, were wont to meete in such order, that the one was not in the power of the other, but here things were carried in another fashion: for when the ships of the King of *Aragon* approched the hauen of *Sauona*, the *French* King vpon sight of them being descended vpon the wall of the hauen, passed by a bridge of wood, made for the nonce, vpon the poope into the gally of the King of *Aragon*, with a very small traine of Gentlemen, and without any guard at all: where, being receiued with a ioy incredible by the King, and the Queen his neece, after they had spent some time there in deuices of mirth and curtesie, they went out of the galley by the same bridge, and made their entrie on foote into the Citie, hauing much ado to passe through the presse of so many multitudes of men and women as were come thither from the townes thereabouts. The Queene went accompanied with her husband on the right hand, and her vnkle on the left, being gorgeously attired with precious stones, and other sumptuous array. The Cardinall of *Amboise* and the Great Captaine marched after the two Kings; and after them followed the yong Ladies and Gentlemen of the Queenes Court, all set forth with glorious shewes: and before and behind were the Courts of the two Kings, appointed in an incredible pompe of rich and stately ornaments. With these companies the King and Queene of *Aragon* were conueyed by the *French* King to the Castle, which was appointed for their lodging, hauing prospect vpon the sea, and that part or halfe of the towne which appertaineth to it, was appointed for their traine: and the *French* King was lodged in the Bishops houses right against the Castle; a spectacle truly worthy of memorie, to see together two of the most mightie Kings in Christendome, not long afore cruell enemies, and now not onely reconciled and conioyned by parentage, but also setting apart all signes of hatred, and memories of offences past, did euery one commit to the arbitrement of the other his proper life, with no lesse assurance and confidence then if they had bene lineall brethren: a maner of behauiour which gaue occasion to such as were present to dispute, whether of the two Kings had shewed the greater confidence. Many referred much to the fidelitie of the *French* King, who was the first that put himselfe in the power of the other, hauing no other assurance then the bond of faith: and to the other was transferred a greater occasion of shame, for that faith was kept to him first, and it was a suspition more likely that *Ferdinand* desired to be assured of him, the better to establish himself in the kingdome of *Naples*. But many others gaue greater reputation to the confidence of *Ferdinand*, who exceeding the example of the *French* King, put himselfe in his power, not for a moment or few houres, but for many dayes: for that hauing dispoiled him of so great a kingdome, with so many harmes and domages to his people, and with so great a slander to his name, he had to feare that the *French* kings hatred was no lesse mortal, then his desire of reuenge great; and therfore there was most cause of doubt, where the profit of the disloyaltie was greatest. For, to make the *French* King prisoner, *Ferdinand* could reape no great commoditie by it, since the estate of *France* is managed vnder such a policie of lawes and customes, that to keepe the King restrained, could not much diminish the forces and authority of the kingdom. But there hanged other perils vpon the person of *Ferdinand*, for that if he had bene made prisoner, it was not to be doubted, that both for the minoritie of his heires that then were very yong, and the realme of *Naples* being to him a new kingdome, and also for that his other Realmes, and chiefly that of *Castile* were through many accidents disordered amongst themselues, the *French* king should not haue receiued of long time any impediment by the power and armes of *Spaine*. In this enteruiew, the consideration of the Great Captaine ministred not the least occasions to debate and commune vpon; vpon whom were set the eyes of all men, no lesse for the renowne of his valour, then for the memorie of his many victories: which so enticed the minds and affections of the *French* men, that notwithstanding they had bene so often vanquished by him, and were wont to hold his name in common hatred, yet they could not be satisfied to behold and honour him, making discourse to such as had not yet bene in the kingdome of *Naples*, sometimes with what incredible celeritie and shift of warre he inuaded in *Calabria* the Barons incamped at *Laine*, sometimes with what patience and resolution of mind he endured so many difficulties and aduersities,

The kings of Aragon and France haue enteruiew together.

uerſities, when in the middeſt of peſtilence and hunger he was beſieged in *Barletto*: ſometimes with what diligence and efficacie he kept retained the minds of men, and amidſt a penurie and want of money entertained a long time his ſouldiers without pay: with what ſingular valour he managed the battell at *Cirignola*: and with what greatneſſe of courage, with what induſtrie of a ſouldier, and with what vnexperienced ſtratagemes amidſt ſo many difficulties, with an armie vnpayed, and farre inferiour in forces, he kept his ground, and obtained the victorie vpon the riuer of *Garillan*: and laſtly, how vigilant he had bene alwayes to embrace oportunities, and make his profite vpon the diſorders of his enemies. But that which drew men into moſt wonder and admiration of him, was the excellent maieſtie of his preſence, the ſtately repreſentation of his words and geſtures, full of grauitie, affabilitie, and mildneſſe, equall to thoſe effects and actions which had alwayes flowed from his right worthy and excellent vertues: but aboue all the reſt, the *French* King, who deſired that he might ſup at the ſame table with *Ferdinand*, the Queene, and him, and by commandement was placed neare to *Ferdinand*, was as it were rauiſhed with contemplation and deuiſing with him: in ſo much that in the iudgement of euery one, that day was no leſſe glorious to the Great Captaine, then when he entred with his victorious armie into the Citie of *Naples*, honoured with all thoſe ceremonies of triumph which are wont to be exerciſed vpon conquerours. But theſe were the laſt triumphant dayes of the Great Captaine, for that departing no more out of the kingdome of *Spaine*, he had afterwards no meanes to exerciſe his vertue, neither in warre, nor in things memorable for peace. The two Kings had conuerſation together for the ſpace of three dayes, wherein were holden betweene them many diſcourſes both long and ſecret, whereunto the Cardinall *de S. Praſſida* the Popes Legat was not admitted, nor otherwiſe honoured but with a generall forme of diſpatch: but by that that might then be conceiued, and by that which was manifeſt afterwards, they promiſed the one to the other, to entertaine perpetuall amitie and intelligence, and that *Ferdinand* ſhould labour to reconcile *Maximilian* and the *French* King, to the end that being all reunited, they might afterwards declare themſelues againſt the *Venetians*. And to expreſſe that they were no leſſe carefull for things common, then for ſuch as concerned themſelues in particular, they publiſhed an intention to reforme the eſtate of the Church, and to that end to call a Councell: wherein *Ferdinand* proceeded not very ſincerely, but ſought to nouriſh in that hope the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who thirſted much to be Pope; by which meanes he wonne him in ſuch ſort, that (haply with no litle domage to the affaires of his King) he perceiued too late, and that by many ſignes and demonſtrations, what difference there was betweene the words and works of that Prince, and how many ſubtilties and euaſions he had vſed in his counſels. They communed together alſo touching the cauſe of the *Piſans*, wherein the *Florentines* had entertained negociation both with the one and the other of them during that whole yeare. For when the *French* King prepared his armie againſt the *Genoways*, being diſcontented that the *Piſans* bare fauour to the rebellions of that people, and foreſeeing how much it would be for the commoditie of his affaires to haue the *Florentines* recouer that Citie, he gaue them hope, that as ſoone as he had repreſſed the mutinies of *Genes*, he would ſend his armie thither, in whom, as alſo in all the Court, the good will which they had aforetime borne to the *Piſans*, was for this occaſion turned into hate. But hauing performed his enterpriſe vpon the *Genoways*, he changed his determination, both for the ſame reaſons which made him diſmiſſe his armie, and alſo for that he would not offend the mind of the King of *Aragon*, who aſſured him, that he would ſo diſpoſe the *Piſans*, that they ſhould willingly returne to the obedience of the *Florentines*, from whom the *French* King hoped by that meanes to draw no ſmall quantitie of money. To this the King of *Aragon* diſpoſed himſelfe, (although for ſundry reſpects) to whom it had bene more agreeable that the *Florentines* ſhould not recouer *Piſa*; but knowing that it could not be long kept without great expences and difficulties, and fearing leſt they ſhould obtaine it by the meanes of the *French* King, he hoped when he was at *Naples*, to haue bene able to induce the *Piſans* by his authoritie, to returne vnder honeſt conditions vnder the obedience of the *Florentines*, who promiſed him (the action ſucceeding) to confederate with him, and to giue him within a certaine time, an hundred thouſand duckats: but not finding in the *Piſans* that conformitie and deuotion which he expected, to let that the gratification and recompence ſhould not remaine onely to the *French* King, he proteſted openly to the *Florentine* Embaſſadours, that if they ſhould attempt in any ſort to reconquer *Piſa* without his aide, he would manifeſtly oppoſe againſt them;

and

and to the *French* King (to turne him from thoſe thoughts which he had to manage that enterpriſe by armes) ſometimes he made them of the hope he had to draw them in the end to ſome compoſition, and ſometimes he ſaid the *Piſans* were vnder his protection, although it were nothing ſo. For it is very true that the *Piſans* had made many ſolicitations to him, with offers to endue him with the abſolute iuriſdiction of their towne; but he alwayes entertaining their requeſts with hopes, and cauſing the Great Captaine in more ample ſort to do the like, did neuer accept them. But this matter being more particularly debated in *Sauona*, they concluded that it were good that the *Piſans* ſhould returne vnder the iuriſdiction of the *Florentines*, ſo far forth as either of them might taſte of the profite: the ſame being the cauſe that the *Florentines* (fearing to offend the mind of the King of *Aragon*) forbare to giue the ſpoile that yeare to the harueſt of the *Piſans*; an action wherein they had repoſed great hope, for that *Piſa* was in ſuch want of victuals, and ſo weake in forces, that the *Florentine* ſouldiers ouerranne the whole countrey, euen to their gates; and the people of the plaine countrey, being more in number within the towne then the proper Citizens, grieuing much to loſe the fruite of their trauell for the whole yeare, began to abate much of their accuſtomed obſtinacie: and the *Piſans* were no more ſuccoured by their neighbours as before; for that the *Genoways*, beaten with ſo many calamities, had no more the ſame thoughts; *Pandolfe Petrucci* ſhunning the charges; and the *Lucquois*, albeit they miniſtred ſecretly to their wants, were not able alone to beare out ſo great a burden. The two Kings departed from *Sauona* the fourth day, with the ſame demonſtrations of concord and amitie; the one tooke his courſe by ſea to *Barcelona*, and the other returned by land into *France*, leauing the other affaires of *Italy* in the ſame degree, but with a greater diſcontentment of the Pope, who taking occaſion againe vpon the ſtirre made by *Annibal Bentiuole*, had made inſtance to the King at *Sauona* by ſ Cardinal *de S. Praſſida*, to deliuer vp to him as priſoners *Iohn Bentiuole* and *Alexander* his ſonne, whom he kept retained in the Duchie of *Millan*: alledging that ſince they had broken the contract made in *Bologna* by *Monſieur de Chaumont*, the King was no further bound to keepe his promiſe with them; offering withall, that if his Maieſtie would ſatisfie his deſire, he would ſend the Cardinals cap to the Biſhop of *Alby*. The King anſwered, that albeit their fault was not apparent, yet for that he had determined to puniſh it, he had kept retained many dayes in the Caſtle of *Millan*, *Iohn Bentiuole*; but not finding any matter wherein they had offended, he would not breake promiſe with them: and yet to gratifie the Pope, he ſaid, he would ſuffer him to proceed againſt them with curſes and paines, as againſt the rebels of the Church, euen as he had endured without complaint, that in *Bologna*, in the heate of that ſtirre, their Pallace was deſtroyed euen to the foundations.

The Diot of *Conſtance* continued ſtill with the ſame expectation of men wherewith it was begun, which *Ceſar* forgat not to nouriſh with diuers ſleights and gallant words, publiſhing that he would paſſe into *Italy* with ſuch an armie, that farre greater forces then thoſe of *France* and *Italy* ioyned together, ſhould not be able to reſiſt him. And to giue the greater credite and authoritie to his cauſe, (proteſting that he had fixed in his intention the protection of the Church) he aduertiſed the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals, that he had declared the *French* King rebell and enemie to the ſacred Empire, for that he was come into *Italy* to transferre to the perſon of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* the Pontificall dignitie, and to ſet vpon his owne head the Crowne Imperiall, and laſtly to bring the whole region of *Italy* into a ſeruile ſubiection: That he prepared to come to *Rome* onely to take the Crowne, and to eſtabliſh the common liberrie: And that in regard of his Imperiall dignitie, being protector of the Church, and for his proper pietie, very deſirous to aduance the Sea Apoſtolike, it was not conuenient he ſhould tarry to be required or prayed, knowing well enough, that the Pope for feare of ſo great dangers was fled from *Bologna*, and that the ſame feare reſtrained both him and the Colledge from communicating their dangers, or ſending to demand ſuccours. Thus the matters which were treated in *Germanie* being by many intelligences ſignified into *Italy*, and the bruite that was ſpread ſurpaſſing the truth, together with the generall preparations which the *French* King made, being cauſes enforcing the more credite to the publike rumors, for that it was beleeued that he feared not without occaſion, moued much the minds of euery one, ſome for deſire of new things, ſome for hope, and ſome for feare: in ſo much as the Pope ſent as Legat to *Maximilian*, the Cardinall of *Saint Croſſe*; and the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, & all the other Potentates of *Italy*, (except the Marquis of *Mintua*) that were abſolute and depended vpon themſelues, addreſſed to him ſpe-

ciall messengers, either in the name of Embassadours, or vnder some other nature. These things troubled much the mind of the *French* King, being very doubtfull of the will of the *Venetians*, and more vncertaine of the disposition of the Pope, as well for many reasons and experiences of things past, as especially for that he had elected to this legation the Cardinall *Saint Crosse*, in whom had remained an ancient inclination to further the greatnesse of *Maximilian*. But touching the will of the Pope, it may truly be said, that it was manifest to others that it was not knowne to himselfe: for, hauing his mind full of discontentments and suspitions against the *French* King, sometimes (to be rid of those wandring humors) he desired the coming of *Cæsar*, and sometimes the memory of ancient quarrels between the Popes and the Emperors, amazed him, considering that the same occasions remained still. In this incertaintie, he deferred to resolue himselfe, expecting first what would be determined in the Diot: and therefore proceeding in generall termes, he had instructed the Legat to perswade *Cæsar* in his name, to passe into *Italy* without an army, offering to him greater honours then euer had bene done by any Pope at the crowning of Emperours. But a litle after, the expectations that were had of the resolutions in the Diot began to diminish: for when it was knowne in *Germanie*, that the *French* King had dissolued his army immediatly after the victory of *Genes*, and that he was returned ouer the mounts with as much speed as he could, the heate of the Princes and people began much to abate, the feare being ceassed, that he came to vsurpe the Popedome and the Empire: and (as it often happeneth) publike respects fell not so strongly into consideration, but that they were ouercarried with priuate interests; for that, besides other reasons, there was an ancient desire in all *Germanie*, that the greatnesse of Emperours should not be such, as the other Estates should be compelled to obey them. And the *French* King omitted no diligence that might giue aduancement to his cause, for that vnderhand he sent to *Constance* men expresse, who forbearing to shew themselues in publike, wrought secretly, striuing by the hidden fauours of the Princes that were his friends, to appease the minds of the residue, purging the infamies that had bene imposed vpon him, by euidence of the effects, seeing that as soone as he had ranged *Genes* to his obedience, he had so suddenly dispersed his armie; and himselfe, although he might haue stayd in *Italy* without an armie, returned in person into *France* with what speed he could: and they affirmed, that he had alwayes not onely abstained from any action that might offend the Empire of *Rome*, but that in all confederations, contracts or bonds, he did alwayes protest and except, that he would be bound to nothing that was contrary to the rights of the sacred Empire: and yet they reposed not so much in these iustifications, but that they laboured with great diligence and many liberalities to abate the fierce minds of the *Almaines* with the power of gold, whereof that nation is not a litle couetous. The Diot at last brake vp the twentieth day of August, in the which it was agreed, after many disputations, that there should be deliuered to *Cæsar* to follow him into *Italy*, eight thousand horse, and two and twentie thousand footmen, payed for sixe moneths, and to furnish the expences of the artilleries, with other charges extraordinary, sixe thousand Florins of *Rhein*: and it was ordained that the bands and regiments should assemble in the field neare *Constance* about the middest of October: and it was published at that time, that they would haply haue furnished him with a greater proportion of men and money, if *Maximilian* had consented that the enterprise (albeit vnder his gouernment and counsell) had bene managed wholly in the name of the Empire, and that the election of Captaines had passed by order from the Empire, and distribution of the places that should be conquered to be made according to the determination of the Diot. But *Maximilian* would admit no companion or communitie of name (albeit all went vnder the name of the Empire) and much lesse suffer that the rewards of the victory should appertain to any other then to him & his: insomuch as standing better contented with the aid and succor they deliuered to him in this sort, then with far greater in any other sort, there was made no other resolution: the which albeit it answered not the expectation that men had conceiued afore, yet ceased not for all that the feare that was in *Italy* of his descending. For it was considered, that the souldiers which his subiects would giue him, with such as he might leuie of himselfe, being ioyned to those bands that were resolued on in the Diot, he would come with a very mightie army, compounded of bodies resolute and trained, and furnished with great store of artilleries; a matter so much the more to be feared, by how much *Maximilian*, for the disposition of his nature, and long exercise in armes, was very able and sufficient in martiall discipline, and could well beare, with the labour of his bodie and facultie of his mind, any enterprise how

difficult

difficult whatſoeuer: for which cauſe he carried a farre greater reputation then any Emperour for many ages before him. Hereunto was added his continual endeuor to bring into his pay ten thouſand *Swiſſers*; whereunto albeit the Bailiffe of *Dion*, and others ſent by the *French* King, oppoſed with great inſtance in the Diots of that nation, reducing to memory the alliance continued for ſo many yeares with the Kings of *France*, and lately confirmed with the King now reigning, together with the great profite which their peoples receiued thereby; and on the other ſide, preferring their old and ſetled quarrels with the houſe of *Auſtria*, with the grieuous warres they had had with *Maximilian*, and laſtly what preiudice the greatneſſe of the Empire brought to them: yet they ſhewed a great deſire to ſatisfie the demands of *Cæſar*, or at the leaſt not to take armes againſt him; for that (as was ſuppoſed) they were careſull not to offend the common name of *Germanie*, which it ſeemed was ioyned to this action: by reaſon whereof many doubted that the *French* King, if he were abandoned of the *Swiſſers*, or that the *Venetians* failed to ioyne with him, being not furniſhed with a ſufficient ſtrength of footmen to reſiſt the footbands of the enemies, and hoping that the fury of the *Almaines* entring into *Italy* as a torrent, would ſuddenly vaniſh and diſſolue for want of money, would retire his army into townes; the likelihood whereof was already manifeſt in this, that with a wonderfull diligence he fortified the ſuburbes of *Millan*, with many other places in that Duchie which were of greateſt importance. In regard of which alterations and preparations, the *Venetians* were trauelled with no leſſe perplexitie of mind then the other regions of *Italy*; and by how much their deliberations were of greateſt conſequence, by ſo much the more buſie and greater were the paines and diligence that euery one tooke to haue them ioyne with him. For *Cæſar* from the beginning had addreſſed to them three Embaſſadours of great authoritie, not onely to ſolicite that he might haue free paſſage through their dominions, but alſo to induce them to contract with him a ſtraiter alliance, wherein ſhould be agreed that they ſhould participate in the rewards of the victory; proteſting to them on the contrary, that it was in his power to accord (to their preiudice) with the *French* King, with the ſame conditions that ſo often had bene offered to him at diuers times. On the other ſide the *French* King both by his Embaſſadours, and the Embaſſadour of *Venice* that was reſident in his Court, laboured to perſwade them to oppoſe with armes againſt the coming of *Cæſar*, as a matter of equall preiudice both to the one and ỹ other, offering for that ſeruice all his forces, and to remaine their perpetuall confederate. But in thoſe dayes the Senate was not content that the tranquillitie of *Italy* ſhould be troubled, neither did the hopes that were offered to enlarge their dominions, incite them to deſire new tumults. For they had proued by experience, that the conqueſt of *Cremona*, did not counteruaile the ſuſpitions and dangers wherein they had bene continually holden, ſince they had the *French* King ſo neare a neighbour. They could willingly haue bene content to be newters, but being preſſed with the importunities of the Emperour, they ſtood in a neceſſitie either to refuſe or grant him paſſage. If they refuſed him; they feared to be the firſt that ſhould be vexed: and in gratifying his demands, they ſhould directly offend the *French* King, being expreſly forbidden in their reciprocall confederation, to grant paſſage to the enemies of the one or ỹ other: and they were not ignorant, that beginning once to offend him, it would be great indiſcretion, after *Maximilian* were paſt, to be idle beholders of the iſſue of the warre, and expect the actions of thoſe Princes, whereof the one would be a great enemie to the *Venetian* name, and the other hauing receiued no other pleaſure then libertie of paſſage, would be no great friend vnto them. For theſe reſpects many of the Senate were of opinion, that it was neceſſary to ſticke openly to the one or other partie; but to whether of them it ought to be, their opinions for the importance of the matter, were very different: and therefore, after they had deferred as long as they could to reſolue, being no longer able to endure the inſtance that was continually made vnto them, and being at laſt conſtrained to ſet downe their laſt concluſion in the Councell of the *Pregati*, *Nicholas Foſkarin* ſpake in this ſort:

The Oration of Nich. Foskarin

If it were in our power (moſt excellent Senators) to ſet downe a reſolution, whereby the peace and tranquillitie of our Commonweale might be continued, amidſt ſo many tumults and troubles which are now in preparing, I am ſure there would be amongſt vs no varietie of counſell, and much leſſe could any hopes that might be propounded, incline vs to a warre of ſo great expences and perill, as this whereof we now ſpeake is very likely to be. But foraſmuch as for the ſame cauſes which haue bene ſo often debated amongſt vs in our late aſſemblies, there is no hope that we can preſerue the common tranquillitie; the beſt aduice (in my opinon) where-

« upon we are to ſettle our deliberation, is, to reſolue our ſelues whether we may beleeue that « betweene the *French* King and the Emperour (deſpairing once of our amitie) may be contra- « cted an vnion, or whether the hatreds betweene them be ſo mightie and reſolute, as to let them « from ioyning together. For if we were ſafe from ſuch a danger, I could in no ſort like that we « ſhould depart from the amitie of the *French* King, both for that our forces being ioyned in « good faith and meaning with his for a common defence, we ſhould eaſily protect our Eſtate, « and alſo it would be more honorable to continue the confederation we haue with him, then to « relinquiſh it without euident occaſion; and we ſhould enter with more commendation and « good liking of all the world into a warre which ſhould beare the name of the protection of *Ita-* « *ly*, then to ioyne with thoſe armies which we know manifeſtly to be leuied to ſtirre vp commotions « and troubles. But if we ſet before our eyes the danger of this vnion, I thinke it will not be denied, « that there is great neceſſitie to preuent it; ſince it would be more profitable, aboue all cõpariſon, « to ioyne with the Emperor againſt the *French* King, then to tarry till both the one and the other « be vnited againſt vs. Now which of the two will happen, it is hard to iudge certainly: for that it « is a thing that dependeth not onely of the will of others, but alſo of many accidents and occa- « ſions, which ſcarcely wil leaue this reſolution in the power of thoſe that ought to execute it. Yet, « for ought we can perceiue by coniectures, and experience of times paſt being a true inſtru- « ctor of things to come, me thinkes it is a thing very dangerous, and an action whereof we ought « to haue great feare. For, as touching the Emperour, it is not like that he ſhall find any great im- « pediments, conſidering his feruent deſire to paſſe into *Italy*, which he cannot eaſily do, vnleſſe « he either ioyne with the *French* King or with vs. And albeit he much deſireth our alliance, yet « if we refuſe him, who doubteth, but neceſſitie will driue him to ioyne with the *French* King, ha- « uing no other meanes to accompliſh his purpoſes? And on the behalfe of the *French* King, it ſee- « meth there are far greater difficulties for this vnion; but yet I hold them not ſuch, as vnder them « we may promiſe to our ſelues any ſuretie: for that ſuſpition and ambition, two mightie moti- « ons in the minds of great Princes, and which either of them in his ſingle nature, haue bene accu- « ſtomed to be the cauſe of farre greater emotions, may induce him to ſuch a deliberation. He « marketh well the inſtance that *Ceſar* maketh to enter vnitie with vs, and meaſuring (albeit with « falſe weights) our intention and deſire, he may doubt, that the ſame ſuſpition that we haue « not to be preuented by him, induceth vs to preuent him; knowing alſo that we haue good intel- « ligence of thoſe things which ſo long time they haue conſulted together againſt vs. Laſtly, he « may feare that we are allured by ambition, looking into the great offers that may be made to vs; « and from this feare there can be no meanes ſufficient to aſſure him, ſeeing there is nothing that « naturally breeds more ſuſpition, then matters of Eſtate. And beſides ſuſpition, he may be driuen « on by ambition, hauing a deſire, as we know, to the Citie of *Cremona*, whereunto he ſhall be the « more kindled by ỹ perſwaſions of the *Millanois*, and no leſſe for a thirſt to occupie all the ancient « eſtates of the *Viſcounts*, which he pretendeth to be his inheritance as well as the Duchie of *Mil-* « *lan*: and to theſe he cannot hope to aſpire, if he vnite not himſelfe with the Emperour; for that « our Commonweale being mightie of it ſelfe, if the *French* King aſſaile vs alone, it will alwayes « ſtand in our power to ioyne with *Maximilian*: which thoughts, it may, yea haue alwayes, « occupied his mind. And hereby it is very manifeſt, that he neuer durſt aſſay to oppreſſe vs with- « out that vnion; which being the direct line to leade him to the marke he ſhootes at, why ſhould « we not feare that in the end he wil be diſpoſed to it? And we are not ſecure frõ this feare, by con- « ſidering that it would be a reſolution vnprofitable to him, for the conquering of two or three « Cities, to bring into *Italy* the Emperour, his naturall enemy, by whom in the end he ſhould be « alwayes moleſted, and with whom he ſhould neuer haue friendſhip but vncertaine, and ſuch « as for this reaſon he ſhould be alwayes driuen to buy and entertaine with great ſummes of mo- « ney: for if he feare leſt we will ioyne with the Emperour, he will thinke, that in preuen- « ting vs, he ſhall not onely put himſelfe out of danger, but alſo ſhall ſtand in ſecuritie. And like- « wiſe though he do not feare this vnion, yet he may haply iudge it neceſſary to confederate with « him, to deliuer himſelfe from the troubles and dangers which he may ſuffer by him, either by « reaſon of the aides of *Germanie*, or by other alliances and occaſions. And albeit greater dangers « may happen to him if the Emperour begin once to ſet foote in *Italy*, yet it is the common na- « ture of men to feare moſt the dangers that be neareſt at hand, to eſteeme more then is neceſſary « things preſent, and to make leſſe reckoning then they ought of ſuch as are farre off and to come,

ſeeing

ſeeing that to the ſame are referred many hopes of remedies, as well by the fauour of time, as the benefite of accidents. And further, although it were not for the *French* Kings profite to make this vnion, yet are we not aſſured for all that, that he will not do it. Know we not how much at one time feare, another time couetouſneſſe doth blind the minds of men? Know we not the nature of the *French* men to be light, and ready to embrace any new enterpriſes, and whoſe hopes are neuer leſſe then their deſires? Know we not with what perſwaſions and offers (ſufficient to kindle any mind) the *French* King is ſtirred againſt vs by the *Millanois*, the Pope, the *Florentines*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and by the Marquis of *Mantua*? All men are not wiſe, but a very few; and he that will prognoſticate what will be the deliberations of another, let him (if he will not deceiue himſelfe) not ſo much conſider what by all likelihood a wiſe man would do, as what is the ſpirit and nature of him that is to make the deliberation. He then that will iudge what the *French* King will do, muſt not ſo much regard what belongeth to the office of diſcretion, as that the naturall humors of the *French* be light, wandring, and oftentimes accuſtomed to proceed more with fury and raſhneſſe, then with counſell or foreſight. He muſt conſider the natures of great Princes, which are not like to ours, neither do they ſo eaſily reſiſt their appetites as priuate men do, for that, being accuſtomed to be adored in their kingdomes, and abſolutely obeyed, they are not onely haughtie and inſolent, but are impatient if they obtaine not whatſoeuer they hold for iuſt: and that ſeemes iuſt to them which they deſire, being perſwaded that they haue power to make plaine with a word all impediments, and to ſurmount the nature of things: yea they hold it a ſhame to reſtraine their inclinations for any difficulties, and meaſure commonly great things with the ſame rules wherewith they are wont to proceed in ſmaller actions, taking counſell neither of diſcretion nor reaſon, but of their will and arrogancie: of which vices, common to all Princes, no man can denie but the *French* do participate: the ſame being confirmed by the late example of the kingdome of *Naples*, where the *French* King induced by ambition and indiſcretion, conſented that the one moytie of the kingdome ſhould diuolue to the *Spaniard*, that he might haue the other; not ſeeing how much he weakned his power (afore abſolute and ſupreme amongſt all the *Italians*) to bring into *Italy* another King, equall to himſelfe in authoritie, and nothing inferiour in might. But why proceed we by coniectures, in things whereof we haue certaintie? Is not that well knowne which the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* treated at *Trent* with *Maximilian* himſelfe touching the diuiſion of your Eſtate? And know we not well enough that the ſame practiſe was afterwards alſo concluded betweene them in the towne of *Bloys*? and that the ſame Cardinall going for this purpoſe into *Germany*, brought backe the oath and ratification from *Caſar*? I confeſſe indeed that theſe practiſes brought forth no effects in regard of certaine difficulties that hapned: yet who can aſſure vs, that there will not be found ſome meanes to remoue thoſe difficulties, which haue bene impediments to their common deſire, ſince their principall intention remaineth alwayes one? Therefore conſider diligently (moſt worthy Senators) the imminent perils, the reproch and infamie, which in the ſight of all the world will darken and deface the ancient reputation and wiſedome of this Senate, if meaſuring vnaduiſedly the condition of the preſent affaires, we ſuffer that another put vs in feare, and come to inuade vs with thoſe armes which be offered to vs for our ſuretie and augmentation of Eſtate: and let vs conſider (for the benefite of our countrey) what is the difference betweene mouing warre vpon another, and to expect till another inuade vs; to diſpute how to deuide the Eſtate of another, and to temporiſe till the ſame perill fall vpon vs; and to be accompanied againſt one onely, or to remaine alone againſt many. For, if theſe two Princes ioyne together againſt vs, they will be ſeconded by the Pope, by reaſon of the townes in *Romagna*, by the King of *Aragon*, by reaſon of the ports of *Naples*; and by all *Italy*, ſome ſeeking to recouer, and ſome to be aſſured. All the world knowes what the *French* King hath for ſo many yeares conſpired againſt vs with *Caſar*: if we arme our ſelues againſt him that hath ſought to beguile vs, no man wil account vs truce-breakers, neither will any man maruell; but all men will ſay, we haue done wiſely; and to our great praiſe, he ſhall be brought into danger, who, as euery one knoweth, would haue brought vs into the like perill.

But on the contrary, *Andrew Gritti* a man of great worth, ſpake in this ſort: If it were conuenient that in one ſelfe matter, the counſels and opinions of men might alwayes be referred to voices doubtfull, I confeſſe (moſt renowmed Senators) that my aduice ſhould haue no other reference, the preſent matter being on all ſides intangled with ſo many difficulties, that the conſide-

The Oration of Andrew Gritti.

" ſideration of them oftentimes leades me into confuſion : yet ſeeing there is neceſſitie of reſolu-
" tion, which cannot be made vpon foundations and ſuggeſtions incertaine, it behoueth vs, pon-
" dering wel the reaſons that are contrary one to another, to embrace thoſe diligently which draw
" neareſt to a likenes of truth, and cary moſt mightie coniectures: which whē I diligently examine,
" I can by no meanes be perſwaded that the *French* King, either for ſuſpition to be preuented of vs,
" or for a deſire of thoſe townes which earſt appertained to the Duchie of *Millan*, will agree to
" bring the Emperour into *Italy* againſt vs. For the dangers and harmes that thereby would befall
" him, are farre more manifeſt and great, then the perils that may happen by our vnitie with *Ca-*
" *ſar*, or the profites that he may hope for by that reſolution : ſeeing that beſides all other iniuries
" and great hatreds that are betweene them, there is concurrence of dignitie and eſtates, a matter
" able to ſet diuiſion between the beſt eſtabliſhed friends : inſomuch as if the *French* King call the
" Emperor into *Italy*, he may be thought to do no other thing, then in place of a Commonweale
" peaceable, and which hath bin always in amitie with him, without any diſagreement, to deſire ra-
" ther the neighbourhood of a King ambitious, iniurious, and nouriſhing a thouſand occaſions
" to quarrell with him, as well by reaſon of his authoritie and eſtate, as in regard of reuenge. Let
" no man ſay, becauſe the Emperour is poore, diſordered, and vnfortunate, that the *French* King
" feares not his neighbourhood, ſeeing that for the memory of the ancient factions and inclina-
" tion of *Italy*, which remaine yet kindled in many places, and eſpecially in the Duchie of *Millan*,
" an Emperour of *Rome* can neuer haue ſo litle a neſt in *Italy*, which will not be very dangerous to
" others, and chiefly he, whoſe eſtate is ioyning to *Italy*, who is a Prince of high ſtomacke, of great
" conduct and experience in warre, and to whom may be ioyned the intereſt of the children of
" *Lodowike Sforce*, a mightie meanes to ſtirre vp the minds of many: beſides that in any war againſt
" the *French* King, he may alſo hope to draw to him the powers of the Catholike King, if for
" no other reſpect, yet at leaſt for that both their eſtates are to deſcend to one heire. The *French*
" King is not ignorant of the might of *Germany*, and how eaſie it is for the Emperour to vnite vn-
" to him either the whole, or part, when way ſhall be made open in *Italy*, and the hope of
" prey and ſpoile layd afore them. And haue we not well ſeene what feare he hath alwayes had of
" the deſcending of the *Almaines*, and the Emperour, how poore and diſordered ſoeuer he be? who
" if he were in *Italy*, it would ſurely come to paſſe, that he ſhould haue with him no other thing
" then a dangerous warre, or a peace ill aſſured, and yet dearly bought. It may be he thirſteth to re-
" couer *Cremona*, & haply alſo ſome other townes; but there is no likelihood, that he will embrace
" a great danger, to get a thing whoſe value is leſſe then the aduenture; but it is more credible, that
" he will proceed in this caſe rather with diſcretion then raſhneſſe; ſeeing that if we conſider the
" errors heretofore imputed to that King, we ſhall find that they proceeded of no other cauſe
" then of his great deſire to make his enterpriſes with ſurety. For what other thing induced him to
" make partition of the Realme of *Naples?* and what moued him to deliuer to vs the Citie of *Cre-*
" *mona*, but onely to make more eaſie the victory of thoſe warres? So that it is more credible, that
" euen at this preſent he will rather follow his cuſtome, and wiſe counſels, then be carried with ad-
" uices ſudden and raſh, ſeeing withall he remaineth not altogether depriued of hope to accom-
" pliſh his deſire at another time, with more ſuretie, and better oportunitie; a thing which men are
" wont eaſily to promiſe to themſelues; the error being leſſe to promiſe a change of worldly af-
" faires, then to perſwade that they are firme and ſtable. And the report, that thoſe two Kings
" haue treated ſo often amongſt themſelues, doth nothing amaze me, for that it is a cuſtome
" with the Princes of our time, to entertaine one another artificially with vaine hopes and diſſem-
" bled practiſes : the which, for that in ſo many yeares they haue brought forth no effect, it can-
" not be that they were other then faire ſhewes, or elſe had in themſelues ſuch difficulties as
" could not be reſolued, the very nature of the affaires reſiſting to take away the diſtruſts that are
" betweene them, without which foundation they could not to come to that coniunction.
" So that I feare not that for the deſire of our townes, the *French* King will throw himſelfe head-
" long into ſo indiſcreet a deliberation, and much leſſe will he attempt an action ſo caſuall for any
" ſuſpition he hath of vs; for that beſides the great knowledge and experience he hath of our in-
" tentions, who haue had no want of prouocations and occaſions to leaue his alliance, the ſame
" reaſons, by the which we are aſſured of him, will interchangeably hold him aſſured of vs. For
" nothing can be more preiudiciall to vs then the Emperour to haue any eſtate in *Italy*, as well for
" the authoritie of the Empire, of whoſe amplification we ought alwayes to ſtand fearfull, as in re-

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gard of the houſe of *Auſtria*, pretending intereſt to many of our townes, and for the neighborhood of *Germanie*, whoſe inundations cannot but be too perillous for our Seignorie; we bearing withall a bruite to haue all our counſels ripe and meaſured, and to erre more in being too ſlow, then by proceeding too haſtily. I denie not but theſe things may fall out contrary to the opinion of men; and therefore that he who could aſſure himſelfe, were praiſeworthy: but ſince that cannot be done without entring into moſt huge dangers and difficulties, we muſt conſider that oftentimes vaine feares are no leſſe hurtfull then too great confidence. For if we enter confederation with the Emperour againſt the *French* King, the warre muſt neceſſarily be begun and continued with our moneys, which we muſt alſo aduance to furniſh all his prodigalities and diſorders; otherwiſe he will either accord with the enemie, or retire into *Germanie*, leauing vpon our ſhoulders the whole burden and perill of the quarrell: we muſt maintaine a warre againſt a moſt mightie King of *France*, Duke of *Millan*, Lord of *Genes*, a Prince furniſhed with many regiments of men at armes, and no leſſe mightie in artilleries and prouiſions, and the bruite of whoſe payes and money, will draw to him from all nations infinite bands of footmen. What hope is there then that this enterpriſe can eaſily haue good ſucceſſe, ſeeing it is to be feared, and that not without cauſe, that all thoſe of *Italy*, which pretend that we hold any thing of theirs, or at leaſt ſtand iealous ouer our greatneſſe, will draw into conſpiracie againſt vs? but eſpecially the Pope, to whom, beſides his diſdaines towards vs, the power of the Emperour in *Italy* will neuer be acceptable, by reaſon of the naturall hatred that hath alwayes bene betweene the Church and the Empire, the ſame making the Popes to haue no leſſe feare of the Emperors in things temporall, then they haue of the *Turkes* in matters ſpirituall. And this coniunction haply may be more dangerous to vs, then the vnion which we feare betweene the Emperour and the *French* King: for that when many Princes, which pretend to be equall, do ioyne together, there commonly do kindle ſuſpitions and debates, by which oftentimes it hapneth, that thoſe enterpriſes which haue bene begun with no ſmall reputation, do eaſily fall into many difficulties, and laſtly into diſſolution. Neither ought this to be a matter of leaſt conſideration, that albeit the *French* King haue entertained certaine practiſes contrary to the alliance which we haue with him, yet we haue ſeene no effects, by the which we may ſay he hath dealt vniuſtly with vs; and therefore to raiſe warre againſt him, would be no other thing then to incurre the note of infidelitie and faith breaking, whereof this Senate ought to haue ſpeciall regard, as well for the honour as profite of the affaires which we manage continually with other Princes: neither can it be profitable to vs daily to augment this opinion, that we ſeeke alwayes to oppreſſe all our neighbors, and aſpire to the monarchie of all *Italy*. Would to God we had in times paſt proceeded herein more conſiderately; for almoſt all the ſuſpitions that we haue at this preſent, proceed onely from this, that heretofore we haue too much offended them. And it will not be beleeued, that feare draweth vs to a new warre againſt the *French* King our confederate, but rather a couetous inclination (ioyning with the Emperour) to win from him ſome part of the Duchie of *Millan*, as we did from *Lodowike Sforce*, being ioyned with him: at which time, if we had gouerned our ſelues more moderately, and not feared too much vaine ſuſpitions, the affaires of *Italy* ſhould not now ſtand in ſuch troubleſome eſtate, and we, who ſhould haue preſerued our ſelues with a renowne of greater modeſtie and grauitie, ſhould not now be conſtrained to enter into warre, either with this or that Prince, more mightie then our ſelues. Into which neceſſitie ſeeing we are fallen, in my opinion, it ſhall be more wiſedome not to depart from the confederation which we haue with the *French* King, then ouer-ruled with vaine feare, or hope of benefites vncertaine and hurtfull, to embrace a warre, which alone, we ſhall not be mightie enough to ſupport, and thoſe aſſiſtants which we ſhall haue, will in the end be found more burdenſome then profitable.

The opinions of the Senate were diuers in ſo great a varietie of reaſons; but in the end preuailed the memory of the inclination which they knew the Emperour had alwayes had, to recouer when he could get oportunitie, thoſe townes holden by them, which he pretended to appertaine to the Empire, or to the houſe of *Auſtria*. Their reſolution then was to grant him paſſage if he came without an armie, but coming armed, to denie him that libertie: and in the anſwer they gaue to his Embaſſadours, they endeuoured to perſwade as much as they could, that that concluſion was made more by neceſſitie, hauing regard to the condition of the time preſent, and confederation which they had with the *French* King, then by any diſpoſition of will to leaue

Deliberation of the Venetians.

leaue him diſcontented for any matter; adding withall, that they were conſtrained by the ſame confederation to aide him in the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* with a certaine proportion of men expreſſed in the ſame: but that in this action they would proceed with great modeſtie, without exceeding in any ſort their limits and bonds; and that except that which they were compelled to do in this action for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, they would not oppoſe againſt any other his aduancement, as thoſe, who (ſo farre as their power would ſtretch) would neuer faile him of that dutie and reuerence which was fit for the Senate of *Venice* to beare to ſo great a Prince, with whom they neuer had other then perpetuall amitie and alliance. Therefore they entred not into any new confederations and bonds with the *French* King, but deſired to communicate as litle as they could with the warres that ſhould be betweene them, hoping that *Maximilian* (not to increaſe his owne difficulties) would at leaſt leaue their frontiers in peace, and embracing their affections according to the ſimplicitie and innocencie thereof, turne all his armies either againſt *Burgundie*, or the Duchie of *Millan*. But *Cæſar* being out of hope to ioyne with him the *Venetians*, many other difficulties began to fall vpon him, which albeit he laboured to ſurmount with the greatneſſe of his ſpirit and conceptions, apt to promiſe him dayly more hopes then impediments, yet they delayed much the effects of his reſolutions: for that, both of himſelfe he had not ſufficient money to entertaine the *Swiſſers*, and to furniſh other expences neceſſary for ſo great an enterpriſe; and alſo the treaſures that were promiſed to his aide in the Dyot, were not ſufficient to furniſh the leaſt part of the exceſſiue charge of that warre. And the foundation whereupon from the beginning he had laid his greateſt hopes, that the Eſtates and Potentates of *Italy*, for terror of his name and armes, would offer compoſition and contributiõ of mony, began euery day to diminiſh: for, albeit in the beginning many ſhewed a certain forwardneſſe, yet the concluſions of the Diot of *Conſtance* not anſwering the expectation that was conceiued, that the enterpriſe ſhould rather be of the whole Empire, and almoſt of all *Germanie*, then his owne in peculiar, and ſeeing haply into the mightie preparations of the *French* King, and the new declaration of the *Venetians*, euery one remained in doubt, not daring (in miniſtring to him things whereof he had moſt need) to offend ſo greatly the *French* King. Neither were the demands of *Maximilian* ſuch, in the time when he was moſt feared, as for their facilitie they might induce men to adminiſter to his helpe: for, according to his cuſtome, he demanded much of euery one, wherein his rates impoſed vpon the Duke of *Ferrara* (whom he pretended to owe to *Blanch*, his wife the dowry of his ſiſter *Anne*, dead many yeares before) were exceſſiue, and his proportions to the *Florentines* no leſſe intollerable: for the Cardinall of *Breſſe* who managed his affaires at *Rome*, and had power to compound with them, demanded fiue hundred thouſand duckats: which demand, for the immoderation thereof, was the cauſe that they reſolued to temporiſe with him, till they diſcerned better what traine his affaires would take; and yet (foreſeeing not to offend him) to excuſe themſelues to the *French* King, who demanded men of them, giuing him to vnderſtand, that they could not accompliſh his deſire for the impediments of the waſte and ſpoile to be giuen this yeare to the *Piſans* with a great preparation, and for that the *Genoways* and other neighbours beginning eſtſoones to adminiſter new ſuccours, they were conſtrained to ſtand continually prepared againſt them. Therefore the Emperour failing (contrary to his hope) to haue his turne ſerued with the money of the *Italians* (hauing onely ſixe thouſand duckats of them of *Sienna*) he made requeſt to the Pope, that at the leaſt he would ſuffer him to take the hundred thouſand duckats which had bene afore leuied in *Germanie* vnder colour to make warre vpon the *Turks*, and was for that effect preſerued in that prouince, and might not be conuerted to any other vſe, without licence of the Sea Apoſtolike: and he offered him, that though he could not ſatisfie his demand, to paſſe into *Italy* without an armie, yet neuertheleſſe after he had reſtored to the Duchie of *Millan* the children of *Lodowike Sforce* (the protection of whom he pretended, both to make the people of that State more fauorable, and his paſſage more eaſie and leſſe hurtfull) he would go on to *Rome* without armes, to receiue the Crowne Imperiall, leauing all his bands in the Duchie of *Millan*. But the Pope, in whom appeared no more affection to the one partie then to the other, refuſed alſo to ſatisfie him in this demand, alledging that in ſuch an eſtate of affaires, he could not without his great danger prouoke the armes of the *French* King againſt him. And yet *Maximilian*, amid ſo many difficulties, being carefull, credulous, and quicke to execute all things of himſelfe, with paines incredible, forgat nothing that might entertaine the bruite of his deſcending, cauſing the artilleries

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to march in many places towards the frontiers of *Italy*, ſoliciting the practiſe to haue the twelue thouſand *Swiſſers*, who demanding many things of him, propounded many exceptions, and yet gaue him no certaine reſolution: and ſollciting the bands that were promiſed him, he trauelled in perſon from one place to another for diuers expeditions; ſo that mens minds being brought into great confuſion, there was more diuerſitie of opinion through all *Italy* then earſt had bene ſeene in any other action. For in ſome the opinion of this enterpriſe was greater then euer, and other ſuppoſed it to be already rather in an eſtate declining then augmenting: which incertaintie was increaſed by himſelfe, who being of nature very ſecret, did neuer communicate his thoughts with others; and to the end his intentions might be leſſe knowne in *Italy*, he had ordained that the Popes Legate and the other *Italians* ſhould not follow his perſon, but keepe euery one apart, in certaine places remoued from the Court. Now was come the day of *S. Gal*, a day appointed for the muſtering of ſouldiers, of whom notwithſtanding there arriued at *Conſtance* but a very ſmall number, and ſcarcely any other preparations on his part, then ſuch as ſerued to cauſe the artilleries to march: and he himſelfe was carefull to vſe all meanes whereby he might recouer money. Wherefore it being vncertaine with what forces, at what time, and on which ſide he would enter, ſuch as doubted him, made mightie prouiſions in many places: ſome ſuppoſed he would make his entrie by *Friul*, and others thought he would march by *Trent* into the countrey of *Verona*; others iudged that coming by *Sauoy*, or by *Coma*, he would aſſaile the Duchie of *Millan*, hauing many of the exiles of that State in his campe: others ſtood in doubt leſt he would make ſome ſtirre in *Burgondie*. In regard of theſe feares, the *French* King ſent to the Duchie of *Millan* many bands of horſemen and footmen, and beſides other preparations leuied for the defence of that State, fiue and twentie hundred *Spaniſh* footmen, by permiſſion of the Catholike King, of whom the Emperour complained grieuouſly for this cauſe. And *Monſieur de Chaumont* doubting of the faith of the *Borromeis*, ſurpriſed in the ſame time *Arona*, a caſtle belonging to that family, ſtanding vpon the lake *Maior*: and into *Burgondie* the King had alſo ſent fiue hundred Lances, vnder *Monſieur Trimouille* Gouernor of that Prouince. And to draw away in many places the thoughts and forces of *Ceſar*, he ſuccoured continually the Duke of *Gueldres*, who moleſted the countreys of *Charles* the nephew of the Emperour. Beſides all this, he had ſent to *Verona* *Iohn Iaques Triualce* with foure hundred *French* Lances, and foure thouſand footmen, to the ſuccours of the *Venetians*, who had alſo ſent to *Rouera* the Count *Petillane* with foure hundred men at armes, and many bands of footmen, to the end to remaine there for the repreſſing of thoſe ſtirres that might ariſe towards *Trent*: and to *Friul* were ſent eight hundred men at armes vnder *Bartlemew Aluiano*, who long time before was entred into their payes. But the firſt danger appeared on that ſide which was leaſt doubted, for that *Paul Baptiſta Iuſtinian*, and *Fregoſin*, exiles of *Genes*, led to *Caſuola*, a towne belonging to *Lodowike Gonſagua* feodary of the Empire, a thouſand *Almaine* footmen, who marched ſecretly and with great diligence ouer the mountaines and difficult places of the *Venetian* territorie, with intention to go to *Genes*, after they had paſſed the riuer of *Po* by the mountaine of *Parma*. This expedition being doubted of by *Monſieur de Chaumont*, he diſpatched ſuddenly to *Parma* many horſmen and footmen, to giue impediment to the enemie, which ſo cut off all hope from the *Almaines* to be able to execute any thing againſt *Genes*, that they returned into *Germanie* by the ſame way, but not with the ſame diligence and danger, for that the *Venetians*, reſpecting their common benefite, gaue a ſecret conſent to their retiring. There were at the ſame inſtant, many of the exiles of *Genes* in the towne of *Bologna*, which draue the King into a great ſuſpition, that this matter had bene wrought by the conſent of the Pope, of whoſe inclination and will, many other things put him in doubt; both for that the Emperour was ſolicited to march by the Cardinall of *S. Croſſe*, although more by the diſpoſition of his owne will, then for any other occaſion: and alſo the exiles of *Furly* being by chance iſſued out of *Faenza*, and aſſaying one night to enter into *Furly*, the Pope complained that it was a matter compacted betweene the *French* King and the *Venetians*. Hereunto this was alſo added, that a certaine Monke being priſoner in *Mantua*, had confeſſed that he had practiſed with the family of the *Bentiuoleis* to empoiſon the Pope, and that he was ſolicited from *Monſieur de Chaumont* to performe his promiſe to the *Bentiuoleis*: ſo that the Pope proceeding by examination in forme authentike, ſent it to the King by *Achilles de Graſſi*, Biſhop of *Peſera*, and afterwards Cardinall, to make requeſt that the truth might be knowne, and that ſuch as ſhould be found guiltie in ſo great a wickedneſſe, might re-

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ceiue punishment: by reason whereof *Alexander Bentiuole* being suspected more then the residue, was summoned by the King to appeare and answer in *France* to such things as he was to be charged withall. With these actions and incertainties, ended the yeare 1507.

1508. But in the beginning of the yeare a thousand, fiue hundred and eight, the troubled minds of them of *Bolognia*, being no longer disposed to remaine in quiet, drew into conspiracie, and being led by *Annibal* and *Hermes Bentiuole*, who had intelligence with certaine yong men of the family of the *Peppoli* and other yong Gentlemen, they approched *Bolognia* vpon the sudden: which was an enterprise not without perill, for that the conspirators to the end to let in the residue, had seized vpon the gate of *S. Mammola*. But the people taking armes in fauour of the estate Ecclesiastike, the yong men being astonished, abandoned the gate, and the *Bentiuoleis* retired. This inuasion rather appaised then inflamed the mind of the Pope against the *French* King, for that his Maiestie shewing that it displeased him much, commanded *Monsieur de Chaumont* to be ready to succour *Bolognia* with all his companies as often as need should require, and that from thenceforth the *Bentiuoleis* should not be receiued into any part of the Duchie of *Millan*: for which cause *Iohn* died about that time of discontent; for that afore he was expulsed *Bolognia*, he had not bene accustomed to feele the bitternesse of fortune, and had bene the most happie of all the tyrants of *Italy*, seruing a long time for an example of happie fortune. For, in the space of fortie yeares, during which time he commanded as he would in *Bolognia*, he had not bene so much as grieued by the death of any of his friends, and much lesse for any other accident, and had alwayes had both for himselfe and for his children, pensions, appointments, and the greatest honours of all the Princes of *Italy*, passing very easily through all weightie and dangerous affaires: for all which happinesse he seemed (besides the conuenient situation of that Citie) to be principally beholding to Fortune. For, according to the common iudgement of men, he was not commended either for his wit, or his prudence, and much lesse for any valour that was in his person.

In the beginning of this same yeare, *Cæsar* minding no more to deferre the mouing of armes, dispatched an Herald to *Verona*, to publish his resolution to passe into *Italy* to take the Imperial Crowne, and to require lodging for foure thousand horse. Whereunto the gouernours of *Verona*, hauing first consulted with the Councell of *Venice*, answered him, that if he would passe for no other occasion then to receiue the Crowne, they would honour him with all the offices and obseruances they could; but they saw effects contrary to his perswasions, hauing already brought vpon their marches so great proportions of men at armes and artilleries. *Maximilian* then being come to *Trent*, to giue beginning to the warre, made a solemne procession the fourth day of Februarie, wherein he went in person, hauing before him the Heralds of the Empire, and the Imperiall sword naked, and in the end of the solemnitie, his Secretary *Matthew Lango*, afterwards Bishop of *Gurcie*, being mounted into an high seate, published in the name of *Cæsar*, his determination to passe in warlike maner into *Italy*, calling him no more King of *Romanes*, but Emperour elect, as the Kings of *Romanes* are wont to be intituled when they come to take the Crown: and the same day forbidding that none should issue out of *Trent*, after he had caused to be baked a great quantitie of bisket, and made many engines of wood for the vse of warre, and sent by the riuer of *Adice* sundry boates and lighters loaden with prouisions, he went out of *Trent* the night following, a litle before day with fifteen hundred horse, & foure thousand footmen, not of those regiments which were agreed to him in the Diet, but of the peoples of his Court and of his owne estates, taking the way that leades by those mountaines to *Vincenza*: and at the same time the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* marched towards *Rouero* with fiue hundred horsmen and two thousand footmen of the same countrey, who returned the day following, hauing done no other action but presented himselfe before *Rouero*, and demanded in vaine to be lodged in the towne. But the Emperour elect being come to the mountaine of *Siague*, the foote whereof draweth within twelue miles of *Vincenza*, after he had taken the lands of the seuen Communalties (a people so named, dwelling in the top of the mountaine, vnder many exemptions and priuiledges of the *Venetians*,) and after he had filled vp many trenches which they had cast for their defence and to stop the way, he caused to be drawne thither certaine peeces of artillerie: from whence as mens minds entertained a wonderfull expectation of some good successe, the fourth day after his departure from *Trent*, he returned suddenly to *Bolsana*, a towne further remoued from the confines of *Italy* then *Trent*; all men being much amazed at so great an inconsideration,

tion, or rather inconſtancie. This weake beginning reuiued much the minds of the *Venetians*; in ſo much that as they had already entertained many bands of footmen, ſo they called to *Rouero* the *French* companies which were at *Verona* with *Triuulce*, and beginning to make greater preparations, they ſtirred vp the *French* King to do the like; who marching towards *Italy*, ſent fiue thouſand *Swiſſers* payed by himſelfe, and three thouſand payed by the *Venetians*; that nation (for that *Maximilian* was not able to giue them pay) being without any regard turned to the pay of the *French*: and yet after they were departed and payed, they would not go vpon the lands of the *Venetians*, alledging for their reaſons, that they would not ſerue againſt *Maximilian* in any other action, then for the defence of the eſtate of *Millan*.

A greater ſtirre, but farre more wretched and vnhappie, as wherein was nouriſhed the beginning of greater things, was kindled in *Friul*, whither did paſſe by the way of the mountaines, and by *Cæſars* appointment, foure hundred horſe and fiue thouſand footmen, all leuied in his countrey of *Tirol*; who as ſoone as they were entred into the valley of *Cadora*, tooke the borough and Caſtle, wherein was a very ſlender garriſon, together with the Magiſtrate of the *Venetians* that was therein; which being vnderſtood at *Venice*, they commanded *Aluiano* and *George Conaro* Superintendent, remaining vpon the lands of *Vincentin*, to make ſpeedily to the ſuccours of that countrey: and to keepe occupied the enemies on that ſide, they ſent towards *Trieſta* foure light galleys, with certaine veſſels of other nature. And at the ſame time *Maximilian*, who was marched from *Bolſano* to *Brunech*, and turning to the way of *Friul* for the oportunitie of the paſſages and largeneſſe of the countrey, ran through certaine valleys more then fortie miles within the territories of the *Venetians*, with a ſtrength of ſixe thouſand footmen leuied in thoſe quarters: and after he had taken the valley of *Cadora*, which leadeth to *Treuiſa*, leauing behind him the borough of *Boſtauro* lately appertaining to the Patriarke of *Aquilea*, he tooke the borough of *S. Martin*, the borough of *Pieua*, and the valley which was kept by the Counts of *Sauorgna*, with other places adioyning. After he had made theſe incurſions, performing herein rather the part of an inferiour Captaine, then of an Emperour, and had commanded his companies to draw to *Treuiſan*, he returned vpon the end of Februarie to *Inſpruch* to lay Iewels in pawne, and make other prouiſions for money, whereof being rather a prodigall waſter, then a temperate diſtributer, he neuer had enough to furniſh the neceſſitie of his affaires. But when he vnderſtood on the way that the *Swiſſers* had taken the pay of the *French*, he was not a litle diſcontented with them, and ſo went to *Vlma* a Citie of *Sweuia*, to induce that league to aide him as they had done in times paſt in the warre againſt the *Swiſſers*. He made vehement inſtance likewiſe to the Electors, that the aides promiſed in the Diot of *Conſtance*, might be yet recontinued for ſixe moneths more: and at the ſame time the regiments of his eſtates which were abiding at *Trent*, to the number of nine thouſand, as well footmen as horſemen, had battered the Caſtle of *Baioque*, and brought it to diſcretion within three dayes: it ſtands right ouer againſt *Rouero* on the right hand, vpon the high way that leades from *Trent* into *Italy*, and betweene which and *Rouero* which is on the left hand, runneth the riuer of *Adice*. But *Aluiano* departed in great haſte to ſuccour *Friul*, and paſſing along the mountaines laden with ſnowes, he came in two dayes neare to *Cadora*, where expecting his traine of footmen, who could not march with the ſame ſpeed, he gained a paſſage not guarded by the *Almaines*, which is the entrance into the valley of *Cadora*. Now by reaſon of the coming of *Aluiano*, the men of the countrey affected to the iuriſdiction of *Venice*, taking new courage, ſeized vpon the other paſſages of the valley by the which the *Almaines* were to retire: who ſeeing themſelues incloſed, without any hope of ſafetie but by the ſword, and iudging that *Aluiano* would dayly ſtrengthen himſelfe, marched out againſt him in great furie: and he not refuſing the fight, there began betweene both the parties a moſt cruell fight, wherein the *Almaines*, who fought valiantly, more for a deſire to die glorioully, then with any hope to ſaue their liues, and caſting themſelues in a groſſe ſquadron, their wiues in the middeſt, made a valiant defence for certaine houres: but at the laſt, not being able to make reſiſtance againſt the number and vertue of their enemies, they were vanquiſhed, more then a thouſand of them being dead on the place, and the reſidue remaining priſoners. After this victorie *Aluiano* tooke the Caſtle of *Cadora*, which he aſſaulted on two parts; where *Charles Malateſte* one of the ancient Lords of *Rimini* was ſlaine with a ſtone caſt out of a tower: and following the occaſion of the victorie, he tooke *Portonauone*, and afterwards *Cremonſa* ſituate vpon a high hill, which being taken, he went and incamped afore *Goritia*, ſtanding at the foote of

Aluiano being ſent to ſuccour Friul, giueth the rout to the Almaines.

of the *Iulian Alpes*, ſtrong by ſituation, and well fortified, hauing a Caſtle of very hard acceſſe: and taking firſt the bridge of *Goritia*, and planting afterwards his artilleries before the towne, he carried it the fourth day by compoſition, being in great neceſſitie of weapons, water, and victuals. After the towne was taken, the Caſtle-keeper and companies within the Caſtle, rendered it after they had receiued foure thouſand duckats; and the *Venetians* erected there forthwith many fortifications to ſerue as a bulwarke and bridle againſt the *Turks*, and to hold them in feare for paſſing the riuer of *Liſonſo*, ſince by the oportunitie of that place their retrait might eaſily be hindred. From *Goritia* *Aluiano* marched to incampe before *Trieſta*, a Citie at that time much moleſted by the ſea, which he tooke eaſily, not without the diſcontentment of the *French* King, who gaue counſell not to prouoke ſo much the Emperour: but for that it ſtood vpon the gulfe of *Venice*, and by that reaſon very conuenient for their traffikes, they (made proud by the proſperitie of their fortune) determined to follow the courſe of their victorie. Therefore after they had taken *Trieſta* and the Caſtle, they tooke *Portonon*, and afterwards *Fiume*, which is a towne of *Eſclauonia* towards *Ancona*, which they burned, for that it was the retrait of the ſhips which would paſſe by the ſea *Adriatique* without paying the cuſtomes that were impoſed: and afterwards, paſſing the *Alpes*, they tooke *Poſſonia*, which is vpon the marches of *Hungarie*.

Theſe were the enterpriſes that were done in the countrey of *Friul*. But on that ſide towards *Trent*, the *Almaine* armie which was now come to *Calliana* (a towne famous for the harmes of the *Venetians*, for that neare vnto it, ſomewhat more then twentie yeares afore, *Robert de S. Seuerin* a notable Captaine of their army was ouerthrowne and ſlaine) aſſailed three thouſand footmen of the *Venetians*, who were left for the guard of the mount *Bretonica*, vnder the leading of *Iaques Corſo*, *Denis* of *Nalda*, and *Vitelli de Citta de Caſtello*, who notwithſtanding they were ſufficiently fortified, fled ſuddenly into the next mountaine; and the *Almaines*, ſcorning the cowardiſe of the *Italian* footmen, burnt many houſes, and after they had beaten downe their defences made in the mountaine, they returned to *Calliana*: by which ſucceſſe the Biſhop of *Trent* being allured, and hauing aſſembled two thouſand footmen, with part of the bands that were at *Calliana*, he went to beſiege *Riua Trent*, which is a great borough ſtanding vpon the lake of *Garde*, whither *Triuulce* had already ſent a ſufficient garriſon. And after he had for two dayes battered the Church of Saint *Francis*, and in the meane while made certaine incurſions vpon the villages that are about *Lodron*, two thouſand *Griſons* that ſerued in the *Almaine* campe, falling into mutinie for a quarrell of ſmall importance concerning their paiments, made pillage of the victuals of the campe: by reaſon whereof, all things being in diſorder, and moſt part of the *Griſons* forſaking the campe, the remainder of the armie containing about ſeuen thouſand men, was conſtrained to retire, which gaue courage to the *Venetians* to ouer-run the next villages; but as three thouſand of them went to burne certaine townes of the Count *d'Agreſte*, they were put to flight by the Paiſants, and about three hundred ſlaine. For the retraite of the *Almaines* which were before *Riue*, almoſt all the bands being ſeparate, and the horſemen (in number about twelue hundred) being retired from their lodgings at *Calliana* to *Trent*, the regiments of the *Venetians* on Eaſter day morning aſſailed *Pietra*, a place within ſixe miles of *Trent*: but thoſe within *Trent* iſſuing out to their ſuccours, they retired. And afterwards they aſſailed the Rocke of *Creſte*, being a peece of importance, which yeelded before the ſuccours that came from *Trent* were arriued: the ſame being the cauſe that the *Almaines*, who had reaſſembled and reordained their footmen, returned with a thouſand horſe and ſixe thouſand footmen to *Calliana*, diſtant from *Pietra* the ſhot of a Croſſebow: and two hundred horſemen of the Duke of *Wittemberg* being gone from them, the *Venetians* with foure thouſand horſemen and ſixteene thouſand footmen, came and incamped before *Pietra*, planting there ſixteene peeces of artillerie. *Pietra* is a Caſtle ſeated at the foote of a mountaine, on whoſe right hand the way leades from *Rouera* to *Trent*, and out of the ſame comes a very ſtrong wall containing in length the ſhot of a Crosbow, and ſtretcheth euen to the riuer of *Adice*, and in the midſt of the ſame is a gate, of the which who is not maiſter, can hardly hurt *Pietra*. The two armies were within a mile one of another, and both had before them the caſtle and the wall, and on the one ſide the riuer of *Adice*, and on the other the mountaines, and either armie had at their backes places of ſure retrait. And for that the *Almaines* had the Caſtle and the wall in their power, they might when they liſted haue compelled the *Venetian* armie to fight, which the *Venetians* could not do; but becauſe they were inferior in number, they durſt not commit things to aduenture, but deuiſed onely to hinder the enemies from taking the

The deſcription of Pietra, which is neare Trent.

Caſtle

Caſtle which was continually battered by their artilleries. But the *Almaines* perceiuing one day that their artillerie was ſlenderly guarded, gaue a furious charge vpon it, and putting to flight the footmen that guarded it, they wonne with great valour two peeces, and drew them to their campe; which accident abated much the courage of the *Venetians*, who now iudging it but loſt time to entertaine the action of *Pietra*, which had deuoured many of their peoples, they brake vp and retired to *Rouero*, and the *Almaines* returned to *Trent*, where within few dayes after, the moſt part of them disbanded and diſperſed themſelues: and the regiments appointed at the Diot of *Conſtance*, which, by reaſon ſome came ſoone and others late, neuer contained aboue foure thouſand together, (for all thoſe in ſubſtance that aſſembled at *Trent* and *Cadora*, were of the countreys thereabout) returned to their houſes, their terme of ſix moneths being ended, by whoſe example alſo moſt part of the footmen that were leuied did the like. And *Maximilian* himſelfe, being much troubled in going from one place to another, to leuie prouiſions, & for other buſineſſes, could neuer be preſent at thoſe actions. But for that the Diot of *Vlma* was referred to a time more conuenient, being confuſed in himſelfe with the multitude of affaires, and ſhame of his ſucceſſes, he withdrew himſelf to *Collein*, no man knowing for many days where he was. And being not ſtrong enough to reſiſt ſo great a ſtorme, hauing loſt all that he held in the countrey of *Friul*, with the other peeces affronting, he found himſelfe abandoned of all ſuccors, and in great perill to be depriued of *Trent*, if in the *French* bands had bene any diſpoſition to ioyne with the *Venetian* armie. But *Triualte* by the Kings direction (who was reſolued rather to pacifie then to prouoke) would paſſe no further then was neceſſarie for the defence of the *Venetians*.

Maximilian ſeeing himſelfe thus abandoned of euery one, and deſiring by ſome meanes to put himſelfe out of danger, after the ouerthrow of *Cadora*, ſent one of his Gentlemen to *Venice* to demand truce for three moneths; of which the Senate made no account, hauing no diſpoſition to make truce for leſſe then a yeare, nor yet to giue any conſent, if the *French* King were not comprehended in it. But his dangers increaſing by the loſſe of *Trieſta*, and all things growing into a worſe condition, the Biſhop of *Trent*, as of his peculiar motion, perſwaded the *Venetians* to truce, alledging that by that meanes there was ſome hope of peace: whereto the *Venetians* anſwered, That ſith the matter was now propounded not to them alone, but ſo as the *French* King might be comprehended, it ſhould not be hindered by them. After this beginning there drew to conference together the Biſhop of *Trent*, and *Serentane* Secretary of *Maximilian*, and for the *French* King *Triualte* and *Charles Geffray* Preſident of the Parliament of *Millan*, and for the *Venetians* *Zacharie Contarin* Embaſſadour particularly appointed for that action. They agreed eaſily for other conditions, ſeeing, as touching the time, they were reſolued that it ſhould laſt for three yeares, and euery one to retaine that he poſſeſſed at that preſent, with power to build and fortifie ſuch places as they commanded: but this onely was the difficultie, that the *French* would haue had a generall truce, wherein ſhould be comprehended ſuch confederates as euery one had out of *Italy*, and eſpecially the Duke of *Gueldres*; but the Agents of the Emperour ſtood obſtinately againſt it, for that *Maximilian* had determined the ruine of the ſaid Duke: alledging that the warre being managed wholly in *Italy*, it was neither iuſt nor neceſſarie to ſpeake of any other things then ſuch as troubled *Italy*: and herein the *Venetians* did what they could to ſatisfie the deſire of the *French* King, but ſeeing litle hope to diſpoſe the *Almaines*, they were contented to embrace the truce in ſuch ſort as they had conſented, eſpecially for a deſire they had to deliuer themſelues of ſuch a warre which was now brought wholy vpon their Eſtate, and no leſſe to confirme in their obedience by the commoditie of the truce for three yeares, the townes which they had conquered in thoſe ſtirres: and excuſed themſelues to the *French* with this reaſon, no leſſe true then iuſt; that neither the one nor the other of them being any further bound then for the defence of the matters of *Italy*, and their confederation being grounded thereupon, they had not to do to think vpon matters beyond the Mounts, which if they were not bound to defend with armes, they were alſo not bound to deuiſe to aſſure them with the truce. Concerning which controuerſie *Triualce* wrote into *France*, and the *Venetians* to *Venice*, whoſe Senate returned anſwer, that if there could not be admiſſion of other conditions, that they ſhould at leaſt conclude the truce for *Italy* onely, reſeruing time and place for the *French* King to enter. Whereunto albeit neither *Triualce* nor the Preſident would conſent, complaining grieuouſly that they would not ſo much as tarrie for the Kings anſwer, and that the Preſident

Truce between Maximilian and the Venetians.

proteſted, that a ioynt and common enterpriſe ſhould not be determined but by ioynt and common conſent, alledging withall, how litle the Kings amitie and alliance were reſpected; yet for all that the *Venetians* forbare not to conclude with *Maximilian*, and the contract running ſimply in their proper names, they agreed, that on the behalfe of *Maximilian* ſhould be named and holden as comprehended and nominated, the Pope, the King Catholike, the King of *England*, the King of *Hungarie*, and all the Princes and ſubiects of the ſacred Empire in what place ſoeuer, together with all the confederates of *Maximilian* and the ſaid Kings and States of the Empire, which ſhould be named within three moneths. And for the *Venetians* were named the *French* King, the King Catholike, with all the confederates and friends of the *Venetians*, of the *French* King, and of the King Catholike, in *Italy* onely, whom they ſhould likewiſe name within three moneths. Thus was the truce accorded the twentieth day of Aprill, and with no leſſe expedition ratified by the Emperour and the *Venetians*, by which meanes the warre ceaſſed, with the great hope of many that *Italy* ſhould now for a while enioy concord and peace. After armes were layd aſide by meanes of this truce, the *French* King ſuppoſing that the *Florentines* would haue declared themſelues rather for *Ceſar* then for him, if the Emperours affaires had had a more happie beginning; and knowing withall that that diſpoſition proceeded of no other thing then of a deſire they had to recouer *Piſa* in what ſort ſoeuer, and of a diſcontentment, that without any reſpect to their fidelitie they had bene alwayes at his deuotion, and that in the ſeruices paſt, he had not onely not fauored them, either with authoritie, counſell nor armes, but alſo had ſuffered the *Genoways* that were his ſubiects, to ſuccour the *Piſans*: he determined to deuiſe how by ſome honeſt meanes they might obtaine that they deſired. But for that (following his former purpoſes) he might do it to his proper profit, and being of opinion that feare would be a better meanes then hope to draw from them a great ſumme, he diſpatched *Michael Riccio* to make complaint, that they had ſent men of purpoſe to accord with *Ceſar* his enemie, and that vnder colour to giue the ſpoile to the *Piſans*, they had aſſembled a mightie armie, without hauing regard to the conditions of the time, and to his ſuſpitions and dangers: and that in ſo great a ſtirre and commotion, they would neuer declare fully their intentions, wherein they gaue him iuſt occaſion to doubt to what end tended thoſe preparations: and alſo, that hauing deſired them to aide him with their armies in ſo great perils, they refuſed it, contrary to his expectation: and yet, as well for the perpetuall amitie which he had alwayes borne to their Commonweale, as for the memory of the good offices they had done in times paſt for his ſeruice, he was very ready to pardon them all theſe new iniuries, ſo far forth, as (to cut off all occaſions that might eftſoones trouble the tranquillitie of *Italy*) they would not hereafter moleſt the *Piſans* without his conſent. To theſe complaints the *Florentines* anſwered, That neceſſitie had induced them to ſend men to *Cæſar*, not with any intention to couenant with him againſt the King, but (if he paſſed into *Italy*) to aſſure their Eſtate, which the King in the capitulation made with them, would not be bound to defend againſt *Ceſar*, according to the teſtimonie of an expreſſe clauſe, bearing theſe words, *Sauing the rights of the Empire*; and alſo, that he could not reaſonably complaine of the armie leuied againſt the *Piſans*, for that it being no greater then of cuſtome, it miniſtred no iuſt occaſion of new ſuſpitions; and being aſſembled for no other effects, then (as in other times) to giue impediments to the harueſt of the *Piſans*, there was no reaſonable cauſe of doubt: That for ſuch a matter, and for the ſuccors which the *Genoways* and other neighbours gaue then to the *Piſans*, it was not poſſible for them to ſend their ſouldiers to the King, whereunto albeit they were not bound, yet for the deuotion they had alwayes borne to him, they would not haue ſtucke to haue done it; yea though they had not bene required: That they maruelled greatly at the Kings deſire, that the *Piſans* ſhould not be moleſted, whom he had no reaſon to eſteeme or value with the *Florentines*, if he did but remember what they had done againſt him in the rebellion of *Genes*: And that he could not iuſtly forbid them to moleſt the *Piſans*, for that the confederation which they had made with him, did import ſo much. Vpon theſe beginnings they conſulted afterwards to reduce *Piſa* vnder the obedience of the *Florentines*: whereunto it ſeemed this did ſuffice, if order were giuen that neither the *Genoways* nor *Lucquoys* ſhould ſuccor it being in ſuch a neceſſitie of victuals and forces, that the *Piſans* durſt no more iſſue out of their towne: adioyning withall, chiefly for the loſſe of the harueſt, the diſcontent and deſpaire of thoſe of the plaine countrey, being in greater number then the citizens: in ſo much as it was beleeued, that they could not hold out, if they receiued not from *Genes* and *Lucques* certaine quantities of mo-

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ney, with part whereof such as gouerned kept within *Pisa* certaine forreine souldiers, and distributing the residue to the yong men, as well of the towne as of the plaine countrey, they astonished with the armes of those, such as desired to accord with the *Florentines*, keeping by that meanes the towne in peace. To this practise begun by the *French* King, was added the authoritie of the King Catholike, iealous belike that without him such a matter could worke no effect: and therefore as soone as he vnderstood that *Michael Riccio* was gone to *Florence*, he dispatched also an Embassadour, who going first to *Pisa*, encouraged them in the name of his King, to hold out: and that for no other respect, then that remaining willfull and obstinate to yeeld to the *Florentines*, they might be sold for a greater price. And a litle after, by consent of both the Kings, these conferences were carried into the Court of the *French* King, where, without any regard to the protection so oftentimes promised, the King Catholike solicited that businesse with great importunitie, knowing that if *Pisa* were not defended, it would necessarily fall into the power of the *Florentines*, and for that he had no disposition to intangle himselfe with new affaires, and chiefly against the will of the *French* King. For, although immediatly vpon his returning into *Spaine*, he had resumed the gouernment of *Castile*, yet he stood not well confirmed in it, both for the diuers inclinations of the Barons, and for that *Maximilian* had not giuen his consent in the name of his nephew. But after the cause of the *Pisans* had bene long debated in the Court of *France*, at last by reason of many difficulties which hapned, but principally for that both the Kings sought to appropriate to themselues the price of the sale of it, finding no meanes of agreement, the practise was dissolued without any conclusion.

The end of the seuenth Booke.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Moſt of the Princes of Chriſtendome draw into league at Cambray againſt the Venetians, who being ouerthrowne by the French King, render the townes of the Church, and make ſubmiſſion to the Emperour. Piſa returneth to the obedience of the Florentines. The Venetians recouer the towne of Padua, which is ſoone after beſieged by Cæſar. Afterwards they make war to the Duke of Ferrara. Accord between the Emperor and the King of Spaine touching the gouernment of Caſtile. The death of Count Petillane. The Emperour deſpairing to be able to ouercome the Venetians, inducet h the French King to ſet vpon Vincenſa, Padua and Treuiſa, who finding himſelfe in great difficulties and doubts, ſendeth for aduice to the Pope, purpoſing to follow his decree. The Venetians demand pardon of the Pope, and obtaine it.

THe diſeaſes of *Italy* were not ſuch, nor their forces ſo litle weakned, as that they might be cured with light medicines: but as it often hapneth in bodies repleniſhed with humors corrupt, that the remedie that is applied to purge the maladie of one part, ingendereth more dangerous infections: euen ſo the truce made betweene the Emperour and the *Venetians*, in place of the vniuerſall expectation of tranquillitie, brought forth among the *Italians* infinite calamities, and more great and cruell warres then the former. For though there had bene in *Italy* for the ſpace of fourteene yeares, ſo great warres, and ſo many mutations, yet matters being oftentimes ended without effuſion of bloud, and the ouerthrowes falling for the moſt part vpon the ſtrangers onely, the peoples had ſuffered leſſe then the Princes. But the gap being opened to new diſcords in time to come, there followed throughout all *Italy*, and againſt the *Italians* themſelues, moſt cruell accidents, infinite murders, ſackings, and deſtructions of many cities and townes, a libertie of warre no leſſe offenſiue to their friends then to their enemies, religion violated, and holy things troden vnder foote, with leſſe reuerence and reſpect then the prophane. The cauſe of ſo many afflictions, generally conſidered, was, as almoſt alwayes it is, the ambition and couetouſneſſe of Princes; but if they be conſidered in particular, they tooke their beginning of the too raſh and inſolent maner of proceeding of the *Venetians*, by occaſion whereof were ceaſſed thoſe difficulties which till that time had holden in ſuſpence the *French* King and *Cæſar*, and hindred them from agreeing together againſt them: of whom, the one being greatly kindled, they put in deſpaire, and at the ſame time they moued the other to no ſmall indignation, or at leaſt gaue him cauſe to diſcloſe vnder ſome honeſt colour, that which he had long deſired. For *Cæſar*, being netled by ſo many infamies and harmes receiued, loſing part of his inheritance, in ſtead of conquering the Eſtates of others, would by no meanes omit any oportunitie whereby he might recouer or repaire ſo great ſlanders and loſſes; which diſpoſition the *Venetians* vndiſcreetly increaſed in him againe after the making of the truce: for not ſparing to aggrauate his indignation, no leſſe with vaine demonſtrations then with effects, they receiued into *Venice Aluiano* with great pompe, and almoſt in maner triumphant. And the *French* King, albeit from the beginning he had giuen ſome hope to ratifie the truce that was made, yet expreſſing afterwards the great diſcontentment he tooke, he complained that the *Venetians* had preſumed to name and comprehend him as adherent, and that prouiding for their proper tranquillitie, they had left him in the cares and trauels of the warre. It was not long before the diſpoſition of mind both of the one and the other, began to appeare. For *Cæſar* hauing no confidence

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in his proper forces, and leſſe expectation that the Princes or peoples of *Germanie* would take to heart the iniuries that had bene done to him, made as though he had a deſire to ioyne with the *French* King againſt the *Venetians*, as the onely remedie to recouer the honour and eſtates he had loſt: and the *French* King, the new diſdaine renewing in him the memorie of the offences which he perſwaded himſelfe to haue receiued of them in the warres of *Naples*, and being likewiſe incited by a deſire to draw out of their hands *Cremona*, and other townes of the ancient poſſeſſions of the Dukes of *Millan*, had the like inclination. Therefore to the end that in remouing the impediments of things inferiour, they might the better proceed to thoſe of higher degree, they began to debate how to reſolue the quarrels betweene the Archduke and the Duke of *Gueldres*, whoſe ſafetie the *French* King eſteemed much, for the ancient alliance and commodities he had receiued by him. And at the ſame time the Pope alſo ſtirred vp the *French* King againſt the *Venetians*, for that beſides the old cauſes, he was inflamed againſt them with a new hatred, for an opinion he had, that by their meanes the exiles of *Furly*, who were retired to *Faenza*, had made a triall to enter that Citie; & for that they had receiued into their dominions the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, chaſed by the King out of the Duchie of *Millan*: whereunto was added, that in many things they had leſſe then euer before regarded the authority of the Court of *Rome*, and lately in this, which troubled not a litle the Popes mind: ỳ when the Pope had tranſlated the Biſhoprick of *Vincenſa*, vacant by the death of the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula* his nephew, to *Sixtus* likewiſe his nephew, ſubſtituted by him into the dignitie of Cardinall, and to thoſe benefices; the Senate of *Venice*, making ſmall reckoning of this collation, choſe a Gentleman of *Venice*, who, the Pope refuſing to confirme him, took the boldneſſe raſhly to name himſelfe Biſhop of *Vincenſa*, by the election of the moſt excellẽt councel of the *Pregati*. Now the Pope being not a litle kindled for this matter, diſpatched firſt to the King, *Maximus* Secretarie to the Cardinall of *Narbona*, and afterwards the Cardinall himſelfe, who newly ſucceeding the late Cardinall of *Achx* in his Biſhopricke, was called the Cardinall of *Achx*: and they being well receiued and willingly heard of the King, brought backe with them many meanes and plots to put in execution that which he deſired, both without the Emperour, and by ioyning with him. But the Pope ſhewed more inclination to complaine, then to determine any thing; for that on the one ſide, the ardent deſire he had to cauſe armes to be leuied againſt the *Venetians*, troubled his mind; and on the other, he ſeemed fearfull to be conſtrained to depend too much on the greatneſſe of another: but much more was he moued by an ancient iealouſie he had taken againſt the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, in which reſpect it ſeemed grieuous to him that the armies of the *French* King ſhould paſſe into *Italy*: and the affaires of greateſt importance were ſomewhat troubled, by reaſon the Pope, without the Kings knowledge, had a litle before diſpoſed the Biſhoprickes of *Aſt* and *Plaiſance*; and for that the King reſiſted the new Cardinall of *S. Peter ad Vincula*, to whom by the death of the other, the rich Abbey of *Clernault* neare to *Millan*, was transferred, to take poſſeſſion of it.

But albeit the Pope could not be reſolued amidſt ſo many difficulties, yet in the end the *French* King and *Caſar* determined to contract ſecretly together againſt the *Venetians*, and to this end, and to giue perfection to thoſe things that ſhould be debated, there aſſembled in the towne of *Cambray* for *Caſar*, the Ladie *Margaret* his daughter, Regent of *Flanders*, and of thoſe other Eſtates which were deſcended to King *Philip* by the mothers right, followed and aſſiſted for the regard of this action by *Matthew Lange* a Secretarie of great credite with *Caſar*: and for the *French* King, was ſent the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*; who gaue out, that this aſſembly was to ſolicite a peace betweene the Archduke and the Duke of *Gueldres*, betweene whom they had ſet downe a truce for fortie dayes; keeping alwayes vnknowne to the *Venetians* the true occaſion; to whoſe Embaſſadour the Cardinall aſſured by great oathes, that his King would continue in the confederation he had with them; wherein alſo the Embaſſadour of the King of *Aragon* followed the Cardinall, rather not denying then granting; for that albeit that King had bene the firſt mouer of theſe conferences betweene the Emperour and the *French* King, yet they had bin continued afterwards without him, both the one and the other of them perſwading themſelues that the proſperitie of the *French* King would be hurtfull to them; and as touching the gouernment of *Caſtile*, all greatnes of *Caſar* was held ſuſpected, and therfore his thoughts in that action were not conformable to his words. At *Cambray* things were reſolued in very few dayes, without communicating with the Embaſſadour of the King Catholike, till after the concluſion,

which the tenth day of December was ſolemnly confirmed in the great Church, with the oathes of Ladie *Margaret*, the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, and the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour: and nothing elſe was publiſhed, but that there was eſtabliſhed betweene the Pope and either of thoſe Princes a perpetuall peace and confederation. But in Articles more ſecret, were contained matters of right great importance, which being full of ambition, and wholly contrary to the couenants which *Cæſar* and the *French* King had with the *Venetians*, were couered with a preamble full of great pietie and affection to religion, as though the diuerſitie of words were ſufficient to alter and change the effects of things. It was expreſſed in that preamble, That, for a common deſire to begin a warre againſt the enemies of the name of Chriſt, and the impediments which the *Venetians* had giuen, occupying ambitiouſly the lands of the Church, which now they meant to remoue, to the end to proceed with better conſent and agreement to ſo holy and neceſſary an expedition; and by the perſwaſions and counſels of the Pope, the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* as his Procurer, and with his authoritie, and as deputed and authoriſed by the *French* King: and by the perſonall ſolicitation of Ladie *Margaret*, aſſigned and authoriſed by the Emperour, and as gouerneſſe to the Archduke and the Eſtates of *Flanders*: and by the conſent of the Embaſſadour of the King of *Aragon* as fully appointed by his King; they were reſolued to make warre vpon the *Venetians*, euery one in his owne right, to recouer the things they had vſurped vpon them; which for the Pope were *Faenza*, *Rimini*, *Rauenna* and *Ceruia*: for the Emperour, *Padua*, *Vincenſa* and *Verona*, appertaining to him in the name of the Empire; and *Friul* and *Treuiſan*, being parcell of the inheritance of the houſe of *Auſtria*: for the *French* King were *Cremona*, *Guiaradadda*, *Breſſe*, *Bergama* and *Crema*: and for the regard of the King of *Aragon*, were the townes and hauens which had bene morgaged by *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*: That the *French* King ſhould go to the warre in perſon, and begin it the firſt day of the next Aprill, at what time alſo the Pope and the King Catholike ſhould enter into the action: That to the end the Emperour might haue iuſt cauſe not to obſerue the truce that was made, the Pope ſhould demand ſuccours of him as of the protector of the Church; and that after that, the Emperour ſhould ſend to him at the leaſt a Captaine, and ſhould be bound fortie dayes after the *French* King had begun the warre, to inuade the Eſtates of the *Venetians* in perſon: That which ſoeuer of them ſhould recouer that which appertained to himſelfe, ſhould be bound to miniſter aide to the others, till they had made a full and ſufficient recouerie: That they ſhould be all bound to defend one another, in caſe the *Venetians* offered to oppreſſe them for any places that were recouered, and that none of them in particular ſhould compound with the *Venetians* without a common conſent: That the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, and whoſoeuer elſe pretended that the *Venetians* vſurped any place of theirs, had libertie to be named in the league within three moneths; and being once named, to enioy all the benefites of the confederation in as full maner as the principals of the ſame, communicating the fulneſſe of authoritie for the recouering of thoſe things that they had loſt: That the Pope ſhould ſummon the *Venetians* vnder great paines and curſes, to make reſtitution of ſuch things as they occupied of the Church: That he ſhould be iudge betweene *Blanch Maria* the Emperours wife, and the Duke of *Ferrara*, in a contention touching the inheritance and ſucceſſion of *Anna* her ſiſter, and ſometimes wife to the ſaid Duke: That *Cæſar* ſhould inueſt the *French* King in the Duchie of *Millan*, for himſelfe, *Francis de Angouleſme*, and their iſſue males; for which inueſtiture the *French* King ſhould pay to him an hundred thouſand duckats: That *Cæſar* and the Archduke ſhould not, during the warre, and ſix moneths after, make any enterpriſe againſt the King Catholike in reſpect of the gouernment and titles of the realmes of *Caſtile*: That the Pope ſhould exhort the King of *Hungarie* to enter into this confederation: That euery one ſhould name within foure moneths, his confederates and adherents, excepting expreſly to comprehend the *Venetians*, nor the ſubiects or freeholders of any of the confederates; and that euery principall partie in the contract, ſhould ratifie all theſe articles within threeſcore dayes next following. To this vniuerſall league was adioyned the particular accord betweene the Archduke and the Duke of *Gueldres*, wherein was agreed, that reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe townes that were taken from the Archduke in this warre, but not in like ſort of ſuch as were taken from the Duke.

This new confederation being in this ſort concluded (and all things that concerned the *Venetians* kept as ſecret as might be,) the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* departed the day following from *Cambray*, the Biſhop of *Paris* and *Albert Pio* Earle of *Carpi* being firſt ſent to the Emperour to receiue

receiue his ratification in the name of the *French* King, who without any delay confirmed all the articles by oath, and with the ſame forme of ſolemnitie wherewith it was publiſhed in the Church of *Cambray*. It is moſt certaine (albeit the words of the publication imported, that the authoritie of the Pope and King of *Aragon* did communicate in it) that this confederation was made without their commiſſion or conſent: an action which *Ceſar* and the *French* King perſwaded themſelues they would conſent vnto, partly in regard of their proper profit, and partly for that in reſpect of the preſent eſtate of things, neither of them both durſt gainſay their authoritie, and particularly the King of *Aragon*; to whom albeit this capitulation was diſpleaſing, for that fearing leſt the greatneſſe of the *French* King would increaſe too much, he preferred the ſuretie of the whole kingdome of *Naples* afore the recouering of one part which was holden by the *Venetians*: yet, expreſſing cunningly a readineſſe and inclination contrary to the intentions of his mind, he made preſent ratification with the ſame ceremonies. But the Pope was farre more full of doubting, ſtriuing in him (according to his cuſtome) a deſire on the one ſide to recouer the townes of *Romagna*, ioyned to a diſdaine againſt the *Venetians*; and on the other ſide a troubleſome feare of the greatneſſe of the *French* King: beſides that he deemed it would be dangerous for him that the power of *Ceſar* ſhould begin to ſtretch farre in *Italy*; and therfore iudging it more for his profite to obtaine by accord part of that he deſired, then to recouer the whole by warre, he laboured to induce the *Venetians* to render to him *Rimini* and *Faenza*; admoniſhing them, that the dangers which threatned them by the vnion of ſo many Princes, would be farre more great, if he were concurrent with them in the confederation; for that he could not refuſe to purſue them with armes ſpirituall and temporall: whereas if they rendered the townes which they had taken from the Church ſince he was Pope, by which meanes he ſhould make a ioynt recouerie both of his honour and eſtates, he ſhould haue iuſt occaſion not to ratifie that which had bene done in his name but without his conſent: and that this confederation, without the Pontificall authoritie, would eaſily vaniſh, hauing in it ſelfe many difficulties: and that they ſhould not doubt but that he would do his endeuour, both by his authoritie and induſtrie, at leaſt to repreſſe in *Italy* the power of ſtrangers, which brought no leſſe perill to the ſea Apoſtolike, then to their State. Vpon this demand, the Senate aſſembled many times, ſome iudging it a thing of great importance, to ſeparate the Pope from *Ceſar* and the *French* King, and others thought it an action vnworthy, and not ſufficient to turne away the warre. At laſt, the opinion of ſuch as gaue the beſt counſell had carried it, had not *Dominicke Treuiſan*, a Senator of great authoritie, and one of the Procurers of the rich Temple of *S. Marke* (an honor next to the dignitie of the Duke, of higheſt reſpect and reputation in the Commonweale of *Venice*) ſtood vp and counſelled the contrary: who with reaſons full of efficacie and authoritie, laboured to perſwade that it was an action contrary to the dignitie and profite of that renowmed and great Commonweale, to reſtore thoſe townes which the Pope required; for the coniunction or ſeparation of whom from the other Confederates, the eſtate of their dangers would neither much increaſe or diminiſh. For, albeit in the negociation of the accord they had vſed the Popes name, perhaps to make their cauſe ſeeme leſſe diſhoneſt, yet in effect they had agreed without him, and therefore in that reſpect they would not become the more ſlow or remiſſe in the execution of the things they had concluded: That on the contrary, the armes of the Pope were not of that valour and importance, as to be bought at ſo great a price; ſeeing that albeit they ſhould be aſſailed at one ſelfe time by the others, yet they might eaſily with a very ſlender garriſon defend thoſe Cities; which the regiments of the Church (according to the common prouerbe, the very diſhonour of ſouldiers) were not ſufficient to take of themſelues, nor import much as touching the ſubſtance of the warre: And that in the ſtirres and heates of temporall armes, men did litle reſpect either the reuerence or threatnings of armes ſpiritual, which they ought neither to feare, nor eſteeme them to be more able to hurt them in that war, then they had done in many others, namely in the expedition againſt *Ferrara*; in which the armes of the Church could not hinder them from obtaining a peace honourable for them, and infamous for the reſidue of *Italy*, which with one vniuerſall accord, and in a time wherein it flouriſhed moſt with riches, armes, and valour, was banded wholly againſt them. And iuſtly, for that it was not likely that the omnipotent God would ſuffer that the effects of his ſeueritie and of his mercie, of his anger and of his peace, ſhould be in the power of a man moſt ambitious and proud, ſubiect to wine and many other diſhoneſt pleaſures, who would vſe them as he ſhould be prouoked by his couetouſ-

Deliberation of the Venetians.

neſſe, and not by the conſideration of iuſtice, or the benefite of Chriſtendome. Beſides that he ſaw not by what reaſon they might hope for a greater conſtancie of faith in this Pope then in others; nor how they might be aſſured, that the Pope hauing obtained *Faenza* and *Rimini*, would not ioyne with the reſidue to recouer *Rauenna* and *Cerua*, but that he would haue no more regard to faith giuen, then agreed with the cuſtome of other Popes; who, to giue a colour of iuſtice to thoſe things they did, had decreed amongſt their other lawes, that the Church, notwithſtanding all contract, promiſe and benefites receiued, might retract and directly impugne any bonds or obligations which the ſelfe Prelates had made: That the confederation betweene *Maximilian* and the *French* King had bene made with a great vehemencie of diſpoſition, but the wils and intentions of the other Confederates did vary and differ; for the King Catholike was brought in againſt his will; and touching the Pope, the ſignes of his accuſtomed doubts and ſuſpitions do manifeſtly appeare in him: And therefore the league of *Cambray* was no more to be feared, then the confederacie which the ſame *Maximilian* and King *Lewis* had with the ſame importunitie treated afore at *Trent*, and afterward at *Blois*: for that many difficulties, which for their nature it was almoſt impoſſible to remoue, did reſiſt the execution of the things determined: That for this reaſon it concerned the Senate principally to deuiſe meanes to ſeparate *Caſar* from ſuch a coniunction: a matter of eaſie hope and expectation, in reſpect of his nature and neceſſities, and for his ancient hatred againſt the *French*: And *Maximilian* being once deuided from it, the whole feare of the warre was taken away, for that the *French* king ſtanding abandoned of his ſuccours, durſt no more aſſaile them then he had done in times paſt: That in all publike actions, the beginnings ought diligently to be conſidered; ſince afterwards it is not in the power of men, without great diſhonour and danger to depart from their firſt deliberations, wherein they had long perſeuered: That as their elders, ſo they by ſucceſſion, had bene alwayes carefull in all occaſions to augment their dominion, with an open profeſſion to aſpire dayly to greater things: a matter which made them hatefull to all men, partly for feare, and partly for griefe for that they had taken from them: and albeit it was perceiued long time before, that that hatred might ingender ſome great alteration, yet they had not for all that forborne to embrace the occaſions that had bene offered them; and that it was not now a remedie to the dangers preſent, to begin to leaue a part of that they did poſſeſſe, ſince that would rather kindle then quench the humors of thoſe that hated them, who would take courage by their fearfulneſſe: And ſeeing it hath bene an old Maxime throughout all *Italy*, that the *Venetians* neuer forſooke things that once were fallen into their hands, who ſees not, that now ſo cowardly to do the contrary, ſhould proceed of a laſt deſpaire to be able to defend themſelues from the perils imminent? That whenſoeuer men began to giue place, and leaue any thing how litle ſoeuer, the reputation and ancient honour of Commonweales began to decline; which being done, that dangers would greatly increaſe: and that it is without compariſon farre more hard to him that hath begun to decline, to conſerue againſt the leaſt perils that be, that which remaines, then vnto him, who ſtriuing to keepe his dignitie and degree, conuerts his force readily (without making any ſhew of yeelding) againſt him that ſeekes to oppreſſe him: That it was neceſſary thē, either to reiect valiantly thoſe firſt demands, or in yeelding to thē, to look to yeeld to many more, by which in ſhort time is to be expected the abſolute ſubuerſion of their Eſtate, and by conſequent the irreparable loſſe of their proper libertie: That their Commonweale, both in the times of their fathers, and in their days, had borne out many great warres againſt the Princes of Chriſtendom, of which they had caried a glorious iſſue, for ỳ they had always ſhewed themſelues conſtant and reſolute: That they ought in the preſent difficulties, notwithſtanding they ſhould ſeeme greater, to expect no worſe ſucceſſe, for that both their power and authoritie were greater; and in warres managed in common by many Princes againſt one alone, the terrors are wont to be more then the effects; for that the firſt furie is ſoone abated, and diuerſitie of opinion ſpringing vp among them, breedeth diſtruſt: That the Senate was to hope, that beſides the preparations and remedies which of their owne power they were able to furniſh, God the moſt ſoueraigne and righteous Iudge, would not leaue abandoned a Commonweale bred and nouriſhed in a perpetuall libertie, and which was the ornament and ſplendor of all *Europe*; and much leſſe would ſuffer to be oppreſſed by the ambition of Princes (vnder a falſe colour to prepare warre againſt the Infidels) that Citie, which in ſo great pietie and religion, had bene for many yeares the very defence and bulwarke of all Chriſtendome. The words of *Dominicke Treuiſan*

uiſan ſo wrought in the minds of the moſt part, that (as ſome yeares before it was in a maner fatall in that Senate) the worſt counſell preuailed, contrary to the opinions of many Senators of greateſt wiſedome and authoritie. Therefore the Pope, who had deferred the ratification till the laſt day, ratified the league, but vnder this expreſſe declaration, that he would not enter into any action of an enemie againſt the *Venetians*, vntill the *French* King had begun the warre. *The Pope ratifieth the treaty of Cambray.*

Thus the yeare 1508 ended with many ſeeds of great warres, at which time the affaires of the *Piſans* were brought into hard termes, and did daily diuolue into greater ſtraits. For, beſides that the *Florentines* the Sommer before, had cut downe their corne, and with their men at armes made continuall incurſions vpon the townes adioyning, euen to the gates of *Piſa*; the better to cut off all paſſage of victuals by ſea, they entertained into their pay the ſonne of *Bardel* of *Portouenere* with certaine ſhips: by which impediment, the *Piſans* ſtanding as it were beſieged both by ſea and land, and not able by reaſon of their pouertie to refurniſh themſelues either with veſſels or forrein ſouldiers, found themſelues in great deſpaire to hold out any longer, being very weakly ſuccoured by their neighbours: for which things the *Genowayes* and *Lucquoys* being moued, determined to conuey into *Piſa* certaine quantities of corne; the which being fraughted in a great number of barks, and accompanied with two ſhips of *Genes*, and two gallions, was tranſported into *Spetia*, and from thence to *Vioreggia*, to the end it might be conueyed into *Piſa* with fourteene brigantines, and certaine ſmall barks, according to the direction of the *Piſans*. But the *Florentines* ſeeking to oppoſe againſt this enterpriſe, as a matter wherein conſiſted their hope or deſpaire to get *Piſa* that yeare, they ioyned to the nauie they had alreadie, a ſhip of *England*, riding by chance in the roade of *Liuorne*, with certaine other foiſts and brigantines. And to helpe the nauie at ſea as much as they could with the preparations made by land, they ſent all the horſemen, with a great number of footmen which were haſtily leuied in the countrey, along all thoſe paſſages and ſhores by the which the nauie of the enemie might runne the courſe of *Piſa*, either by the mouth of *Arne*, or the riuer called the dead floud entring into *Arne*. The enemies arriued at the mouth of *Arne*, and the *Florentine* veſſels lying betweene that mouth and the dead riuer, and the land-men commanding all the apt places, had planted their artilleries as well on this ſide as beyond the brinke of the riuer by the which they ſhould paſſe: in ſo much as they ſeeing no poſſibilitie to paſſe further, retired into the riuer of *Genes*, with the loſſe of three brigantines laden with wheate. By reaſon of which ſucceſſe, the victory ſeeming almoſt certaine for the want of victuals, the *Florentines* to take away all oportunities for victuals to enter by the riuer, made a bridge of wood vpon *Arne*, which they fortified with baſtions on the bankes on both ſides: and at the ſame time, to depriue them of the ſuccour of their neighbours, they compounded with them of *Lucques*. For, hauing afore time, to repreſſe their inſolencies, ſent part of their footbands that were within *Caſcina*, to ſacke the hauen of *Vioregge* and the ſtore-houſes, wherein were many ſorts of ſilkes belonging to the merchants of *Lucques*, the inhabitants of *Lucques* being hereby terrified, ſent Embaſſadours to *Florence*, where at laſt it was accorded, That betweene both thoſe Commonweales, there ſhould be a confederation defenſiue for three yeares, the *Lucquois* being expreſly excluded from all power any more to ſiccour the *Piſans*. This confederation to be continued for twelue yeares further, if the *Florentines* ſhould recouer *Piſa* within a yeare: and that during the terme of this league, the *Florentines* (alway referuing the prerogatiue of their rights) ſhould not moleſt the eſtate of *Lucques*, touching the poſſeſſion of *Pietraſancta* and *Mutron*. But that which was of greateſt importance to make eaſie the conqueſt of *Piſa*, was the capitulation which they made with the Kings of *Aragon* and *France*, which being ſolicited many moneths, had ſuffered many difficulties; the *Florentines*, by the experience of things paſt, fearing leſt it ſhould be a meanes to draw from them a great quantitie of money, and yet the affaires of *Piſa* to continue in the ſame degree: and on the other part, the *French* King interpreting that they deferred cunningly, in hope that the *Piſans* would make a willing reſtitution, their extremities being now well knowne to all men, and being vnwilling that they ſhould recouer it, vnleſſe he did communicate in the price, he commanded *Bardel* his ſubiect to leaue their pay, and to *Monſieur de Chaumont* to diſpatch from *Millan* ſixe hundred Lances for the ſuccours of the *Piſans*: by which occaſion all doubts and difficulties ceaſſing, they agreed in this maner: That the *French* King and ſ King of *Aragon* ſhould giue no aide or ſupport to the *Piſans*, and ſhould forbid, that from no places of their ſubiection and obedience, nor likewiſe from any their confederates or others vnder their protection, ſhould enter into *A continuation of the warres of Piſa.* *Contract betweene the French King, king of Spaine and the Florentines.*

into *Piſa* any ſuccors of victuals, money, munition or men, or any other nature of reliefe whatſoeuer: That the *Florentines* if they recouered *Piſa* within a yeare following, ſhould pay to either of them within a certaine time fiftie thouſand duckats: And that there ſhould continue between them a league for three yeares, from the day that they recouered *Piſa*: in conſideration of which league the *Florentines* ſhould be bound to defend with three hundred men at armes the Eſtates that they held in *Italy*, receiuing in like ſort for their defence, of either of them a proportion of three hundred men at armes at the leaſt. To this capitulation made in common, it was neceſſary for the *Florentines* to adde (without the priuitie of the King Catholike) new bonds to pay to the *French* King vnder the ſame conditions and termes, fiftie thouſand duckats more, promiſing withall fiue and twentie thouſand to the officers of both the Kings, of which the greateſt portion was to be diſtributed at the diſcretion of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*. Theſe couenants albeit they were very coſtly to the *Florentines*, yet, in the opinion of men, they brought greater infamy to both the Kings: the one for money abandoning that Citie which many times he had aſſured to be in his protection, and which (as was afterward well knowne) had willingly offered themſelues to him, the Great Captaine accepting them in his name: and the other contrary to the reputation of ſo many promiſes made to the *Florentines*, either ſelling for a vile price & iuſt libertie of the *Piſans*, or conſtraining the *Florentines* to buy of him libertie and ſufferance to recouer that which iuſtly appertained to them: ſo mightie now adayes is the force of gold and ſiluer, aboue the regard to honeſtie. But the affaires of the *Piſans*, vpon whom all *Italy* was wont afore to turne their eyes, were now of ſlender conſideration, for that the minds of men depended on the expectation of greater things. For, after the league of *Cambray* was ratified by all the Confederates, the *French* King began to make great preparations: and albeit he vſed not as yet any proteſtations or threats of warre, yet matters being no longer able to be diſſembled, the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* in the preſence of the whole Councell, complained with vehement words to the Embaſſadour of *Venice*, that that Senate, deſpiſing the alliance and amitie of the King, cauſed to fortifie the Abbey of *Cerreta* in the territorie of *Crema*, wherein had bene of old time a Caſtle, which was razed by the capitulations of peace made in the yeare 1454, betweene the *Venetians* and *Francis Sforce* then Duke of *Millan*, with couenant that the *Venetians* ſhould neuer make any fortreſſe there: to the capitulations of which peace, was referred in this and many other things, the peace made betweene them and the King. But now the King being within few dayes after come to *Lions*, his regiments marched towards the mounts, and ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers* entertained by him, prepared to deſcend at the ſame time into *Italy*: and making vſe as well of the forces of others as of his owne, he obtained of the *Genoways* foure Carricks, and of the *Florentines* fiftie thouſand duckats, being his moytie which they ſhould pay vpon the conqueſt of *Piſa*: and thoſe of the Duchie of *Millan* (deſirous to repoſſeſſe the townes which the *Venetians* held) gaue him an hundred thouſand duckats; and many Gentlemen alſo & free-holders of that State, furniſhed themſelues with horſes and armes, to accompanie the King with a braue traine.

The French king prepareth againſt the Venetians.

The Venetians looke to themſelues.

On the other ſide, the *Venetians* prepared with a reſolute courage to receiue and ſuſtaine ſo great a warre, labouring with money, with authoritie, and with the whole might of their Seignorie to leuie prouiſions worthy of ſo great a Commonweale: wherein they were ſo much the more diligent, by how much it ſeemed likely, that if they ſuſtained the firſt brunt or furie, the league of theſe Princes, ſo ill compoſed, would eaſily decline or diſſolue. In which actions (to the great glorie of that Senate) was ſeene as great courage in thoſe that afore had counſelled in vain to gouerne their good fortune modeſtly, as in thoſe which had bene authors of the contrary: for that preferring publike ſafetie afore priuate ambition, they ſought not to increaſe their authoritie, but in reprouing the ill counſels of others, looked after remedies againſt the perils hapned by their indiſcretion. And yet conſidering that almoſt all the regions of Chriſtendome were banded againſt them, they employed all their wits to breake ſo great a league, repenting now that they had ſo lightly reiected the occaſion to deuide the Pope from the reſt, ſpecially for the hope they had that he would not haue ſtirred, if onely they had made reſtitution of *Faenza*. Therefore they renewed with him the firſt negociation, and withall diſpatched meſſengers to *Ceſar* and the King Catholike; forbearing to make any practiſe with the *French* King, either for hatred, or for that they had no hope to preuaile with him. But the Pope had no power now to accept that which he deſired afore: and the King Catholike, though haply he had no want of will, yet was he vnable to diſſwade the reſidue: and *Ceſar* poſſeſſed with vnmeaſurable hatred

againſt

againſt the *Venetian* name, would not only not agree, but alſo diſdained to heare their offers, refuſing to ſee *Iohn Peter Stella* their Secretarie, whom they had ſent to him with very large commiſſions. All their thoughts then being diſpoſed to defend themſelues by armes, they entertained from all parts a great number of horſemen and footmen, and armed many veſſels to guard the ſhores of *Romagna* and the townes of *Powilla*, and to thruſt into the lake of *Guarda*, and riuer of *Po*, with other neighbouring places, by the which they feared to be moleſted by the Duke of *Ferrara* and Marquis of *Mantua*. But beſides the threats of men, they were troubled and aſtoniſhed with many aduentures that happened, either fatall or accidentall: for, a ſmall barke which they had ſent to tranſport money to *Rauenna*, was drowned with ten thouſand duckats: the Caſtle of *Breſſe* was ſtriken with a thunderbolt: and the houſe where lay the Charters of their Commonweale, called the *Archiuio*, fell ſuddenly to the ground with a wonderfull ruine. But that which moſt filled them with feare and perplexitie, was, that at the ſame time, and in the very houre that the great Councell aſſembled, a fire kindled, either by chance, or by ſome ſecret treaſon, in their ſtore-houſe called the *Arſenall*, in the roome where was their ſaltpeter, which burſt out with ſuch furie, that notwithſtanding the concourſe of men labouring with an vniuerſall diligence to quench it, yet, what by the force of the wind, and nature of the matter, proper to nourith and increaſe fire, it conſumed to aſhes twelue bodies of gallies, with a wonderfull quantitie of munitions. This alſo was added to their difficulties, that hauing entertained *Iulio* and *Ranſe Vrſins*, and *Troilo Sauello* with fiue hundred men at armes and three thouſand footmen, the Pope with ſeuere commandements (as being ſubiects of the Church) compelled them not to depart out of the towne of *Rome*, perſwading them to retaine ſtill the fifteene thouſand duckats which they had receiued in preſt for their payes, with promiſe to abate ſo much of the debts which the *Venetians* ought to the ſea Apoſtolike, for the fruites which they had receiued of the townes of *Romagna*. The chiefe care of the *Venetians* was to prepare and make themſelues ſtrong on that ſide by the which the *French* King was to make his enterpriſe, but they heard not of him either ſo ſoone as they expected, or ſo mightily as the opinion went: for that from the King of *Aragon*, notwithſtanding he had made great promiſes to the other Confederates, appeared only bruites and demonſtrations, according to his cuſtome, making no preparation of any conſequence. And *Ceſar* being gone into *Flanders* to induce the ſubiects of his ſonne in law to make ſome contribution of money, it was beleeued that he could not begin the warre ſo ſoone as he had promiſed. Beſides, it was ſuppoſed that the Pope hoping more in the victorie of others, then in his owne ſtrength, would be gouerned according to the proceedings of the Confederates. It was not doubted that the *French* King would make his firſt action vpon *Guiaradadda*, paſſing the riuer of *Adda* neare *Caſcina*, and therefore the *Venetian* armie aſſembled at *Pontuico* vpon the riuer of *Oglia*, the Count *Petillane* being their Generall, and *Bartlemew Aluiano* gouernour; and Commiſſioners in the name of the Senate, *George Cornaro* and *Andrew Gritti*, renowmed Gentlemen, and very honourable, as well for their ordinary qualities, as for the glorie they had gotten the yeare before, the one returning victorious from *Friul*, and the other for expulſing the *Almaines* from *Rouera*: who debating among themſelues in what ſort the warre ſhould be managed, the opinions were diuers, not onely in generall, but alſo particularly betweene the Generall and the Gouernour: for, *Aluiano* being of a mind ſtirring, and made proud by his fortunes of the yeare before, apt to embrace occaſions, and of a wonderfull celeritie both to conſult and execute, perſwaded, that to plant rather the bodie of the warre in the countrey of the enemie, then to expect till it were transferred to their territories, it were good to make an inuaſion vpon the Duchie of *Millan* before the *French* paſſed into *Italy*. But the Count *Petillane*, either for that the reſolution of his mind was abated by age (as *Aluiano* ſaid,) or by his long experience, conſidering with a deeper diſcretion the dangers that might happen, and not willing to tempt fortune without a manifeſt hope of victorie, gaue this counſell, that deſpiſing the loſſe of the townes of *Guiaradadda*, which imported not much for the effect of the warre, the armie might incampe neare the towne of *Orci*, according to the examples of *Francis Carmignole* and *Iames Piccinin*, famous Captaines of their time; alledging that the place was ſtrong, hauing his ſituation betweene the riuers of *Oglia* and *Seria*, and of ſingular oportunitie to ſuccour all the townes of the iuriſdiction of *Venice*; for that if the *French* men charged them in ſuch a place, they need not doubt of an aſſured victorie, the oportunitie of the place miniſtring much to the action: and if they incamped at *Cremona*, at *Crema*, at *Bergama*, or at *Breſſe*, they might (for the de-

defence of thoſe cities) draw neare with the armie into a place of ſuretie, and with ſo great a number of light horſemen and eſtradiots, cut off their victuals and other commodities, which would let them for taking any place of importance; and by this meanes, without putting themſelues in the power of fortune, the ſtate of *Venice* might be eaſily defended againſt ſo mightie a preparation of the *French* King. Of theſe counſels, neither the one nor the other was approued of the Senate: that of *Aluiano* as too aduenturous and raſh, and that of the Generall as too fearfull, and without conſideration of the dangers preſent. For the Senate could haue bene contented, according to the ancient cuſtome of that Commonweale, that they had proceeded ſurely, and aduentured as litle as they could: but they conſidered on the other ſide, that if at the ſame time when almoſt all their forces were occupied to make head againſt the *French* king, *Ceſar* ſhould make any mightie inuaſion vpon their Eſtate, with what armies, with what Captaines, or with what bands of ſouldiers they could oppoſe againſt him. In which regard, that way which of it ſelfe ſeemed moſt ſure and moſt certaine, remained the moſt vncertaine and moſt dangerous: and therefore, as it often hapneth in contrary opinions, they made election of the meane, determining to draw the armie neare the riuer of *Adda*, not to leaue *Guiaradadda* in prey, to the enemies, but with expreſſe commandement from the Senate, not to come to hand ſtrokes with the enemie without a great hope, or vrgent neceſſitie. But farre otherwiſe was the reſolution of the *French* King, who deſired to find out the enemie, and giue him battell: and coming accompanied with the Duke of *Loraine* and all the Nobilitie of *France*, ſent his Herald *Montioy* (as ſoone as he was paſſed the Mounts) to denounce warre to the Senate of *Venice*, charging him to make publication to the Magiſtrates of *Venice*, as he paſſed by *Cremona*, to the end the Senate might the rather take ſignification. And albeit, all his armie being not yet aſſembled, he had determined to do nothing till he were arriued in perſon at *Caſcina*; yet, either to ſatisfie the Pope, who complained that the time ſet downe in the capitulation was paſſed; or elſe to haſten the time for *Ceſar*, who was bound to enter into the warre fortie dayes after the *French* King had begun, he changed his firſt reſolution, and commanded *Monſieur de Chaumont* to begin the warre: at which time the regiments of the *Venetians* expecting their full aſſemblies, were not yet departed from *Pontuico*.

Beginning of the warre.

The firſt beginning to ſo great a warre was made the fifteenth day of Aprill 1509, vpon which day *Monſieur de Chaumont* with three thouſand horſemen paſſed the foord of *Adda* neare *Caſcina*, conueying by boates ſixe thouſand footmen, and the artilleries: from thence he marched to the towne of *Treuie*, which is within three miles of *Caſcina*, wherein were *Iuſtinian Moroſin* gouernour of the *Venetian* eſtradiots, and *Vitelli de citta de Caſtello*, with *Vincent de Naldo*, who diſpoſed of the footmen which were to be diſtributed amongſt the townes thereabouts, who beleeuing that thoſe *French* bands which lay diſperſed in many places in the countrey, were not men appointed to aſſaile the towne, but to make incurſions into the countrey, ſent out two hundred footmen with certaine eſtradiots, with whom part of the *French* footmen entertaining the skirmiſh, followed the chaſe euen to the fortreſſe of the gate; and the reſt following a litle after, and the artillerie being planted, as they had began to batter the defences with certaine Falconets, either the cowardiſe of the Captaines, being aſtoniſhed with ſo ſudden and vnexpected an aſſault, or the mutinie of the multitudes in the towne, conſtrained them to yeeld wholly to the diſcretion of *Monſieur de Chaumont*, to whom in this firſt fortune were made priſoners *Iuſtinian*, *Vitelli*, and *Vincent*, and many others; with an hundred light horſemen and a thouſand footmen, almoſt all of the vale *de Mona*; onely two hundred eſtradiots ſaued themſelues by flying. After this good beginning *Monſieur de Chaumont*, conquering alſo certaine places adioyning, repaſſed with all his people ouer the riuer of *Adda*. The ſame day the Marquis of *Mantua*, to whom the King had committed an hundred Lances, ranne vp to *Caſalmaior*, which without any reſiſtance was rendered to him by the inhabitants, together with *Lewis Bonne*, magiſtrate for the *Venetians*. The ſame day in like ſort *Roccabertin* with an hundred and fiftie Lances and three thouſand footmen, paſſing ouer vpon a bridge made of boates where *Adda* entreth into *Po*, made roads vpon the townes of *Cremona*, as did alſo in another part of the ſame countrey the ſouldiers of the garriſon of *Lodi*, building a bridge vpon *Adda*: and all the paiſants of the mountaine of *Brianſa* made incurſions euen to *Bergama*, ioyning to ſo common a fauour of fortune, an vniuerſall readineſſe and reſolution of mind. The which aſſault performed in one day in fiue ſeuerall places, the enemies preſenting no reſiſtance, bare more bruite then matter of effect,

fect, both for that *Monſieur de Chaumont* retired immediatly to *Millan* to abide the Kings comming, & alſo the Marquis of *Mantua*, who after the enterpriſe of *Caſalmaior* had executed a vaine attempt vpon *Aſola*, abandoned *Caſalmaior*, hearing that *Aluiano* was paſſed ouer the riuer of *Oglio* at *Pontmolaro*. The Pope ſeeing ſuch a beginning giuen to the warre, ſuddenly publiſhed in forme of admonition a horrible Bull, wherein were declared all the vſurpations made by the *Venetians* vpon the townes appertaining to the ſea Apoſtolike, & the authoritie which they had attributed to themſelues, to the preiudice of the Eccleſiaſtike libertie and iuriſdiction of Popes, both in diſpoſing Biſhopricks and other benefices vacant, in handling ſpirituall cauſes in ſecular Courts, and other matters belonging to the iudgement of the Church, and all other diſobediences paſt. Beſides theſe declarations, it was not forgotten, that not long ſince, to trouble *Bologna* to the preiudice of the Church, they had called to *Faenza* the *Bentiuoleis*, who were rebels to the Church, & ſubiect as well as thoſe that receiued thē, to great cenſures: and he admoniſhed them to make reſtitution within foure and twentie dayes next following, of all thoſe townes of the Church which they occupied, with all the fruites they had receiued ſince the time of their poſſeſſion, vnder paine (in caſe of diſobedience) that not only the Citie of *Venice*, and all the towns of their obedience, but alſo all ſuch, as being not ſubiects to their iuriſdiction, ſhould receiue any of the *Venetians*, ſhould incurre the cenſures and interdictions; declaring them attainted of high treaſon, and accounted as perpetuall enemies to all Chriſtians, to whom he gaue power to take their goods where they were found, and to make their perſons ſlaues. Againſt this Bull, not many dayes after, was brought into the towne of *Rome*, by men vnknowne, a writing in the name of the Duke and Magiſtrates of *Venice*, wherein, after a long and bitter narration againſt the Pope and the *French* King, was expreſſed an appeale from the admonition to the next Councell, and for want of humane iuſtice, to the tribunall of Ieſus Chriſt the moſt righteous and ſoueraigne Iudge. At this time temporall threats being ioyned to the ſpirituall admonition, the Herald *Montioy* arriued at *Venice*, who being brought afore the preſence of the Duke and Senate, denounced in the name of the *French* King, the warre already begun, charging them to haue giuen many occaſions more apparent then true or iuſt. To which propoſition the Duke, after ſome conſulting with the Senate, anſwered in few words, That ſince the King his maiſter was determined to make warre vpon them, in a time when they hoped moſt for the obſeruation of the alliance which they had neuer violated, and for not breaking of it, had made *Caſar* their enemie, they would ſtand vpon their defence, which they hoped to be able to do with their forces, accompanied with the iuſtice of their cauſe. This anſwer ſeemed more to reſemble the dignitie of their Commonweale, then if they had vſed iuſtifications and complaints, to one that had already aſſailed them with armes. But when the *Venetian* armie was aſſembled at *Pontuico*, wherein were two thouſand men at armes, three thouſand light horſemen and eſtradiots, fifteene thouſand footmen choſen out of all *Italy*, and indeed the very flower of the ſouldiers of *Italy*, no leſſe for the valour of the footmen, then for the experience of the leaders, and fifteene thouſand other footmen of choiſe, of the appointment of their countreys, accompanied with great quantities of artillerie, they marched to *Fontenella*, a towne within ſixe miles of *Lodi*, a retraite very commodious to ſuccour *Cremona*, *Crema*, *Caruage*, and *Bergama*: where iudging that they had a good occaſion, for the retraite of *Monſieur de Chaumont* beyond *Adda*, to recouer *Treuie*, the Kings armie withall being not yet aſſembled, they tooke the fields, following the deliberation of the Senate, but againſt the counſell of *Aluiano*, (as he himſelfe aſſured afterward) who ſaid, they were counſels almoſt repugnant, to forbid to fight with the enemie, and yet to draw ſo neare them, ſeeing haply it might either not be in their power to retire, or if they did, it would be with ſuch diminution of their reputation as was hurtfull to the ſubſtance of the whole warre: in which regard, and as well for his particular honor, as for the common reſpect of the men of wat of *Italy*, he had rather chooſe to die, then giue his conſent to ſo great an infamie. The firſt towne the armie tooke was *Riuolte*, where the *French* had left no garriſon, and hauing put into it fiftie horſe and three hundred footmen, they drew neare to *Treuie*, a towne very neare the riuer of *Adda*, hauing his ſituation ſomewhat eminent, and wherein *Monſieur de Chaumont* had left fiftie Lances and a thouſand footmen, vnder Captaine *Imbault*, *Frontalle Gaſcon*, and the White Knight. The artilleries were planted on that ſide to *Caſcina*, where the wall was weakeſt, and making great execution, ſuch as were within yeelded the day following, the ſouldiers ſaued, but without armes, the Captaines remaining priſoners, and the towne wholly at the diſcretion of

The Popes Bull againſt the Venetians.

The Venetians armie.

the victors; which was presently put to the sacke, but with greater domage to the victors, then to those that were vanquished: for that the *French* King vnderstanding that the campe of the enemie was before *Treuie*, supposing that if that place should be lost almost in his sight, it would bring great diminution to his reputation, he aduanced his armie, and with a speed according to the necessitie of the perill, marched from *Millan* to rescue it; and arriuing the day after the execution of *Treuie* (which was the ninth day of May) at the riuer neare *Casena*, where were made before for the oportunitie of *Casena* without impediment, three bridges of barkes, he passed with his whole armie, his enemies making no countenance to resist him: all men maruelling that they idly lost so faire an occasion to set vpon the former part of his armie, which was passed: and *Triuulce*, when he saw the whole armie passe without resistance, crying to the *French* King, *This day, most Christian King, the victorie is ours.* Neuertheless it is certaine, that the *Venetian* Captaines both discerned the benefite of the occasion, and would haue vsed it, sauing it was not in their power, neither by authoritie, nor by petition, nor with threats, to draw out of *Treuie* the souldiers occupied in pillage and prey: in which disorder, *Aluiano*, when there was no other meanes, set the towne on fire to compell them to issue; but this remedie was too slow and late, for that the *French* with great ioy were already passed, scorning the cowardise and wretched counsell of the enemie.

The King encamped within litle more then a mile of the *Venetians*, who lay in a place somewhat raised, and bearing such strength as well by the oportunitie of his seate, as by the rampiers and trenches they had cast, that there was no possibilitie to set vpon them without manifest perill. But as they drew to deliberation in what maner they should proceed, many that were of the Kings Councell, and perswaded to expect a litle the descending of *Cæsar*, were of opinion that they should proceed slowly, for that in feates of armes the condition of him that expect to be assailed, being better then he that seekes to set on another, necessitie would compell the *Venetian* Captaines to offer battell, seeing they had no meanes to be able to defend their iurisdiction in so many places: a perswasion contrary to the opinion of the King, who desired nothing more then to fight in a place, whose situation was not aboue the valour of the champions; being moued hereunto either for feare that *Cæsar* would aduance too slowly, or else for that being there in person with all the forces of his kingdome, he had not onely great hope of the victorie, but also iudged it much to his dishonour, if he put not an end to the warre of himselfe without the aide of others: and on the contrary he iudged it a matter of great glorie, if by his power and vertue the residue of the confederates might come to communicate no lesse then himselfe in the reward of the victorie. On the other side, the Senate and Captaines of *Venice*, being not vnaduised in their counsels for any feare they had of *Cæsar*, determined not to put themselues into places equall both for themselues and their enemie, but shifting alwayes into places of strength, they sought at one time both to eschue the necessitie to fight, and to keepe the *French* King from doing any thing of importance. With these deliberations, neither of the armies made any mouing, but stood encamped a whole day the one in the face of the other: and although there were many skirmishes among the light horsemen, and that the *French* by aduancing their artillerie, sought occasion to fight, yet there was nothing else done. The day after, the King remoued towards *Riuolta*, to trie whether a desire to keepe that place would cause the *Italians* to moue: who, not stirring, to obtaine at the least a secret confession that they had no stomacke to accept the battell, the King stood foure long houres afore their lodgings with his whole army ranged in battell, the *Venetians* doing no other thing then moue and shew themselues in the front of the *French* men in good order, without abandoning their trench. At this time the artillerie being drawne by part of the Kings souldiers to the wals of *Riuolta*, the place was forced and taken in few houres, where the King lodged that night with all his armie, being not a litle troubled in his mind with the maner of proceeding of the enemies, whose counsels he praised so much the more, by how much they discontented him. But to draw them by necessitie to that whereunto they bare a will estranged, after he had remained a whole day at *Riuolta*, and set fire on the place afore he departed, he remoued his campe to lodge at *Vailo*, or at *Pandin* the night following, hoping by the oportunitie of these places easily to giue impediment to the victuals coming from *Cremona* and *Crema*, and by that meanes to put them in necessitie to leaue abandoned their lodgings, wherein they had remained to that houre. The *Venetian* Captaines saw what were the intentions of the King, and did not doubt that it would be necessarie to take a

The armies affront one another, and fight not.

place

place ſtrong and neare the enemie, to keepe them in the ſame difficulties and impediments: but the Count *Petillane* counſelled to deferre the mouing of the campe till the day following; notwithſtanding *Aluiano* made ſo great an inſtance to the contrary, alledging how neceſſarie it were to preuent them, that in the end it was agreed to remoue ſuddenly. There were two wayes to leade to the ſaid places, the one lower neare to the riuer of *Adda*, but more long and full of turnings; the other farther from the riuer, but more ſhort, and more ſtraight, the one making the ſtring, and the other the bow, as the ſaying runnes. The lower way was taken by the Kings armie, which contained more then two thouſand Lances, ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers*, and twelue thouſand *Gaſcoines* and *Italians*, well furniſhed with artillerie, and a ſufficient prouiſion of Pioners. The *Venetian* armie marched by the higher way vpon the right hand towards the enemie; in it were two thouſand men at armes, more then twentie thouſand footmen, with a great number of light horſemen, partly *Italians*, and partly drawne out of *Greece*, who ranne before, but forbare to enlarge and ſpread themſelues according to their cuſtome, the buſhes and ſhrubs, whereof the countrey betweene both the armies was full, being their impediments, which ſo ſhadowed both the armies, that they could not ſee one another. Now marching in this order, & the *Venetians* alwayes aduancing, there drew neare together in one time the *French* vantguard cõtaining fiue hundred Lances & the *Swiſſers*, led by *Charles d'Amboiſe* and *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*; and the reuregard of the *Venetians*, gouerned by *Bartlemew Aluiano*, wherein were eight hundred men at armes, and almoſt all the flower of the footmen of the armie, not marching in any good order, *Aluiano* not thinking that battell would be offered that day. But when he ſaw himſelfe ſo neare his enemies, what by the renouation of his ancient valor, and that he was brought into ſuch extremitie of place that he was compelled to fight, he gaue preſent aduertiſement to the Count *Petillano*, leading the other part of the armie before, of his neceſſitie or rather his reſolution, demanding his ſuccours. The Count returned anſwer, that he ſhould continue his marching, and eſchue the fight, the reaſons of warre ſo requiring, and the reſolution of the Senate agreeing. But in the meane while, *Aluiano* hauing beſtowed his footmen with ſixe peeces of artillerie vpon a litle trench made to ſtop the furie of a land-floud, which at that time being almoſt drie of water, paſſed between both the armies, he charged the enemies with ſuch courage and furie, that he compelled them to giue ground, wherein this miniſtred not a litle helpe to him, that the firſt charge was giuen amongſt certaine vines, by reaſon whereof the *French* horſemen were of litle vſe. But the battell of the *French* armie, wherein was the Kings perſon, being aduanced becauſe of this danger, the two firſt ſquadrons ioyned to charge the bands of *Aluiano*, who being entred into a great hope of the victorie for ſo happie a beginning, running now here, now there, encouraged his ſouldiers with vehement words. The battell was furious on all ſides, the *French* receiuing courage and comfort by the ſuccours of their companions, and for that the battell was drawne into an open place, where they might freely vſe their horſemen, wherein they were the ſtronger: beſides, the preſence of the King did much to ſtirre them, who bearing no more reſpect to his perſon, then if he had bene a priuate ſouldier, refuſed not to ſtand in the danger of the artillerie, not ceaſſing where he ſaw need, to command, to encourage, and to threaten. And on the other ſide, the *Italian* footmen, who were full of reſolution for their firſt felicitie, fought with great conſtancie of courage and valour, *Aluiano* forgetting nothing that belonged to the office of an excellent Captaine. At laſt, when they had fought very valiantly for the ſpace of three houres, the *Venetian* bands receiuing by the plainneſſe of the place great diſtreſſe by the *French* horſemen, and not being able withall to keepe firme footing for the raine that fell during the battell, which made the ground ſlipperie, but ſpecially for that they were not ſuccoured by the reſidue of the armie, they began to fight with great diſaduantage, and yet made reſiſtance with great courage; inſomuch as when they ſaw no hope to ouercome, they fought more to winne glorie then to ſaue themſelues, making the victorie bloudy to the *French*, and for a while doubtfull. But at laſt, being more depriued of ſtrength then of courage, without turning their backes to the enemie, they remained almoſt all dead vpon the place: amongſt whom was much eſteemed and lamented Captaine *Peter*, one of the Marquiſſes of the Mount *S. Maria de Tuſcana*, a Captaine of great exerciſe in leading of footmen in the warres of *Piſa*, when he liued in the pay of the *Florentines*, and now was one of the Colonels of the *Venetian* footmen. The honorable reſiſtance which this onely one part of the armie made, bred almoſt a generall opinion, that if the whole *Venetian* campe had entred the battell, they had

Defeate of the Venetians.

carried the victorie. But the Count *Petillane*, with whom was the greateſt part of the armie, abſtained from armes, either for that (as he alledged) as he returned to enter battell, a ſquadron which was already put to flight, came ruſhing vpon him, or rather (ſuch was the bruite) ſtanding in no hope of the victorie, and no leſſe diſcontent that *Aluiano*, contrary to his direction, had aduentured to fight, he eſteemed it a counſell better aſſured, to keepe that part of the army reſerued, then to referre the whole to hazard for the raſhneſſe of another. In this battell periſhed very few men at armes, the whole ſlaughter falling vpon the *Venetian* footmen, whereof died (as ſome ſay) eight thouſand bodies, notwithſtanding others report that the number of the dead men on both parts, was not aboue ſix thouſand men. *Bartlemew Aluiano* remained priſoner, who being hurt in his eye, and hauing his face all bloudied and bruiſed, was led to the Kings pauillion. The reſidue of the armie not being followed in chaſe, found ſafetie in flying, loſing in all twenty peeces of great artillerie. This was the notable battell of *Guiaradadda*, or according to the opinion of ſome, the victorie of *Vaile*, which was fought the fourteenth day of May, in memorie whereof the King cauſed to be built in the very place where the battell was executed, a Chappel, which he honored with the name of *S. Maria de la Victoria*.

Aluiano taken priſoner.

The taking of many townes by the French.

After the King had obtained ſo great a victorie, not willing to loſe by negligence the occaſion that had bene wonne with valour and fortune, he marched the day following to *Carauage*, where the towne being ſuddenly rendred by compoſition, he battered the Caſtle with artillerie, which alſo within foure and twentie houres yeelded to diſcretion. The Citie of *Bergama* gaue vp the day after, without abiding the coming of the armie, where after the King had left fiftie Lances and a thouſand footmen to batter the Caſtle, he drew towards *Breſſia*, but before he arriued there, the Caſtle of *Bergama*, after the cannon had executed a whole day, was rendered, vpon condition that *Martin Georgio* with the other *Venetian* Magiſtrates, ſhould be priſoners; for the King, not ſo much for hatred, as for hope to draw money, had determined not to accept any compoſition when the townes rendred, wherein the Gentlemen of *Venice* ſhould be compriſed. Now in the inhabitants of *Breſſia* remained no more that ancient diſpoſition with the which their elders in the warres with *Philip Maria Viſcount*, had ſuſtained a long and moſt grieuous ſiege to preſerue themſelues vnder the iuriſdiction of *Venice*, but being diſpoſed to yeeld to the *French*, partly for feare of their armes, and partly at the perſwaſion of the Count *Iohn Franciſco de Cambara*, a chiefe man of the *Gibelin* faction, they ſeiſed vpon the gates of the towne the day after the battell, oppoſing manifeſtly againſt *George Cornaro*, who being gone thither in great diligence, ſought to ſtrengthen the place with men. And beſides, the *Venetian* armie being approched the Citie, which was very much diminiſhed in numbers, not onely by the ſlaughter in the battell, but alſo for that many were volunrarily gone away, as it often happeneth in the like caſe; they reſpected nothing the authoritie and petitions of *Andrew Gritti*, who was entred into *Breſſia* to perſwade them to receiue a garriſon. Therfore the armie ſuppoſing no ſuretie in that place, marched towards *Peſquiero*, the Citie of *Breſſia* yeelding to the *French* King, and the Caſtle within two dayes after doing the like, vnder this condition, that ſuch as were within ſhould depart in ſafetie, except the Gentlemen of *Venice*. But when the newes of ſo great a calamitie was vnderſtood at *Venice*, it cannot be imagined, and much leſſe committed to writing, how much was the griefe and feare of euery one, and how much the minds of all the citizens were confuſed and amazed, who hauing not bene accuſtomed to feele ſuch aduerſities, but of the contrarie, had bene wont alwayes in other warres to carrie the victorie, ſet before their eyes the loſſe of their whole dominion, and the danger of the vtter ruine of their countrey, in ſtead of ſo great a glorie and puiſſance, by meanes whereof a few moneths before they had promiſed to themſelues no leſſe then the Imperie of all *Italy*. And in theſe dolours and miſerable demonſtrations of mind, they ranne crying and complaining from all parts of the Citie to the publicke Pallace, where the Senators taking counſell what to do in ſo great a calamitie, after they had long debated, the Councell brake vp ouercome with deſpaire: ſo weake and incertaine were the remedies, and ſo ſlender and almoſt none the hopes of their ſafetie; conſidering they had no other Captaines, nor other men to employ in their defence, then ſuch as remained of the ouerthrow, depriued of force and courage: and that the ſubiects of their generall dominion were inclined to rebellion, or at leaſt ſo eſtranged from ſuffering, that there remained no diſpoſition to put themſelues in further perill for their ſafetie: that the *French* King (no leſſe mightie for the greatneſſe of his armie, then inſolent for his late victorie) had a reſolution to follow the courſe of his happie

The lamentation made at Venice for the ouerthrow.

happie fortune; at whoſe onely name all men were readie to yeeld: and if againſt him alone they were not able to make reſiſtance, what would be their condition when *Ceſar* ſhould arriue, whom they vnderſtood to be at hand, and to march with ſpeed, being drawne on by ſo great an occaſion? That from all parts they ſaw great dangers and cauſes of deſpaire, and very ſmall apparence of hope. And what aſſurance was there that in their proper Citie full of multitudes of men of warre, there would not ariſe ſome dangerous tumult, partly for a generall hatred againſt the Gentlemen, and partly for deſire of pillage? Now (which was the depth of all their feare) they eſteemed as already hapned, all the aduerſities which they coniectured might befall them; and yet encouraging themſelues as well as they could in ſo great a feare, they determined to vſe all diligence to reconcile themſelues in what ſort ſoeuer with the Pope, with *Ceſar*, and with the King Catholike, not thinking any way to appeaſe the mind of the *French* King, for that they diſtruſted him no leſſe for the hate which he bare them, then they feared his armes: and yet in the meane while not forgetting to looke to their defence, they ſtudied to furniſh themſelues with money, and gaue order to entertaine new bands: and for feare of the armie at ſea which was ſaid to be rigged at *Genes*, they deuiſed to increaſe their nauie to fiftie galleys commanded by *Ange Treuiſan*. But all their counſels were preuented by the celeritie of the *French* King, to whom ſince the conqueſt of *Breſſia*, was rendred the Citie of *Cremona*, the Caſtle holding good for the *Venetians*, the which, notwithſtanding it was ſtrong, had followed the example of the others, together with that of *Piſqueton* yeelding alſo in the ſame time, if the King had conſented that euery one might depart with ſafetie. But, for that there were within it many Gentlemen of *Venice*, and among others *Zacharie Contarin*, a man of great wealth and poſſeſſions, he would not receiue them but with condition to haue them in his power, and therefore he ſent an armie to keepe them beſieged. And the *Venetian* armie which decreaſed dayly, being incamped in the field of *Mars* neare *Verona*, for that they of *Verona* would not receiue them into their towne, the King went before *Peſquiero* to get the Caſtle, the towne being already rendred: and the artillery had not played any long time, but the *Swiſſers* and *Gaſcoins* entred with great furie through the ſmall breaches and ruines of the wall, making ſlaughter of about foure hundred footmen that were within, and tooke priſoner the Captain of the Caſtle, being likewiſe Captain of the towne, a Gentleman of *Venice*, who by the Kings commandement was hanged vpon the battlements of the ſame Caſtle: a crueltie which the King vſed for example ſake, that ſuch as defended the Caſtle of *Cremona*, induced by this puniſhment, might not continue in obſtinacie to the extremitie. Thus within fifteene dayes after the battell, the *French* King had conquered (except the Caſtle of *Cremona*) all that appertained to him by the deuiſion which was made at *Cambray*: a conqueſt very commodious for the Duchie of *Millan*, and which augmented the reuenues of the King more then two hundred thouſand duckats by the yeare. At this time, the armies of the Emperour hauing as yet appeared in no place, the Pope had aſſailed the townes of *Romagna* with foure hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and eight thouſand footmen, with the artillerie of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he had choſen *Gonfalonnier* of the Church, which is a title (according to the practiſe of our times) rather of dignitie then of authoritie: and had giuen the charge of this armie to *Franciſco de Caſtello de Rie* Cardinall of *Pauie*, bearing the name of Legate Apoſtolike, and to *Francis Maria de la Rouera*, ſonne to *John* his late brother; who, being adopted for ſonne by *Guidobald* Duke of *Vrbin* his vnkle by the mother ſide (the adoption being confirmed in the Conſiſtorie by the Popes authoritie) had ſucceeded the yeare before in that Duchie, the Duke of *Vrbin* being dead without other children. They ran with this armie from *Ceſena* towards *Ceruia*, and comming betweene *Imola* and *Faenza*, they tooke the towne of *Solarola*: and after they had bene certaine dayes at *Baſtida*, three miles from *Faenza*, they drew to *Breſiquella*, which is the capitall towne of the Vale of *Lamona*, wherein was newly entred *John Paul Manfron* with eight hundred footmen and certaine horſemen; who iſſuing out to fight, were trained into an ambuſh, and ſo hotly charged by *John Paul Baillon* and *Lodowike de la Mirandola*, Captaines of the armie Eccleſiaſtike, that as they would haue ſaued themſelues in the towne, the enemie entred pelmell with them, and that with ſuch furie, that *Manfron* being felled from his horſe, had ſcarce leiſure to retire to the Caſtle: afore the which the artillery being brought and planted, the munitions that were within were ſet on fire at the firſt blow: an accident that ſo terrified the defendants within, y they rendred the place abſolutely to the diſcretion of the victor. After the whole valley was taken, the armie deſcended into the plaine, and tooke

The Popes ſouldiers in Romagna.

Barbarola with all the other townes of the countrey of *Faenza*; then they went and incamped before *Russi*, which is a borough ſituate betweene *Faenza* and *Rauenna*, but not eaſie to be taken, for that beſides it was enuironed with very large and deepe trenches, it was defended with ſixe hundred footmen forreiners: but that which made it more hard to be taken, was, that there was not in the Church armie, neither that counſell, nor that concord that was neceſſarie, notwithſtanding it abounded in ſtrength and forces, three thouſand *Swiſſers* payed by the Pope being there newly arriued. For this cauſe, albeit the *Venetians* were not ſtrong in *Romagna*, yet things had no great aduancement on that ſide: onely *Iohn* the Greeke Captaine of the eſtradiots iſſuing out of *Rauenna* with his bands, was broken and taken priſoner by *Iohn Vitelli* one of the Captaines of the Church: and at laſt, after they had remained ten dayes afore *Russi*, they tooke it by compoſition. And the victory of the King hapning in the ſame time, the Citie of *Faenza*, who ſtood now in her owne power, for that the *Venetian* ſtrength was already diminiſhed, agreed to acknowledge the Pope for their Lord, if they were not reſcued within fifteene dayes: by the benefite of which conuention there iſſued out of *Faenza* vnder the faith of the Legat, fiue hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, who were ſtripped by commandement of the Duke of *Vrbin*. The Citie of *Rauenna* did the like as ſoone as the armie approched. Thus, more by the reputation of the victorie of the *French* King, then by his proper forces, the Pope conquered in a litle time, thoſe townes which he had ſo long deſired in *Romagna*, where the *Venetians* held no other peece then the Caſtle of *Rauenna*, againſt whom, euer ſince the ouerthrow of their armie, they diſcouered dayly new enemies. For, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who till that day had not declared himſelfe, chaſed out of *Ferrara* the *Vicedomino*, a magiſtrate which the *Venetians* kept reſident there, according to the ancient conuentions, to miniſter equitie to the ſubiects: and taking armes, he recouered without impediment *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and ſunke with artilleries the *Venetian* Nauies floting vpon the riuer of *Adice*: and to the Marquis of *Mantua* were yeelded the townes of *Aſola* and *Lunato*, which the *Venetians* had taken in the warre they had againſt *Philip Maria Viſcount*, from *Iohn Francis de Gonſagua* his great grandfather. In *Iſtria*, *Chriſtopher Frangipan* occupied *Piſinia* and *Diuinia*: and the Duke of *Brunſwike*, who by *Caſars* commandement was entred into *Friul* with two thouſand men trained, tooke *Feltro* and *Bellona*; at whoſe comming, together with the bruite of the victorie of the *French*, *Trieſta* with the other townes (the conqueſt of which had bene the very welſpring and beginning of all the aduerſities of the *Venetians*) returned vnder the obedience of *Caſar*. In like ſort the Counts of *Lodron* occupied certain Caſtles and hamlets that were neare them; and the Biſhop of *Trent* vſurped *Riua* and *Agreſta*. But there was nothing that ſo much amazed the *Venetians* ſince the battell of *Vaile*, as the taking of the Caſtle of *Peſquiero*, whoſe ſtrength and ſituation, with other oportunities of the place, they ſuppoſed would haue ſtayed the furie of the victor.

Conqueſts of Maximilian vpon the Venetians.

The *Venetians* then ſtanding amazed amidſt ſo many perils, being fearefull that the King would paſſe further; and their condition being made ſo deſperate, that the feare that poſſeſſed them, left them no libertie of counſell; and their bands which were retired to *Meſtre* (amongſt whom was neither obedience nor order) being reduced to a very ſmall number; they determined (and haply too ſoone) to abandon the iuriſdiction of the firme land, to the end not to haue ſo many enemies, and no leſſe to take from the *French* King all occaſions to draw neare to *Venice*. For they were not without ſuſpition, that in that Citie would riſe ſome tumult, either by the people, or by the innumerable multitude of ſtrangers that dwelt there: theſe, for deſire of prey and pillage; the other, for that they being Citizens borne by long ſucceſſion of time in the ſame Citie, and moſt of them of the ſame bloud and families, would not endure the depriuation of honours, and to be in all things in a maner ſubiect to the Gentlemen. And in ſo great a deſpaire and loſſe of courage, this reaſon was alledged in the Senate, that if willingly they abandoned the gouernment to eſchue the euils preſent, they ſhould eaſily recouer it with the returne of a better fortune: for that the peoples that had bene willingly ſeparate from them, would not make ſo ſtrong reſiſtance to returne eftſoones vnder the obedience of their ancient Lords, as they would do if they had openly rebelled. For theſe reaſons the magnanimity of the *Venetians* being troden vnder foote, together with the reputation of ſo glorious a Commonweale, they were content to keepe to themſelues the ſalt waters onely, addreſſing to the magiſtrates and officers that were in *Padua*, *Verona*, and all the other townes deſtinated to *Maximilian*, directions to returne with ſpeed, and leaue the townes to the deuotion of the peoples. And beſides this, to

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the end to obtaine peace with *Maximilian* vnder what conditions soeuer, they sent to him with diligence their Embassadour *Iustinian*, who being admitted to his presence in publike audience, spake very pitifully and with great submission, but in vaine, for that *Cæsar* denied to make any contract without the priuitie of the *French* King. But the better to make knowne how much the Commonweale of *Venice* was humbled and abated of courage, not feeling the like aduersities in two hundred yeares before, it cannot be impertinent to expresse here the selfe Oration which their Embassadour vttered afore *Cæsar*; onely turning the Latine words into our vulgar tongue: the tenor whereof is as followeth.

The Oration of Anth. Iustinian to Cæsar.

It is most certaine and true (most puissant *Cæsar*) that the ancient Philosophers and wise men of those times, were not deceiued when they affirmed, that the true, firme, eternall and immortall glorie, was for a man to conquer himselfe: an action which they preferred aboue all kingdomes, trophees and triumphs. For this vertue *Scipio* (so much renowmed for his many victories) carried more reputation, then for subduing *Afrike*, or vanquishing *Carthage*. Hath not this same vertue immortalized *Alexander* the Great, when *Darius*, being ouerthrowne by him in a mightie battell, besought the immortall Gods to preserue his kingdome, but if they had otherwise decreed, that he might haue no other successor then so gentle an enemie, and so gracious a conquerer? *Cæsar* the Dictator, of whom you beare the surname, and communicate in his fortunes, as well as in his liberalities, clemencies, and other vertues, was he not worthily numbred among the gods, for that he remitted, released, and pardoned? Lastly, the Senate and people of *Rome*, the daunter of the whole world, whose imperie in earth is onely in you, and whose maiestie and greatnesse is seene in your person, hath it not brought more peoples and prouinces vnder their subiection by clemencie, equitie and mildnesse, then with armes and warre? And seeing it is thus, it shall not be numbred amongst the least of your praises, if your Maiestie, in whose hands stands the victorie gotten ouer the *Venetians*, looking into the frailtie of worldly things, shall vse it with moderation, and incline rather to the deuices and studies of peace, then to the doubtfull euents of warre. For touching the inconstancie of humane things, how incertaine, how doubfull, how mutable, how deceitfull, and how full of dangers is the estate of mortall men, I need not proue by examples strange, forreine or ancient, since the Commonweale of *Venice* stands at this houre the true figure and representation thereof, which not long since was so mightie, resplendent, renowned, as that our name and reputation could not be contained within the limites of *Europe* onely, but with great pompe and magnificence, ran through all *Afrike* and *Asia*, and with great bruite resounded euen to the vttermost bounds of the earth: but now by the onely losse of a battell, both light and easie, is depriued of the praise and merite of armes, and become despoiled of riches, rent in peeces, ouerthrowne, and standing in need of all things, and especially of counsell, and so reuersed and abated, that there remaines no signe of our ancient vertue. But doubtlesse the *French* men beguile themselues, if they attribute these things to their vertue; since notwithstanding we haue bene heretofore trauelled by so many afflictions, wasted and consumed with so many dangers and ruines, yet we neuer lost courage, & then chiefly when with great danger we managed warre many yeares against the most cruell Tyrant of the *Turkes*, but alwayes of men vanquished, we became victorious: and we should now also haue hoped to do the like, had not the bruite of the terrible name of your Maiestie, together with the liuely and inuincible vertue of your souldiers, so abated the minds of vs all, that there remaines no hope, I say not, to vanquish, but not to defend: and therefore casting downe our armes, we haue reposed all our hope in the vnspeakable clemencie or rather diuine pietie of your Maiestie, which we doubt not to find euen in the greatest despaire of our affaires. In which respect, as well on the behalfe of the Prince and Senate, as of the people and communaltie of *Venice*, we pray, beseech, and coniure you, to vouchsafe to cast the eyes of your mercie vpon our afflictions, and to cure our griefes with remedies of comfort and consolation: we are willing to embrace all such conditions of peace as you shall please to offer vs, and hold them reasonable, righteous and iust: but perhaps we are worthy to taxe our selues. To you as true and lawfull Lord, we offer restitution of all those things which our elders haue taken from the sacred Empire, and Duchie of *Austria*: wherunto (that they may come the more decently) we adde all that we possesse in the firme land, renouncing all rights thereunto, in whatsoeuer sort we haue gotten them. Besides this, we will acknowledge a yearely paiment to your Maiestie and your lawfull successors in the Empire, of fiftie thousand duckats for euer: We will readily obey you in all your cõmandements, lawes, de-

" decrees and appointments. Defend vs, we beſeech you, from the inſolencie of thoſe, who earſt
" were our companions in armes, and now do proue our bitter enemies, deſiring nothing more
" then the ruine of the *Venetian* name: for being preſerued by your clemencie, we ſhall call you
" the father and founder of our Citie, we ſhall write it in our Annales, and continually report to
" our children your great merites and vertues: and it will be no ſmall increaſe of your praiſes, to
" ſay, that you are the firſt Prince afore whoſe feete the Commonweale of *Venice* falls proſtrate,
" before whom we bow our neckes, and whom we honour, reuerence, and reſpect as a God. If
" Almightie God had ſo inſpired the minds of our anceſtors, that they had forborne to meddle
" with that which belonged to others, our flouriſhing Commonweale had far ſurmounted all the
" Cities of *Europe*, which now lies couered with filth, pollution and putrifaction, deformed with
" infamie and reproach, full of deriſion and contumely, and hath in a moment loſt the honour
" of all the victories formerly gotten. But now to returne to my firſt purpoſe, it is in your power,
" by pardoning and forgiuing the *Venetians*, to win ſuch reputation and honour, greater or more
" renowmed then which, no man euer obtained by any victorie; which no age, no preſcription or
" antiquitie, no law of time nor courſe of yeares, ſhall be able to wipe out of the minds and me-
" mories of men; but all ages ſhall call, proclaime and confeſſe you to be the moſt pious, cour-
" teous, and moſt renowmed Prince of the world: and we your *Venetians*, ſhall attribute to your
" vertue, to your felicitie, and to your goodneſſe, that we liue, that we breathe, or that we en-
" ioy the companie of men.

The *Venetians* according to this deliberation ſent into *Powilla*, to reſtore the ports to the King of *Aragon*, who knowing how to enioy the fruites of other mens trauels without expences or danger, had diſpatched into *Spaine* a ſmall Nauie, which had commanded certaine places appertaining to thoſe Cities and hauens of the ſea. They diſpatched alſo into *Romagna* a publike Secretarie, with commiſſion, to giue vp to the Pope all that they held there, vpon condition that *Iohn Paul Manfron* and other priſoners might be reſtored, and that they might haue libertie to draw out their artilleries, and that the people that were within the Caſtle of *Rauenna* might depart in ſafetie. Which conditions whileſt the Pope made difficultie to accept, for that he would not diſpleaſe the Confederates, the Caſtle of *Rauenna* was rendred, the ſouldiers giuing it vp of themſelues, notwithſtanding the *Venetian* Secretarie that was entred, ſought to hinder it, for that ſuch as ſolicited for them at *Rome*, gaue hope that the Pope in the end would conſent to the conditions, vnder the which they had offered reſtitution. But the Pope complained much that they had ſhewed a greater contumacie againſt him then againſt *Ceſar* or the King of *Aragon*: and therefore when *Grimani* and *Cornaro* the *Venetian* Cardinals demanded abſolution of the Bull, in the name of the Senate, as being due, for that they had offered reſtitution within the terme of foure and twentie dayes, he made anſwer, that they had not obeyed, becauſe their offer was not ſimple, but ioyned to conditions limited; and for that they were admoniſhed ouer and beſides the reſtitution of the townes, to yeeld account of the fruites they had receiued, together with the Benefices they poſſeſſed appertaining to Churches or to perſons Eccleſiaſticall.

Diuers opinions touching the fall of the Venetians.

In this ſort was ouerwhelmed with a wonderfull furie, the eſtate of the Commonweale of *Venice*, one calamitie continually growing vpon another, all the hopes they propoſed vnto themſelues failing, and no ſigne remaining, by the which, after the loſſe of ſo great a dominion, they might hope for the preſeruation of their proper libertie. This ſo great a ruine touched diuerſly the minds of the *Italians*, of whom many receiued great contentment, remẽbring that the *Venetians*, proceeding in too great ambition, without reſpect to iuſtice or obſeruatiõ of faith, ſeizing vpon all things that occaſion offered them, had manifeſtly aſpired to the monarchie of all *Italy*: things which made their names hatefull to all men, and the more odious for the generall bruite of the pride and haughtineſſe of that people. On the other ſide, many who conſidered more ſoundly the preſent eſtate of things, and how wretched and foule it were for all *Italy* to be wholy brought vnder the yoke of ſtrangers, felt no litle griefe, that ſuch a Citie, ſo ancient a ſeate of libertie, and the glorie of the *Italian* name through all the world, ſhould fall into ſuch extremitie, that ſo worthy a member ſhould be cut off, which more then all the reſidue had bene the protectour of their common glorie and renowne. But aboue all, ſo great a fall and declination began to be grieuous to the Pope, who doubting the powers of *Ceſar* and the *French* King, deſired to alter their thoughts from oppreſſing him, by intangling them with affaires. In which regard he determined (but ſecretly) to do all he could, that the aduerſities of the Commonweale

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of *Venice* ſhould haue no further courſe, and he accepted the letters written to him in the name of the Duke of *Venice*, by the which he beſought him in great ſubmiſſion, to receiue the ſix Embaſſadours ſent to him of the principals of the Senate, humbly to intreate him to pardon and abſolue them. Theſe letters being read, and their petitions publiſhed in the Conſiſtorie, he conſented to admit them, after he had in few words proteſted, that it was not the ancient cuſtome of the Church, to ſhew her ſelfe hard or rigorous to ſuch as with repentance of their faults, ſought for pardon. The Embaſſadours of the Emperour and the *French* ſtriued what they could againſt it, putting him in memory, that by the confederation of *Cambray*, he was expreſly bound to perſecute them with armes ſpirituall and temporall, till euery one of the Confederates had recouered that which appertained to him: to whom the Pope made anſwer, that he had conſented to admit them, with intention not to giue them abſolution, if firſt *Ceſar* (who onely had not recouered all) had not obtained the things that belonged to him. This gaue ſome beginning to the hope and ſuretie of the *Venetians*; but that which aſſured them moſt in their laſt feare, was the reſolution of the *French* King, to obſerue ſimply and in good fidelitie the capitulation which he had made with *Ceſar*: and hauing reconquered all that was his, to paſſe no further with his armie, nor breake his limites. And therefore albeit it was in his power after he had taken *Peſquiero*, not onely to accept *Verona*, which had ſent Embaſſadours to yeeld to him, but alſo to occupie *Padua* without any impediment, together with all the other townes abandoned by the *Venetians*: yet he would, in any ſort, that the Embaſſadours of *Verona* ſhould preſent the keyes of their towne to the Embaſſadours of *Ceſar* which were in his armie, and for that cauſe he ſtayed with all his campe at *Peſquiero*, which he retained for himſelfe, for the commoditie of the place, notwithſtanding it appertained to the Marquis of *Mantua*, (the *Venetians* hauing taken that together with *Aſula* and *Lunato* from him) who durſt not refuſe it to the King, leauing to him the reuenues of the towne, with promiſe of recompence. At the ſame time the King had alſo by accord the Caſtle of *Cremona*, vnder condition that all the ſouldiers ſhould depart with goods and life ſaued, except ſuch as were his ſubiects; and that the Gentlemen of *Venice* ſhould remaine his priſoners, to whom he gaue his faithful promiſe to ſaue their liues. *Vincenſa* and *Padua* followed the example of *Verona*, as alſo the other townes, except the Citie of *Treuiſa*, which being abandoned by the magiſtrates and ſouldiers of *Venice*, had runne the ſame courſe, if *Ceſar* had ſent thither neuer ſo ſmall a force, or at leaſt any perſonage of authoritie. But *Leonard de Dreſſino*, one of the exiles of *Vincenſa*, going thither to receiue it, without ſtrength or armes, and without any maieſtie of imperie, as he had receiued *Padua* in the like ſort; and being entred and admitted, the exiles of the ſame Citie being newly reſtored by the *Venetians* (and which for this benefite became louers of their name) began to draw into tumult, by whoſe example the people being affected to the gouernment of *Venice*, roſe and conſpired with one called *Marke* a ſhoomaker, who publiſhing himſelfe chiefe, and with great cries and concourſe of the commons, carrying into the principall places the banners of the *Venetians*, they cried with one voice, *S. Marke*, aſſuring that they would acknowledge no other Empire nor other Lord. To this action was much helping an Embaſſadour of the King of *Hungarie*, who in his way to *Venice*, paſſing by *Treuiſa*, and being throwne haply into this tumult, perſwaded the inhabitants not to rebell. In ſo much that after they had chaſed out *Dreſſino*, and put into the Citie ſeuen hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, the armie alſo enting a litle after, which was now increaſed with bands of footmen coming from *Slauonia*, with the remainders of the armie returned from *Romagna*, hauing an intention to incampe in ſome ſtrong place betweene *Margueta* and *Meſtra*: they fortified the towne in great diligence, and made their horſemen ſcoure the places of the countrey thereabouts, procuring from all parts great reliefe of victuals, as well for the neceſſitie of that Citie, as for the vſe of the towne of *Venice*, whereof they gathered great quantities from all ſides. The principall occaſion of this accident, and to confirme in the *Venetians* a hope to retaine yet ſome part of their dominion, together with many other great aduentures that followed, was the negligence and diſordered gouernment of *Ceſar*, of whom in ſo great a courſe of victorie there was heard no other thing then the name, notwithſtanding by the means of the *French* armes, and for feare thereof, ſo many townes had bene rendred to him, which were very eaſie for him to keepe. But after the confederation made at *Cambray*, he ſtayed ſome time in *Flanders*, to leuie of the people a loane of money to furniſh his warres, which he had no ſooner got into his poſſeſſion, then, according to his cuſtome, he ſpent it vnprofitably: and albeit at his

The firſt hope of the Venetians.

Treuiſa onely reſtoreth the honor of Venice

his departing from *Macklin* in armes, and with all the pompe and ceremonies imperiall, and after being come very neare to *Italy*, he made publication that he would begin the warre before the terme appointed to him in the capitulation: yet being oppreſſed with his accuſtomed difficulties and confuſions, he aduanced no further, notwithſtanding the Pope ſolicited him with great importunities, for the feare he had of the *French* armes; and though he had ſent him (to giue him a more life to the enterpriſe, by *Conſtantine* of *Macedonia*) fiftie thouſand duckats, and conſented withall to the hundred thouſand duckats which had bene leuied certaine yeares afore in *Germanie*, which were reſerued to make warre vpon the *Turkes*. Beſides all this, he had receiued of the *French* King an hundred thouſand duckats for the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, and was aduertiſed of the fortune of the battell of *Vailo* as he drew neare to *Inſpruch*: and notwithſtanding he had with great diligẽce diſpatched the Duke of *Brunſwike* to recouer *Friul*, yet he moued not (as in ſo great an occaſion had bene conuenient) for want of money (the taxes which he had receiued and drawne from ſo many places not being able to ſuffice his prodigalities.) At laſt he arriued at *Trent*, from whence writing letters congratulatorie to the King, he gaue many thanks that by his meanes he had recouered his townes: and the better to expreſſe the good will he bare to the King, and withall to wipe out all memories of offences paſt, it is ſaid, that he cauſed a booke to be burned which was kept at *Spires*, containing an authenticke regiſter of the iniuries which the *French* Kings in times paſt had done to the Empire and nation of *Germanie*. The Cardinall of *Amboiſe* came to him to *Trent* the thirteenth day of Iune, to communicate of their common affaires, who being receiued with great honour, promiſed him on the behalfe of his King, a ſuccour of 500 Lances: and after they had with great agreement giuen directions for other affaires, it was reſolued that *Cæſar* and the King ſhould ſpeake together in plaine field neare the towne of *Gard*, vpon the Marches of both their countreys. For which cauſe the *French* King prepared to be there at the day appointed, and *Cæſar*, for the ſame regard, came to *Riua de Trent*; but after he had bene there onely two houres, he returned immediatly to *Trent*, ſignifying to the *French* King, that by occaſion of new accidents hapned at *Friul*, he was conſtrained to depart ſuddenly, deſiring him to ſtay at *Cremona*, for he would returne ſpeedily to giue perfection to the enteruiew determined. This varietie (if it be poſſible to find out the truth in ſo great inconſtancie) many attributed to his credulitie and lightneſſe of beliefe, ſome hauing blowne into his eares matter that made him enter into ſuſpition: others made this the occaſion, that hauing ſo ſmall a Court, accompanied with a traine ill appointed, he thought he could not preſent himſelfe with that dignitie and reputation, as might hold compariſon with the pompe and greatneſſe of the *French* King. But the King deſiring to diſſolue his armie, to be deliuered of ſo great a burden, and no leſſe to returne with ſpeed into *France*, tooke his way to *Millan*, not tarrying for the Emperour, notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *Gurcie*, whom the Emperour had ſent for that effect, followed him euen to *Gremona*, ſoliciting him much to tarrie, and making promiſe that without all exceptions the Emperour would returne. The diſcamping of the armie and perſon of the *French* King from the confines of *Cæſar*, diminiſhed greatly the reputation of his affaires: and yet albeit he was accompanied with ſuch multitudes of men, that he might eaſily furniſh *Padua* and the other townes, yet he forbare to ſend garriſon thither, either for the inconſtancie of his nature, or that he thought aforehand to vndertake ſome other enterpriſes; or elſe for that he thought it more honorable, deſcending into *Italy*, to haue with him a very great armie: and which more is, he pretended (as though the former actions had had their due perfection) that together with the ioynt forces of the whole Confederates, they ſhould aſſaile the Citie of *Venice*: a matter very plauſible to the *French* King, but grieuous to the Pope, and no leſſe impugned by the King of *Aragon*.

The laſt action of the Florentines againſt the Piſans.

About this time the *Florentines* put their laſt hand to the warres againſt the *Piſans*. For after they had cut off all ſuccours and entries of graines into *Piſa*, they leuied new bands, to the end to hinder with all their induſtrie and power, all recourſe of victuals both by ſea and land; which could not eaſily be done for the neighbourhood of the countrey of the *Lucquois*; who, when they could ſecretly do it, obſerued with a very negligent faith their accord newly made with the *Florentines*. But the want of victuals increaſed dayly within *Piſa*, which when the people of the plaine countrey would no longer endure, thoſe principals of the Citizens in whoſe hands reſted all publike reſolutions, being followed with the greateſt part of the youth of the Citie, the better to lull the countrey ſouldiers with accuſtomed deuices, introduced by the meane of the

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Lord of *Plombin*, a practiſe of accord with the *Florentines*; wherein they artificially conſumed many dayes, and for which the *Florentines* ſent to *Plombin*, *Nicholas Machiauel* their Secretary, and many Embaſſadours of the *Piſans*, choſen as well of the Citizens, as of the people of the plaine countrey. It was very hard to incloſe *Piſa*, for that it hath large fields, and full of ditches and marriſhes, and the entrie of victuals could not be hindred by any eaſie meanes, ſpecially by night, both for the diligence of the *Lucquoys* to furniſh them, and the deſperate minds of the *Piſans*, refuſing no perill wherein was any oportunitie of prouiſion. But to ouercome theſe difficulties, the *Florentine* Captaines determined to deuide their armie into three parts, beſtowing one part at *Meſſana* without the gate of *Plagei*, the ſecond at *Saint Peter de Rene* and *Saint Iames*, ouer againſt the gate of *Lucques*, and the third was aſſigned to be neare the ancient Temple of *Saint Peter d'Ingrado*, ſtanding betweene *Piſa* and the mouth of *Arne*; and in euery campe, being well fortified, they beſtowed a thouſand footmen, with conuenient numbers of horſemen. And to let that none ſhould paſſe ouer the mountaines by the way of the vale of *Oſola*, which leadeth to the mount *Saint Iulian*, they built towards the great Hoſpitall a Baſtion capable of two hundred and fiftie footmen. By theſe impediments the *Piſans* fell more and more into want of victuals, who ſeeking to get by policie that which they deſpaired to obtaine by force, deuiſed that *Alphonſo Mutolo* a yong man of *Piſa*, of baſe condition, who being aforetime taken priſoner by the *Florentine* ſouldiers, and receiuing many pleaſures of his keeper, ſhould offer to be the inſtrument to make them ſurpriſe the gate that goeth to *Lucques*: their deuice bearing this meaning, that at the ſame time that the campe which was at *Saint Iames* ſhould go by night to execute the enterpriſe, they would not onely oppreſſe it when one part was entred, but alſo would charge the other campes of the *Florentines*, which according to the reſolution were to approch more neare the Citie. But for that they made not their approch raſhly nor in diſorder, the *Piſans* won no other thing by this practiſe, but the liues of certaine particulars, who at the ſigne giuen, were come to the firſt gate, thinking to enter the Citie; amongſt whom was ſlaine *Canaio de Pratouecchio* (ſo was he called, to whom *Alphonſo Mutolo* had bene priſoner, and vnder whoſe aſſurance the practiſe had bene managed) and there was alſo ſlaine with a canon ſhot *Paul de Parana* Captaine to a companie of light horſemen of the *Florentines*. This hope being thus diſappointed, and very ſmall quantities of corne entring into *Piſa*, and that to the great danger of ſuch as carried it, the *Florentines* withall not ſuffering that the vnprofitable mouthes ſhould depart out of *Piſa*, vexing them with many aduerſities, things neceſſarie for the life of man were bought at deare rates, yea many periſhed by famine, for that there could not enter a proportion to ſuffice the generall numbers. And yet theſe neceſſities were ſurmounted by the obſtinacie of thoſe Citizens which were principals in the gouernment, who being diſpoſed rather to behold the extreme ruine of their countrey, then to yeeld to ſo horrible a neceſſitie, deferred from day to day to come to parley, entertaining as well as they could the Commons, ſometimes with one hope, ſometimes with another, but ſpecially with this, that ſince there was no expectation of the coming of *Ceſar* into *Italy*, the *Florentines* would be conſtrained to retire from their walls. But part of the countreymen, with ſuch as had bene at *Plombin* where they ſaw into their intentions, drew into conſpiracie, and conſtrained them to introduce new conſultations with the *Florentines*, which being followed by *Alaman Saluiat* Commander of that part of the armie which lay at *Saint Peter d'Ingrado*, after many diſputings (the principals oppoſing many impediments) were at laſt reſolued and concluded. The accord was made with conditions very fauourable for the *Piſans*, ſeeing that not onely all their faults both publicke and priuate were pardoned, but alſo many exemptions accorded, being alſo abſolued from all reſtitution of moueable goods which they had taken from the *Florentines* at the time when they rebelled: ſo great was the deſire of the *Florentines* to repoſſeſſe it, and ſo great their feare leſt from the Emperour (naming the *Piſans* in the league of *Cambray*, although the *French* King had not accepted the nomination) or from ſome other part, there happened no impediment vnlooked for. And albeit they were well aſſured that the *Piſans* would be conſtrained within foure dayes to giue place to hunger, yet they ſought rather to aſſure the towne with hard conditions, then by obtaining it without conuention, to put any part of the certaintie in the power of fortune. This accord although it were begun to be negociated in the camp, was afterwards debated and concluded at *Florence* by the Embaſſadours of the *Piſans*: an action wherein the faith of the *Florentines* is worthy of memorie, who notwithſtanding their iuſt hatreds prouoked by ſo many iniu-

Piſa rendred to the Florentines.

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ries, they were no leſſe conſtant to obſerue things promiſed, then eaſie and tractable to the agreement. The Emperour (no doubt) receiued a great diſpleaſure by the rendring of the *Piſans*, for that he was perſwaded, that either the demaine of that Citie might ſerue him to many occaſions, or elſe by according it to the *Florentines*, he ſhould draw from them a great quantitie of money, for want whereof he let ſlip and loſt many faire occaſions that were offered him without his paines and induſtrie. But whileſt he ſtood ſo negligent in oportunities offered, that neither at *Vincenſa* nor at *Padua* was almoſt any ſouldiers for him; and whileſt withall, his delayes abated the affection of the inhabitants of townes, himſelfe wandring with a very ſmall companie, ſometimes to one place, ſometimes to another, the *Venetians* let not ſlip the oportunitie that was offered them to recouer *Padua*, whereunto they were induced by many reaſons. For the retaining of *Treuiſa* made them know, how vnprofitable it was to them, with a counſell ſo raſh, to abandon ſo ſoone the dominion of the firme land; and the lingring preparations of the Emperour gaue them cauſe to hold him in leſſe feare dayly: and beſides, they were not a little moued, for that ſeeking to bring to *Venice* the reuenues of the lands which diuers particulars of the towne of *Venice* held in the countrey of *Padua*, thoſe of *Padua* made manifeſt reſiſtance. In ſo much that the diſdaine of certaine particulars ioyned to a publicke profite, and withall being allured by the knowledge they had that *Padua* was ill furniſhed of ſouldiers, and that by reaſon of the inſolencies which the Gentlemen of *Padua* vſed towards the populars, many remembring the eaſie and moderate gouernment of the *Venetians*, began eſtſoones to deſire their ancient yoke; they determined to make an attempt to recouer it, wherein they were aſſiſted with this ready occaſion, that thoſe of the plaine countrey of *Padua* ſtood yet at their deuotion. It was then decreed that *Andrew Gritti*, one of their Commanders, leauing the camp behind, wherein were foure hundred men at armes, more then two thouſand as well eſtradiots as light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen, ſhould go to *Noualo* vpon the frontiers of *Padua*, and taking in his way part of thoſe footbands, which, with many troupes of paiſants were ſent to the village of *Mirana*, he ſhould draw towards *Padua* to aſſaile the gate of *Codalonga*: and that at the ſame time, two thouſand of the popular ſouldiers, with three hundred footmen and certaine horſemen, the more to aſtoniſh them within, ſhould aſſault *Portello* ſtanding in the contrary part of the Citie: and the better to couer this enterpriſe, *Chriſtopher Moro* the other Commander, was likewiſe appointed to incampe afore *Ciuitella*. This plot well layed, had alſo a happie iſſue, for the footmen arriuing at full day, found the gate of *Codalonga* halfe open, certaine paiſants a litle before being entred by chance with carts loden with hay: in ſo much, as commanding the gate without any difficultie, and expecting without any noiſe the coming of their other ſtrength, which was at hand, they not onely entred into the towne, but paſſed almoſt to the market place, afore the Citie, which containes a long circuite, and is not much peopled, was touched with any aduertiſement of the accident. The Knight *de la Volpe* marched firſt with his light horſemen, together with *Zitolo de Perouſa* and *Lactantius de Bergama*, with part of the footmen. But the alarme being come to the Citadel, *Dreſſina* Gouernour of *Padua* for *Maximilian*, prepared himſelfe to ſally out with three hundred *Almaine* footmen which he had there onely for his guard: the like did *Brunalt de Serege* with fiftie horſemen, who ſuſtaining the furie of the enemies, expected that the Gentlemen of *Padua*, fauourers of the *Almaines*, would take armes in their fauour: but that and all other hope was vaine, for that in the Citie fallen into this ſurpriſe and ſudden oppreſſion of tumult, was found no diſpoſition of reſiſtance, eſpecially many bands of the enemie being entred, and gouerning thoſe parts of the towne, wherein lay their chiefeſt protection: in ſo much as ſtanding thus abandoned of all hope, they were conſtrained, with the loſſe of many of their men, to retire with ſpeed into the Caſtle and Citadell, which being very weakly manned, they were conſtrained to yeeld to diſcretion within a few houres after. By this meanes the *Venetians* being eſtſoones made Lords of the whole, laboured to appeaſe the tumult, and ſaue the Citie, whereof the greateſt part, by the inſolencies of the others, were ranged to their deuotion, nothing receiuing ſpoile or harme, but certaine houſes of the *Iewes*, and ſome others of *Padua*, which had afore declared themſelues enemies to the *Venetian* name. This accident hapned the day of *S. Marina*, a day ſolemnly celebrated at *Venice* by publike decree, as a moſt happie day, and the beginning of the reſtoring of their Commonweale. The bruite of this victorie did much moue the whole countrey thereabouts; and there was great likelihood that *Vincenſa* had done the like, if *Conſtantine* of *Macedo-*

The Venetians determine to recouer Padua

The Venetians recouer Padua

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nia, who by chance was neare at hand, had not entred with a very ſmall ſtrength. As ſoone as the *Venetians* had recouered *Padua*, they ſuddenly became maiſters of the whole countrey, the commons of townes and the country people fauoring them. They recouered alſo by this meane the towne and caſtle of *Legnaguo*, a place of great conueniencie to trouble the countreys of *Verona*, *Padua* and *Vincenſa*. Beſides this they aſſayed to take the tower *Marquiſano*, within eight miles of *Padua*, being a paſſage of ſingular oportunitie to enter into *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and to diſtreſſe the countrey of *Mantua*; but by the reſcues which the Cardinall of *Eſte* ſent, their enterpriſe was defeated.

The taking of *Padua* did nothing ſtay the *French* king (as many thought) from returning beyond the Mounts, who as he was vpon his diſcamping, made in the towne of *Biagraſſa* new conuentions with the Popes Legat, by the which the Pope and the King bound each other to a mutuall protection, with libertie that either of them might contract with any other Prince, ſo farre forth as it was not preiudiciall to the preſent confederation. The King promiſed not to hold in his protection, nor to accept into the ſame hereafter, any ſubiect, homager, or dependant, either directly or indirectly of the Church, expreſly diſanulling all articles of protection vntill that day: a promiſe litle beſeeming the honour of ſo great a King; for that, a litle before, when the Duke of *Ferrara* came vnto him, although at the firſt he was angrie with him for that without his knowledge he had accepted the title of *Gonfalonnier* of the Church, yet afterwards being reconciled with him, he had taken him into his protection, for a conſideration of thirtie thouſand duckats. Beſides, it was agreed, that the Pope ſhould diſpoſe at his diſcretion the Biſhopricks that then were voide in all the lands of the Kings obedience; but for ſuch as ſhould fall voide within a certaine time, they ſhould be at the nomination of the King; for whoſe better ſatisfaction, the Pope ſent the Buls of Cardinalſhip to the Biſhop of *Albie*, by the ſaid Cardinall of *Pauie*, promiſing to indue him with the Hat as ſoone as he came to *Rome*. This contract being made, the King haſted immediatly out of *Italy*, carrying with him into *France* no ſmall glorie for ſo great a victorie, ſo ſuddenly gotten vpon the *Venetians*: and yet he carried home by this victorie, neither the more tranquillitie of mind, nor greater aſſurance for his affaires: a matter that often hapneth, that in things obtained, after they haue bene long deſired, men find neither that contentment, nor that pleaſure which they imagined before: yea men might diſcerne matter prepared for greater dangers and innouations, together with a more manifeſt incertaintie of his mind touching the deliberations he had to make by reaſon of thoſe accidents that were newly hapned. For, if things ſucceeded well with the Emperour, his feare was farre greater of him then formerly it had bene of the *Venetians*. And if the greatneſſe of the *Venetians* began to be reſtored, he muſt be conſtrained to dwell in continuall ſuſpitions and perpetuall expences, to keepe the things he had taken from them: and not that onely, but alſo he muſt contribute to *Maximilian* both in men and money; for that in abandoning him, he was to feare leſt he would knit with the *Venetians* againſt him, and withall, leſt the Catholicke King would be of the faction, and haply the Pope. Beſides, meane aides and ſuccours would not ſuffice to entertaine him in amitie with *Ceſar*, but they muſt be ſuch, as by them he might obtaine the victorie againſt the *Venetians*. And on the other ſide, if he ſent him ſtrong and able ſuccours, beſides that it would draw with it intollerable expences and harmes, it would bring him into the ſame dangers by the greatneſſe of *Ceſar*. The King weighing theſe difficulties, ſtood in the beginning in doubt touching the mutation of *Padua*, to wit, whether he ſhould hold it agreeable or troubleſome: but after, conferring the ſuretie which the depriuation of the firme land from the *Venetians* might bring to him, with the perplexities and dangers which he feared to ſuffer by the greatneſſe of *Ceſar*, and with hope to obtaine of him for money, in regard of his neceſſities, the Citie of *Verona*, which he deſired much, as a place of ſingular oportunitie to ſuppreſſe the mouings on the ſide of *Germanie*: he iudged it at laſt more to his profit and ſuretie, to haue things remaine in that eſtate, that (there being great apparence of a long warre betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*) both the parties made wearie by ſo continuall expences, might become more weake. And he was the mor: confirmed in this opinion when he had contracted with the Pope, with whom he hoped to haue a confederation well aſſured and reſolued: and yet he left vpon the limites of *Verona*, *Monſieur de Paliſſa* with ſeuen hundred Lances to be at *Ceſars* command, as well for the preſeruation of things gotten, as to obtaine that which the *Venetians* poſſeſſed as yet; and becauſe they were conueyed into *Vincenſa* by the commande-

ment of *Cæſar*, the Citie of *Verona* was aſſured, which was in great danger and ſuſpition for the ſmall numbers of men of warre that were within it: and by that meane the *Venetian* armie which lay encamped before the Citadell, was retired. There happened alſo another good aduenture to the *Venetians* afore the Kings departure: for their horſemen which were within *Legnaguo*, making continuall incurſions ouer the whole countrey, euen to the gates of *Verona*, and doing them great harmes, againſt whom, the garriſon of *Verona* being but two hundred horſemen and ſeuen hundred footmen, and vnable to make reſiſtance; the Biſhop of *Trent*, whom *Cæſar* had appointed Gouernour ouer it, determined to plant his campe there, and to that end called thither the Marquis of *Mantua*, who expecting the preparations that were in hand, lay encamped with thoſe bands which the *French* king had giuen him, in the Ile of *Eſcalo*, a great village in the countrey of *Verona*, neither enuironed with walls, nor made ſtrong with other fortifications. But whileſt he lay there without doubt of any thing, he ſerued as a notable example to all Captaines, how much it imports them at all times and in all places, to be vigilant, and ſo to manage their affaires, that they may haue confidence in their proper forces, without repoſing in this vaine imagination, either that their enemies be farre off, or that they are but weake. For, as the Marquis had couenanted with certaine eſtradiots of the *Venetian* armie to come to him in that place, to take his pay and follow his enſigne, who from the beginning of the conference had communicated the deuice with their Captaines: and as the Captains, vpon this occaſion had ordained to aſſaile him ſuddenly, *Luke Maluezzo* with two hundred light horſemen, and *Zitolo de Perouſa* with eight hundred footmen, which were ſecretly come from *Padua* to *Legnaguo*, being ioyned to the bands which were within, and fifteene hundred men of the countrey, and ſending before certaine horſemen, who cried *Turco, Turco*, (that was the ſurname of the Marquis) making as though they were thoſe eſtradiots that were expected, they conueyed themſelues in the peepe of day, without that there was any doubt made, to the Iſle of *Eſcalo* the ſame morning that was appointed; where, without any reſiſtance, they entred, and finding all the ſouldiers without guard, and ſuch as followed the perſon of the Marquis ſleeping, they put them to the ſpoile, and tooke priſoner amongſt others, *Monſieur de Boyſſi* Lieutenant to the Marquis, and nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*; and the Marquis vnderſtanding the alarme, leaped naked out at a window, and hid himſelfe in a corne field: but he was diſcouered to the enemy by a paiſant of the ſame place, who (following the common affection of the countrey people) reſpected more the eſtate of the *Venetians*, then his particular profite, and made as though he would ſaue the Marquis for the great offers he made him, but did the contrary: ſo that the Marquis being led from thence to *Padua*, and after to *Venice*, was there put priſoner in the litle Tower of the publicke Pallace, to the wonderfull reioycing of euery one.

The Marquis of Mantua priſoner.

Cæſar till this day had giuen no impediment to the proceedings of the *Venetians*, for that he had not yet leuied a force ſufficient to put himſelfe in the field: and hauing bene buſied many dayes in the mountaine of *Vincenſa*, where the countreymen bearing deuotion to the *Venetian* name, and repoſing much in the difficulties of the place, were drawne into manifeſt rebellion againſt him: and after deſcending into the plaines (*Padua* being already taken by the *Venetians*) he was encountred with multitudes of paiſants in a paſſage of good ſituation & ſtrength, where he was in no litle perill. But after he had put them to the chaſe, he came to *Eſcalo* vpon the frontier *Vincentine*, where the *Venetian* armie had recouered a great part of the countrey of *Vincenſa*, and taken *Serauallo*, a paſſage of importance, where they executed many cruelties vpon the *Almains*; which was recompenced with the like crueltie by *Maximilian* vpon the *Italian* footmen and paiſants, winning vpon them the paſſage not many dayes after. But as yet his forces being not very great, he occupied the time in ſmall enterpriſes, ſometimes beſieging this borough, and ſometime that paſſage, with very litle honour and reputation for the name Imperiall. And as alwayes his conceptions were farre greater then his forces or occaſions, ſo he ſolicited at the ſame time with the confederates the vnion of all their forces, to take the Citie of *Venice*, making vſe, ouer and aboue the preparations by land, of the ſea armies of the *French* king, the King of *Aragon*, and the galleys of the Pope, being at that time conioyned and aſſembled into one Nauie. To which demand, notwithſtanding no mention was made in the confederation of *Cambray*, the *French* had conſented, if the conditions had bene ſuch, as the benefite of the conqueſt had turned to a common profite: but it was a thing grieuous to the Pope, and which both then and at other times, when it was communed vpon more amply, was alwayes oppoſed by the King of

Aragon,

Aragon, (for that he ſuppoſed it would be profitable to the *French*) vſing this colour, that it was a thing both vniuſt and very diſhoneſt. But whileſt the countreys of *Padua*, *Vincenſa*, and *Verona*, ſuffered theſe torments by the armies of the *Almaines* and *Italians*, the countrey of *Friul* and thoſe places which were for the *Venetians* in *Iſtria*, were more miſerably afflicted: for that the Prince of *Henault* being entred by *Ceſars* direction into the countrey of *Friul* with ten thouſand men trained, after he had attempted in vaine to take *Montfalcon*, he carried by force the towne and caſtle of *Cadora*, with a pitifull execution and butcherie of thoſe that defended it. And on the other ſide, certaine light horſemen and footbands of the *Venetians* followed with many of the countrey men, tooke by force the towne of *Valdiſera*, and by accord, the towne of *Bellona*, where was no garriſon for the *Almains*. And beſides this, the Duke of *Brunſwicke*, whom the Emperour had likewiſe ſent thither, being repulſed at *Vdnia* the principall towne of *Friul*, was marched to *Ciuital d'Auſtrich*, a towne ſituate in a high place vpon the riuer of *Natiſona*, where *Federike Contarin* lay in garriſon with a very ſmall companie, repoſing much in the forces of the people, who had minds well reſolued to defend themſelues: to whoſe ſuccours, as *Iohn Paul Gradinic* Magiſtrate of *Friul* was coming with eight hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen, he was put to flight by certaine bands of the *Almaines*: and yet, notwithſtanding they had beaten *Ciuital* with their artillery, they could not carrie it, neither with the furious aſſault which they gaue, nor with the rumor they ſpread that they had defeated the ſuccours that came to reſcue them. In *Iſtria*, *Chriſtopher Frangipan* defeated neare the borough of *Vermes*, the Commiſſaries of the *Venetians*, accompanied with the bands and ſouldiers of the countrey: a ſucceſſe that put into his hands the new Caſtle and the towne of *Raſpruch*, to the great terrifying of the whole countrey, with the damages, ruines, and burnings that he made. For this cauſe the *Venetians* ſent thither *Angeo Treuiſan* Captaine of their ſea armie, with ſixteene galleys, who taking vpon his arriuall the towne of *Fiumo*, addreſt himſelfe to occupie the towne of *Trieſto*: but the ſucceſſe falling contrary, he turned his ſtrength to *Raſpruch*, and recouered it by force, and afterwards retired with his galleys to *Venice*, *Friul* and *Iſtria* remaining in a pitifull eſtate, for that ſometimes the *Venetians* commanding, and ſometimes the *Almaines* preuailing, thoſe townes which the one part had taken and ſacked, were eftſoones recouered and preyed vpon by the other. Which calamitie falling out often, the liues and goods of men ſtood continually as a prey, and the whole countrey was horribly waſted and ſpoiled. During theſe accidents of temporall armes, there was diſputation at *Rome* touching ſpirituall armes, ſixe Embaſſadours of *Venice* (ſince the reobtaining of *Padua*) being gone thither in habite and ſhew miſerable: for where afore they were wont to come in with great pompe and magnificence, and be receiued with a reuerence of the whole Court; now they were neither followed nor accompanied, but making their entrance by night, for ſuch was the pleaſure of the Pope, when they could not be admitted into his preſence, they went to the houſe of the Cardinall of *Naples* to negociate with him and the other Cardinals and Prelates appointed; the Embaſſadours of *Ceſar*, the *French* and *Spaniſh*, hindring as much as they could, that they ſhould not obtaine the abſolution of the Church paines: and of the contrary the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whom *Henrie* the eight (who by reaſon of the death of *Henrie* the ſeuenth his father, had a few moneths before ſucceeded to the Crowne of *England*) had ſent thither in their fauour, ſoliciting manifeſtly for them with all his endeuours.

But at this time an expectation of farre greater things occupied the minds of all men: for *Ceſar* leuying all the power he was able of himſelfe, with ſuch aides as he could gather of all his friends, prepared to beſiege *Padua* with a puiſſant armie: and on the other ſide, the *Venetians* iudging their vniuerſall ſafetie to conſiſt in the defence of that Citie, laboured to ſtrengthen it with all prouiſions neceſſarie for the defence thereof. They cauſed to enter, beſides the bands appointed for the guard of *Treuiſa*, their whole armie with all the forces they could gather from all parts; and conueyed thither infinite numbers of all ſorts of artilleries, with all kind of victuals, ſufficient to nouriſh them for many moneths, and furniſhed the towne with an innumerable multitude of paiſants and carpenters, by whoſe helpe beſides that they made many mounts, and ſluces of wood and iron, to the end they ſhould not be deprined of the water that was brought from *Padua* by the towne of *Limini*, they had made & continually did make about the walls of the Citie maruellous fortifications. And albeit the prouiſions and munitions were ſuch as greater could not be deſired, yet in an action of ſo great importance, the care and diligence

gence of the Senate was incredible, omitting no oportunitie wherein occaſion was giuen to recouer their loſſes, and defend their libertie that remained. For the Senators ceaſſed not day and night to thinke vpon, to admoniſh, and to propound ſuch things as they iudged to be either neceſſary or profitable: whereof as they diſcourſed dayly in the Senate, *Leonard Loredan* their Duke, a man much reſpected for his age, and of no leſſe reputation for the dignitie of his place, whereunto he was called many yeares before, ſtanding vp, reaſoned in this manner:

The Oration of Leonard Loredan.

If, as the truth is, (right worthy Senators) not onely all the hope we haue to recouer our dominion, but alſo to preſerue our libertie, conſiſts in the defending of *Padua*; and if on the contrary, it be moſt certaine, that of the loſſe of *Padua* will deſcend the laſt deſolation of our country, we muſt neceſſarily grant, that the prouiſions and preparations which hitherunto we haue made, notwithſtanding they were very great, haue not yet bene ſufficient, either for that that appertaineth to the ſuretie of that Citie, or for that which reſpecteth the dignitie of our Commonweale. For in an action of ſuch danger and importance, it ſufficeth not to make ſuch preparations, as that there may be great hope of the defending of *Padua*, but they muſt be ſo mightie, that ſo farre forth as may be foreſeene by the wit of man, they may ſtand aſſured againſt all the accidents of fortune, who being mightie ouer all the things of the world, hath yet her greateſt power ouer the actions of warre. It is not a reſolution worthy the ancient renowne and glorie of the *Venetian* name, wholly to commit the publike ſafetie, our vniuerſall honour, and the proper liues of our wiues and children, to the vertue of ſtrangers and mercenarie ſouldiers; but we muſt willingly runne thither on heapes, to defend it with our breaſts and armes. For if we looke not now to the preſeruation of that Citie, there remaines no other place wherein we may trauell for our ſelues, ſhew our vertue, or expend our treaſure for our ſafetie. Seeing then the time to helpe and ſuccour our countrey is not yet paſt, we ought not to ſhunne any paines or trauell whatſoeuer, nor expect till we remaine a prey to thoſe that ſeeke to ſacke our goods, and moſt cruelly to drinke our bloud. The conſeruation of our countrey comprehends not onely the publike good, but together with the ſafetie of the Commonweale, is reſpected the ſecuritie of euery one in particular, hauing ſuch affinitie and coniunction together, that the one cannot conſiſt without the other. For the Commonweale falling into ſeruitude, who knowes not that the ſubſtance, the honours, and liues of priuate men, ſhall become a prey to the couetouſneſſe, to the voluptuouſneſſe, to the cruelties, and to the vile affections of the enemies? But though there were no other reſpect in the defending of a Commonweale, then the preſeruation of the countrey, is it not a thing worthy of noble Citizens full of glorie and reputation in this world, and moſt pleaſing to God? For it is the opinion, euen of the Gentiles, that in heauen is appointed a place particular for the perpetuall fruition and comfort of ſuch, as either ſuccoured, preſerued or augmented their countrey. And what countrey did euer better deſerue to be reſcued and ſupported by her children then this of ours, who for many ages hath retained the principalitie and firſt place of all the Cities of the world, and by whom the Citizens receiue infinite commodities, profites and honours? It is wonderfull, if you conſider the gifts which it hath receiued of [illegible], or the things which declare her perpetuall greatneſſe and happie fortune; or elſe thoſe effects which expreſſe her vertue, together with the nobilitie of the wits of her inhabitants. For her ſituation makes men amazed, being the onely Citie in the world ſeated amongſt the ſalt waters, hauing all her parts ſo conioyned, that at one time men may enioy the commodities of the water, and the pleaſure of the land. It is aſſured againſt the inuaſions of the land, for that it ſtandeth not on the firme land; and from thoſe of the ſea, for that it is not ſeated in the plaine and deepe ſea. I may alledge to the dignitie and reputation of this Citie, the wonderfull maieſtie of publike pallaces and priuate manſions, builded at incredible charges, and poliſhed with ſtrange marbles and ſtones of ſingularitie, brought hither from all parts of the world, together with a ſtately aſpect of excellent pourtraits, imageries, ſculptures, pillars, and other workmanſhips of worthy regard. But what Citie can be found at this day where there is a greater concourſe of all ſtrange nations, coming hither partly to dwell ſafely in this free and almoſt diuine countrey, and partly for the exerciſe of their trafficke and negociations, whereby our Commonweale is repleniſhed with all ſorts of merchandize and trafficke, whereby our citizens are continually enriched, and whereby our Commonweale doth draw ſuch a reuenue of that onely which is contained within the circuite of this Citie, that many abſolute Kings receiue not the like of their whole kingdomes? I omit the great affluence of men skifull in all arts and ſciences, and the qua-

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litie of wits, and other vertues of men, from the which, ioyned to other conditions, is deſcended the glorie of thoſe actions which by this Commonweale and her deſcendants, haue bene made more great, then (ſince the imperie of the *Romanes*) by any other Principalitie or State in the world. I will not ſay alſo how admirable it is to ſee ſo great abundance of all things, in a Citie wherein nothing groweth, and yet repleniſhed with inhabitants. At the beginning our towne was ſtraited vpon theſe litle rocks, barren and naked of all things; and yet the vertue of our elders, ſtretching out firſt into the next ſeas and townes adioyning, and afterwards increaſing by happie ſucceſſe vpon the ſhores and prouinces further off, yea hauing runne euen to the vttermoſt limites of the Leuant, they got both by ſea and land ſo great an Empire, and held it ſo long, and augmented in ſuch ſort their power, that hauing bene of long time redoubted to all the other townes in *Italy*, it was neceſſary that the policies and forces of all the other Chriſtian Princes ſhould be banded and ioyned together to abate and depreſſe it. Matters aſſuredly hapned by the aide and fauour of the omnipotent God, for that the obſeruation of iuſtice indifferently adminiſtred in this Citie, is highly commended in all the world: for the onely bruite whereof many peoples and nations haue willingly ſubmitted themſelues to our gouernment. And further, is there any Citie, or any Empire, whereunto our countrey ſhall giue place? What Citie, what Empire, or what Principalitie excelleth our countrey, for matter of religion, and pietie towards God? Where may be ſeene more Monaſteries, more Temples full of ſo many rich and precious ornaments and things of admiration dedicated to the ſeruice of God? Where ſo many Hoſpitals and places of pitie, prepared with incredible charge for the perpetuall comfort of the afflicted, and continuall exerciſe of charitie? And certainly for all theſe things our countrey is by good right to be commended before any other; but farre more worthy are her praiſes for the glorie of this onely, that our countrey had at one time both her beginning and her libertie, and there was neuer ſeene any man borne or die in *Venice*, which was not borne and died a freeman; and likewiſe her libertie was neuer troubled: which felicitie is principally come to paſſe by the ciuill concord, which hath ſtood alwayes ſo rooted and confirmed in the hearts of men, that whenſoeuer they enter into our Senate, and into our counſels, they ſhake off all diſcords and priuate quarels. Of this ſ forme of gouernment is the cauſe, which being tempered and compounded of all the beſt ſorts of publike adminiſtration, and of ſuch a well conſenting harmonie agreeing in it ſelfe, that it hath remained for many ages vndefiled, without ciuill ſedition, without armes, and without effuſion of bloud amongſt the Citizens: a praiſe particular to our Commonweale, and whereof neither *Rome*, nor *Carthage*, nor *Athens*, nor *Lacedemon*, nor any other of thoſe Commonweales which haue bene moſt renowned and beſt eſteemed of the Ancients can boaſt: yea there is found among vs ſuch a kind of gouernment and policie, that thoſe who haue made the greateſt profeſſion of ciuill wiſedome, could neuer imagine or deſcribe ſuch a one. Shall then the children and citizens of ſo glorious a countrey, which hath always bene the very bulwarke of the faith, and the beautie of the whole Chriſtian commonweale, be ſlow in the execution of their dutie? And ſhall there any be found who will refuſe to commit to danger the life of himſelfe and his children, for the protection thereof? which being comprehended in the defence of *Padua*, who is he that will refuſe to go thither in perſon to defend it? And albeit we be well aſſured that the forces that be there already, are ſufficient for the defence of it, appertaines it not to our honour, and concernes it not the glorie of the *Venetian* name, to make knowne to all the world, that we our ſelues did ſpeedily runne thither to defend and preſerue it? Such was the deſtinie of that Citie, that in a few dayes ſo great an eſtate ſhould fall out of our hands, wherein we haue not to complaine ſo much of the malice of fortune, (for that ſuch aduentures are common to all Commonweales and kingdomes) as that failing of our conſtancie, which till this day hath bene inuincible; and without all memory of the glorious examples of our elders, we haue with too ſudden deſpaire, giuen place to the mightie blowes of aduerſitie, and haue not expreſſed to our children that valour and vertue, which our fathers haue left well teſtified to vs. Now occaſion is offered vs to recouer that honour which is not yet loſt, if we will our ſelues ſhew the minds of men, but onely altered without any perill of abſolute ruine. For if we oppoſe againſt all fortune, and willingly offer our ſelues to dangers, we ſhall redeeme the infamies receiued; and when the world ſhall perceiue that our ancient generoſitie is not loſt, men will rather attribute the diſorders paſt to a certaine fatall tempeſt, which neither the counſels nor conſtancie of men could reſiſt, then impoſe vpon vs either blame or

« dishonour. And therefore if it were reasonable that we went altogether to the rescue of *Padua*,
« and if for certaine dayes we might leaue this Citie without preiudice of her defence and other
« publike affaires of importance, my selfe, without expecting your resolution, would be the first
« that should open the way, not seeing wherein I might better employ these last dayes of my old
« age, then with my presence to participate in so glorious a victorie, or else not to remaine aliue
« after the ruine of my countrey, but to die together with others; a calamitie which my mind hath
« horrour to expresse. But for that *Venice*, neither can, nor ought to be depriued of her publicke
« counsels, wherein consisteth no lesse the defence of *Padua* in counselling, prouiding and ordai-
« ning, then in the force and armes of such as be there already: and the vnprofitable troupes of
« old persons will stand in that Citie rather as a charge and burden, then as a succour and neces-
« sarie aide: and seeing withall it is not conuenient, for any thing that may happen, to disfurnish
« *Venice* of all her youth; my aduice is, respecting these reasons with the regard to accidents that
« may occurre, that there be made a choise of two hundred Gentlemen of the principals of our
« youth, and euery of them to go to *Padua*, with such proportion of friends and seruants as his a-
« bilitie will beare, and to continue there so long as shall be necessarie for the defence of that Ci-
« tie. My two sonnes with a great reuenue shall be the first to execute that, which I their father
« and your Prince haue proposed vnto them; whose liues and persons in so great a danger, I do
« willingly offer to the succor of their country: so shal *Padua* be more assured; so shal the mercena-
« rie souldiers that be there seeing our youth cheerfully assisting all actions that concerne that ser-
« uice, reioyce exceedingly, and haue the more courage, being well assured that seeing our sons
« and kinsmen are ioyned with them, they shall haue no want of victuals and munitions, nor of
« any other aide or supply. The youth and the rest that go not, shall be so much the more encou-
« raged by this example, to vndergo, when need shall so require, all quarrels and dangers. You
« Senators, (whose words and doings serue as an example and mirrour to the whole Citie) who-
« soeuer among you haue sufficient abilitie, striue that your sonnes may be enrolled in the num-
« ber of those that shall communicate in so great a glorie: for hereby will ensue not onely an assu-
« red and certaine defence of *Padua*, but also we shall procure to our selues with all nations, this
« reputation, namely, that we our selues are they, who with the danger of our owne liues, do de-
« fend the libertie and safetie of the most worthy and flourishing countrey that is in the world.

The Gentlemē of Venice go to the succours of Padua.

This counsell of the Prince was heard with great attention and approbation, and with all speed put in execution. And the flower of the noble yong Gentlemen of *Venice*, drew to them as many of their friends and followers fit for armes, as they could, and went to *Padua*, being accompanied to their embarquing with all the other Gentlemen, and with an infinite multitude of people, who celebrated with many praises, and with vowes full of pietie and affection, so great a readinesse to succour their countrey. They were receiued at *Padua* with no lesse ioy and applause of all men, the Captaines and souldiers extolling the valour of those yong Gentlemen, who not trained nor experienced in the trauels and dangers of warre, preferred the loue of their countrey afore their proper life: so that encouraging one another, they expected very ioyfully the coming of *Cæsar*; who labouring to assemble the bands of souldiers that came to him from many places, was by this time come to the bridge of *Brento*, three miles from *Padua*, and hauing taken *Limini* by force, and cut off the course of the water, he stayed for the artillerie which was coming out of *Germanie*, which was no lesse terrible for the quantitie then for the qualitie; of which when part was brought to *Vincensa*, and *Philip Rosse* and *Federike Gonsague de Bassolo* with two hundred light horsemen went forth to guard it, they were encountred by fiue hundred light horsemen that issued out of *Padua*, being led by the paisants, who in all that warre did much seruice for the *Venetians*; and ouerthrowne fiue miles from *Vincensa*, where *Philip* remained prisoner, and *Federike* by the fauour of the night escaped in his shirt. From the bridge *Brenta*, *Maximilian* caused his companies to march about twelue miles, drawing towards *Polesina de Rouigna*, the better to open to himselfe the commoditie of victuals; and taking the borough of *Este* by assault, and putting it to sacke, he went to encampe at *Monselica*, where the towne standing in the plaine being abandoned, the second day he tooke the Castle standing on the top of a high rocke. Afterwards he tooke by composition *Montagnana*, from whence returning towards *Padua*, he incamped at the bridge of *Bassanello* neare *Padua*, and assayed in vaine to turne the riuer of *Brenta* which from thence hath his course to *Padua*: at which place all the artilleries and munitions which he expected being arriued, and all the regiments of men of warre which lay dis-

perſed

perſed in diuers places being come together, he approched the towne with all his armie: and hauing beſtowed foure thouſand footmen in the ſuburbes which are called *S. Croſſe*, his opinion was to aſſaile it on that ſide. But afterwards being aduertiſed that it was the ſtrongeſt part of the towne both by ſituation and by walls, and that it was the beſt fortified, and alſo for that he [illegible] receiued great harmes by the artilleries of *Padua*, he determined to remoue and tranſport his armie to the gate *Portello*, bearing his aſpect to *Venice*; becauſe he was informed that the towne was moſt weake in that place, and withall to giue impediment to the ſuccours which were to come from *Venice* to *Padua* either by land or by water. But for that he could not go thither for the diſcommoditie of certaine marriſhes and waters that ouerflowed the countrey, but by fetching a great circuite, he came to the bridge of *Bouolento*, which is ſeuen miles from *Padua*, where be paſtures and feeding grounds vpon the banke of *Baguillon* towards the ſea, betweene *Padua* and *Venice*. Into this place, being enuironed with waters, and in the moſt ſure part of the countrey of *Padua*, were withdrawne three thouſand paiſants with great heards of cattell, who being forced by the footbands of the *Spaniſh* and *Italians* that were in the vauward, were almoſt all taken or ſlaine, the victors for the two dayes following doing nothing elſe but ouer-run the whole countrey, euen to the ſea, driuing away infinite heards of cattell feeding in that quarter. There were alſo taken vpon *Brenta* diuers barks, which laden with victuals were going vp to *Padua*. And at laſt, the fifteenth day of September, after he had conſumed much time vnprofitably, and giuen leiſure to the enemie both to fortifie and refurniſh the towne with victuals, he approched the walls of *Padua* on that ſide towards the gate *Portello*. There hath not bin ſeen in *Italy* in this age, nor haply a long time before, a ſiege of more great expectation, nor wherein the minds of men were more buſily occupied, then this, as well for the nobilitie of the Citie, as for the importance that was in the loſing or keeping of the ſame. For *Padua* a moſt noble and ancient Citie, and renowmed for the Vniuerſitie of ſtudies, and by which do paſſe the riuers of *Brenta* and *Baguillon*; it is compaſſed with three orders of wals, and which peraduenture hath as great a circuite of ground, as any of the greateſt Cities of *Italy*; is ſeated in a countrey fertill, and where the aire is temperate and wholeſome: and although the *Venetians* won it out of the poſſeſſion of the family of *Carrate* more then two hundred yeares ſince, yet it retaines many great and ſtately buildings, with many memorable markes of antiquitie, well expreſſing her ancient greatneſſe and beautie. And of the conquering or defending of ſo great a Citie, depended, not onely the confirmation or diminution of the *Almaine* imperie in *Italy*, but alſo the very eſtate of the Citie of *Venice*. For *Padua* being defended, the Commonweale of *Venice* abounding in wealth, and being at vnitie in her ſelfe, with ſtore of prompt wits, and ſubiect to no ſuch variations as the affaires of Princes are, may eaſily hope to recouer in ſmall time a part of her iuriſdiction: and ſo much the more, by how much the moſt part of thoſe ſubiects which had thirſted after mutations, hauing not found effects anſwerable to their conceptions, and knowing by compariſon what difference there was betweene the moderate gouernment of the *Venetians*, and that of the *Almaines*, farre different from the maners and cuſtomes of the *Italians*, and greatly diſordered by the confuſions and damages of the warre, they began to be better affected to their ancient gouernment: but on the contrary, if *Padua* were loſt, the *Venetians* ſhould loſe all hope to be able to reſtore the glorie of their Commonweale, yea there was great danger that the very Citie of *Venice* diſpoiled of ſo great an eſtate, & depriued of great riches, & many treaſures, both by the diminution of publike reuenues, and by the loſſe of ſo much goods poſſeſſed by priuate perſons in the firme land, would not be able to maintaine defence againſt the armies of the Princes confederate, or at leaſt would in time become a prey as well to the *Turkes* (to whom they are neighbours in many places, and with whom they haue had alwayes either warre, or peace vnfaithfull and ill aſſured) as to the Chriſtian Princes. But all men were in no leſſe doubt, the mightie preparations that were made on all ſides keeping wonderfully in ſuſpence the common iudgements, which were very vncertaine on whether part the better fortune would fall, either to the aſſailants or to the defendants. For in the armie of *Caſar*, beſides the ſeuen hundred *French* Lances, which *Monſieur la Palice* commanded, there were two hundred men at armes which the Pope had ſent to his aide; two hundred more ſent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, vnder the charge of the Cardinall of *Eſte*, notwithſtanding the quarrels that were betweene them were not yet reconciled; and ſixe hundred *Italian* Lances vnder ſundry Captaines which he had taken into his pay. He was no leſſe ſtrong in footmen then in horſemen: for he had

The deſcription of Padua.

had eighteene thousand *Almaine* footmen, sixe thousand *Spanish*, sixe thousand aduenturers of diuers nations, and two thousand *Italians*, leuied and payed by the Cardinall of *Este* vnder the same title. There followed him a wonderfull proportion of all sorts of artilleries, with great quantities of munitions, whereof the *French* King had sent him part. And albeit for the most part his owne ordinarie bands were not payed, yet, what with the consideration of the greatnesse and authoritie of such a Leader, and the hope to spoile and sacke *Padua*, and to haue at their deuotion all that the *Venetians* possessed as yet, they abandoned not their seruice for that, but flocked to him dayly in greater numbers, chiefly for that all men knew, that he that of his owne nature was most liberall and full of humanitie to his souldiers, would not faile of their paiment by couetousnesse or will, but by disabilitie or want. This was the strength of *Cæsars* armie, not wholly compounded of his owne forces, but also of strangers and mercenaries. But as touching the defence of *Padua*, the armie which the *Venetians* had in that Citie, was no lesse mightie: for they had there sixe hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horsemen, fifteene hundred estradiots, commanded by these notable Captaines, the Count *Petillane* Generall of the whole, *Bernardino de Montono*, *Anthonie de Pio*, *Luke Maluezzo*, *John Greeke*, with other inferiour leaders. There were besides the horsemen, twelue thousand footmen of the best experienced and trained in all *Italy*, vnder the charge of *Denis de Naldo*, *Zitole de Perousa*, *Lactantius de Bergamo*, *Saccocio de Spoleto*, with many other officers: ten thousand foormen, as well *Slauonians*, *Greekes*, as *Albanois*, whom they had drawne from their galleys, of whom albeit many were not much profitable to the seruice, yet some of them were well trained and able to do necessary office. Besides these, they had the youth of *Venice* and their followers, who albeit they were much respected for their nobilitie and pietie to their countrey, yet for that they offered themselues readily to all dangers, and for the example which they gaue to others, they were of great importance. There was also great store of all prouisions necessarie, great quantities of artilleries, wonderfull plentie of all sorts of victuals, the people of the plaine countreys being no lesse carefull to bring in their prouisions for their common suretie, then the magistrates and officers of *Venice* to giue order for their continuall refurnishing, and a multitude almost innumerable of paisants, who being leuied at a certaine price, laboured incessantly: in so much as that Citie being very strong for the valour and numbers of the defendants, was wonderfully fortified with rampiers in the whole circuite of the walls: for they had almost filled vp all the waterditch which runneth along the walls, and at euery gate of the towne and other places conuenient, builded many forts and close bastillions without, but so as they were annexed to the walls, and had entries and conueyances into the towne, and being wel repleniſhed with artilleries, they beat such as entred into the trench. And yet to the end y taking of those bastillions should bring no danger to the town, they had made vnder each of them a caue filled with barrels of gun-powder, to blow thē vp into the aire when they could be no longer defended. And not altogether reposing in the greatnesse & goodnes of the old wall, notwithstanding they had viewed it diligently, and repaired it where it was needfull, casting downe the battlements; they made round about the Citie within, a Palissado or fortification of stakes, trees, and other peeces of wood, as farre distant from the wall as it was in thicknesse, and with a wonderfull diligence filled vp to the top of the wall with good earth and well rammed, all the voide place that was betweene. This fortification no lesse wonderfull in effect, then for labour and trauell inestimable, wherein were employed an infinite number of men, did not yet satisfie the expectation of those to whom the defence of that Citie was committed, but the wall being in this sort fortified and redoubled, they cast a trench of sixteene fadome in breadth, and as many in depth, which drawing narrower in the bottome, and standing thicke with murdering houses and litle towers full of shot, seemed impossible to be forced: and these fortifications were made with hollow vaults and caues, according to the example of the bastillions, hauing conueyances to be ouerthrowne by fire when they would. And yet to be further prepared for all occasions, they raised behind the trench a rampier of the same or greater largenesse, which stretched out as farre as the circuite of the towne, except in certaine corners and places, wherein they knew it was impossible to plant artillerie: and before the rampier they cast a parapet of seuen fadome, which was a defence to those that fought vpon the rampier, that they could not be stricken with the artilleries of the enemie. And to the end the courage of the souldiers and men of the towne might easily answer those prouisions and fortifications, when the Count *Petillane* had assembled the whole armie in the place of *S. Anthonie*,

and

and had encouraged them with ſpeeches of great grauitie and valour, to conſider vpon what termes ſtood their common ſafetie and honour, he bound himſelfe, and cauſed to be bound by ſolemne oath all the Captaines, all the armie, and thoſe of the towne, to employ themſelues faithfully in the defence of the Citie, euen to death.

Then the armie of *Ceſar* being drawne neare the walls of *Padua*, with ſo great a ſtrength, and againſt ſo mightie a preparation, he ſtretched out his campe from the gate *Portello* vnto the gate of *All Saints* which leades to *Treuiſa*, and from thence enlarged it to the gate of *Codalonga* which goeth to the Citadell, ſo as it contained three miles in length. *Maximilian* himſelfe was lodged in the Monaſterie of *S. Helen*, diſtant a quarter of a mile from the Citie walls, being as it were in the midſt of the *Almaine* footmen: and after he had giuen to euery one his charge, according to the diuerſitie of nations and places of their encamping, he began to plant his artilleries for the batterie, which could not be accompliſhed (albeit in his perſon being inuincible in mind, and of a bodie hardned with paine and trauels, he performed a wonderfull diligence, running through all places day and night, and being preſent in all actions) but with longneſſe of time and great difficultie, as well for the great quantitie and intollerable greatneſſe of ſome of them, as alſo for that the whole campe, and ſpecially thoſe places where they ſought to plant them, were continually beaten and diſtreſſed with the artilleries of the towne. At laſt, the perpetuall induſtrie of *Maximilian* ioyned to the valour of his ſouldiers, made way to plant his artilleries, and the ſame day the *French* and the footmen of the *Almaines* gaue an aſſault to the tower of the gate on that ſide where *Monſieur la Paliſſa* had the charge, but more to ſound and proue their countenance, then with intention to fight in good earneſt: and therefore finding the reſiſtance valiant and well furniſhed, they retired eftſoones to their tents. The day following, the artilleries ſhot furiouſly without ceaſſing, the greateſt part of them by their incredible hugeneſſe and vnmeaſurable quantitie of powder that was vſed, piercing through the rampiers, beat downe the houſes that were neare the walls: and now in many places a great ſpace of the wall was caſt downe, and the baſtillion built at the gate of *All Saints* was beaten downe to the ground; but for al that the defendants, afflicting the camp with continual volleys of ſhot, ſhewed no ſigne of feare: and the eſtradiots that in great valour were lodged in the ſuburbes, refuſing to retire into the towne, and the light horſemen making continuall incurſions in all places, skirmiſhed with their enemies ſometimes before, and ſometimes behind, driuing them euen to their tents, ſometimes they diſtreſſed ſuch as were guards to the forragers and victuallers, and ſometimes ouerrunning and ſpoiling the whole countrey, they troubled all the wayes, except that which goeth from *Padua* to the mount of *Aban*: and yet there was in the campe a wonderfull abundance of victuals, euery houſe and place being plentifully furniſhed; for that neither the feare of the paiſants, nor the carefull diligence of the *Venetians*, nor the infinite harmes of the ſouldiers on both ſides, could waſte or draine vp the great plentie of that moſt fruitfull and fertill countrey. At the ſame time alſo *Luke Maluezzo* iſſued out of *Padua* with many horſemen for the conuoy of fortie thouſand duckats which were ſent thither from *Venice*: and albeit in his returne the enemie charged him vpon the taile, yet he brought in the treaſure in ſafetie, without any other loſſe then of ſome of his men at armes. By the ninth day the artillerie had executed ſo well, that it ſeemed there was no further neceſſitie to ſhoote, and therefore the day following, the whole armie prepared in order of battell to approch the wals; but perceiuing that the ſame night they within the towne had made the water of the ditch to ſwell and riſe, which afore was abated, and *Ceſar* holding it not neceſſarie to commit his ſouldiers to a manifeſt danger, euery one returned to his lodging. The next day (the water eftſoones abated) they gaue an aſſault (but with ſlender ſucceſſe) to the baſtillion which was made vpon the point of the gate of *Codalonga*, and therefore the Emperour purpoſing to do what he could to force it, cauſed to be turned thither the artilleries that were planted in the quarter of the *French*, lying betweene the gates of *All Saints* and *Codalonga*: wherewith hauing ruined ſome part, two dayes after he commanded the *Almain* and *Spaniſh* footmen, accompanied with certaine men at armes on foote to giue the aſſault, who fighting valiantly aſcended the baſtillion, and ſet vp there two enſignes. But the fortreſſe of the ditch was ſuch, and no leſſe the vertue of the defendants, (amongſt whom *Zitolo* of *Perouſa* fighting brauely and with great honor, was ſore hurt) and ſo plentifull the inſtruments of defence, not onely of artilleries, but alſo of ſtones and wildfires, that they were conſtrained to deſcend by heapes, many being wounded and many ſlaine: in ſo much as the armie that ſtood

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in readineſſe to giue the aſſault to the wall, as ſoone as the baſtillion ſhould be taken (as they thought) retired, and diſarmed, without making any other attempt. *Maximilian* by this experience loſt all hope of the victorie; and therefore determining to go his way, after he had beſtowed his artilleries in ſure places, he retired with all his armie to the towne of *Limini* which is towards *Treuiſa*, the ſeuenteenth day after he was encamped before *Padua*: and afterwards with many baites and reſting places he went to *Vincenſa*, from whence when he had taken of that people the oath of fidelitie, and diſmiſſed almoſt all his armie, he tooke his way towards *Verona*, being not a litle diſcontent that his deliberations had ſucceeded no better, but much more for that they were maruellouſly taxed, both in his armie and throughout all *Italy*: and no leſſe the execution of the things determined. For no man doubted, that the cauſe why he tooke not *Treuiſa*, and that he loſt *Padua*, was any other then his owne fault; and alſo that his too late arriuing afore *Padua*, made the action more hard, for that thereby the *Venetians* had time to make prouiſion of ſouldiers, to repleniſh *Padua* with victuals, and to make ſuch admirable preparations and fortifications. And he himſelfe denied not, but that had bene the cauſe that the Citie was defended; but putting off the faults of his varietie and diſorders, and caſting them vpon others, he complained of the Pope and the *French* king, for that the one had ſuffered the Embaſſadours of *Venice* to go to *Rome*, and the other had bene too ſlow in ſending ſuccours; the ſame giuing occaſion to the world to beleeue that they were eſtranged from him, and had likewiſe encouraged the countrymen of the mountaines of *Vincenſa* to draw into rebellion; for the ſubduing of whom, after he had conſumed many dayes, he likewiſe found (for the ſame cauſe) the like difficulties in the plaine countrey: Alſo that to open way, and aſſure himſelfe of victuals, and to free himſelfe from many inconueniences, he was conſtrained to take all the townes of the countrey: That herein the ſlow marching of the *French* had not onely much hurt him, but if they had come in due time, the reuolt of *Padua* had not happened: And that as well for this, as for that the Kings of *France* and *Aragon* had diſmiſſed their armie at ſea, the *Venetians* being freed from all other feares, had the better oportunitie to furniſh and fortifie *Padua*. And he complained further, that theſe difficulties were very plauſible to the King of *Aragon*, as meanes the more eaſily to induce him to conſent that the adminiſtration and gouernment of the kingdome of *Caſtile* ſhould remaine to him. But theſe complaints did nothing better his conditions, nor recouer his authoritie loſt, not knowing how to vſe ſo faire occaſions: for the *French* King was well content that ſuch an opinion was generally conceiued of him, and the Pope cared not much, who of his owne inclination being ſuſpitions and diſtruſtfull, and conſidering that the Emperour alwayes wanted money, and was importunate in demanding of it, was vnwilling that his name ſhould increaſe in *Italy*. At *Verona* he receiued the oath of fidelitie, and in that Citie the *Florentine* Embaſſadours, whereof *Peter Guicciardin* my father was one, couenanted with him in the name of that Commonweale (induced thereunto, beſides other reaſons, by the perſwaſions of the *French* King) to pay him within a ſhort time fortie thouſand duckats: for which promiſe they obtained of him moſt ample priuiledges, for the confirmation as well of the libertie of *Florence*, as of the dominion and iuriſdiction of the townes and eſtates which they held, together with acquittance and diſcharge of all duties and demands for the time paſt. Thus *Ceſar* being reſolued to returne into *Germanie*, to giue order (as he ſaid) for the warres he intended to make in the Spring of the yeare, ſent for *Monſieur de Chaumont* to come and commune with him about the preſent affaires: and when he was come vnto him at the village of *Ars* in the territorie of *Verona*, he layed afore him what danger there was, that the *Venetians* would come and recouer *Ciuitella* and *Baſſana*, places of great importance, which they prepared to aſſaile, being made proud by the defence of *Padua*: alſo that there was danger leſt they would do the like afterwards to *Monſelica*, *Montagnana* and *Eſte*. That it was neceſſarie, not onely to looke to the keeping of theſe places, but alſo to be carefull of the meanes to recouer *Legnago*: and that he himſelfe being ſufficiently able to leuie prouiſions neceſſarie for ſuch effects; it was needfull that the King ſhould aide him, whoſe places would fall into manifeſt danger, if the peeces which he held were not ſupported. To theſe demands, *Monſieur de Chaumont*, in whom was no power to make any certaine reſolution, gaue anſwer, that he would aduertiſe the King, and that he hoped the anſwer would be conformable to his deſire. After this conference, *Ceſar* went to *Chiuſa*, leauing the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* for the guard of *Verona*; and a litle after, *Monſieur de Paliſſa* remaining with fiue hundred Lances vpon the countrey of *Verona*, alledging the difficulties of lodging

lodging and many other incommodities, after he had gotten leaue of him, almoſt by importunitie, he retired to the frontier of the Duchie of *Millan*: for that the Kings intention was, that if his men of warre ſhould remaine in garriſon and do nothing, they ſhould not abide vpon his eſtate, but ſhould returne to the ſeruice of *Maximilian*, to expect ſuch enterpriſes as he would embrace, but chiefly that of *Legnaguo*, the which though it was much deſired and ſolicited by him, yet was it ſo much deferred by his accuſtomed difficulties, that the raines fell ſo faſt by the propertie of the ſeaſon, that it was impoſſible to encamp in that country, which for the lowneſſe thereof is much ſubiect to waters: and therefore the Emperour being brought into theſe ſtraits, deſired a truce with the *Venetians* for certaine moneths. But they taking courage by theſe diſorders, and ſeeing how ſlowly the Confederates miniſtred to his aide, iudged it not for their profite to conſent to any ſurceaſſing of armes.

At laſt the Emperour returned to *Trent*, leauing thoſe places that he held in great danger, and all *Italy* in great doubt: for there was raiſed a new contention betweene the Pope and the *French* King, the foundation whereof although it ſeemed to proceed from light occaſions, yet it was feared leſt it aroſe of ſome ſecret practiſes and cauſes of greater importance then ſuch as were made knowne; which was this: A Biſhopricke being voide in *Prouence* by the death of the incumbent, dying in the Court of *Rome*, the Pope had diſpoſed of it againſt the liking of the *French* King, who pretended that ſuch an action was contrary to the capitulation which the Cardinall of *Pauie* had made betweene them; wherein although it were not expreſſed in words, that there ſhould be equall obſeruation touching the Biſhopricks that ſhould fall voide in the Court of *Rome*, as in thoſe that ſhould fall vacant in other places, yet that the Cardinall had promiſed him ſo by word of mouth: which the Cardinall denying to be true, more perhaps for feare then for any other occaſion, the Pope affirmed, that he tooke no knowledge of any thing that was promiſed in ſecret, but that in the ratification he had regard to that that appeared in the writing, wherein he had ſet downe diſtinctly all the contents of the capitulation, article by article, and the caſe concerning the Biſhops dying in the Court of *Rome* being not therein comprehended, he was no further bound. And therefore the ſame diſcontentment increaſing, the King (reiecting, contrary to his cuſtome, the counſell of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who had alwayes aduiſed him to be at accord with the Pope) made ſequeſtration of the fruites of all thoſe benefices which the Churchmen reſident in the Court of *Rome* held in the Duchie of *Millan*: and on the other ſide, the Pope refuſed to giue the Cardinals Hat to the Biſhop of *Albie*, who, according to the promiſe made to the King, was gone to *Rome* to receiue it. And although the Pope, ouercome by the requeſts of many, diſpoſed in the end of the Biſhopricke of *Prouence* according to the Kings mind, and made a new agreement with him touching the proceeding in benefices that hereafter ſhould fall in the Court of *Rome*; and in that regard the ſequeſtrations to ceaſſe on the one ſide, and on the other part the Hat to be transferred to the Biſhop of *Albie*: yet theſe things ſuffiſed not to moderate the mind of the Pope, who was not a litle kindled for many reaſons, but ſpecially for that hauing from the beginning of his Popedome very vnwillingly transferred the Legation of the Realme of *France* to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, as hurtfull to the Court of *Rome*, and preiudiciall to his authoritie; it was moſt grieuous vnto him (to auoide the diſpleaſure of the *French* King) to continue it to him: and therefore perſwading himſelfe that the ſame Cardinall aſpired with all his thoughts and meanes to the Popedome, he ſtood in feare and doubt of euery progreſſe and moouing of the *French*. Theſe were the apparent cauſes of his diſcontentment; but by that which was diſcerned afterwards, he propoſed to himſelfe greater ends, deſiring vehemently, either for greedineſſe of glorie, or for ſome ſecret hatred againſt the *French* King, or at leaſt longing for the libertie of the *Genoways*, that the King might loſe all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*: and he ceaſſed not to complaine openly of him and the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*; but ſo, that it ſeemed his diſcontentment proceeded chiefly of feare. And yet, as he was of nature obſtinate and inuincible, and for the moſt part accompanied the diſpoſition of his mind with outward demonſtrations: ſo though he aſpired in his thoughts to an end of ſo great conſequence and hard to obtaine, truſting onely to himſelfe, and in the reuerence and authoritie which he knew Chriſtian Princes bare to the Papall ſeate, he woud not enter into alliance nor depend vpon any; but ſhewing both by words and deeds how litle account he made of all, he forbare to ioyne with *Maximilian*, and refuſed to enter into ſecret intelligence with the King Catholike, but eſtranging himſelfe from all the reſt, he inclined onely to the part of the

Maximilian returneth into Germanie.

the *Venetians*, reſoluing dayly more and more to abſolue them; iudging it a thing very conuenient for the common ſafetie of *Italy*, and for his particular ſuretie and greatneſſe, not to ſuffer them to periſh. Againſt this the Embaſſadours of *Maximilian* and the *French* King, made great reſiſtance, with whom was publikely concurrant in the ſame buſineſſe the Embaſſadour of the King of *Aragon*, notwithſtanding ſecretly he ſolicited the Pope to the contrary, fearing the greatneſſe of the *French* King in regard of the kingdome of *Naples*, and repoſing litle in the diſpoſition of *Ceſar*, for the ſlender ſtabilitie that was in him. Theſe Embaſſadours alledged, that it was not reaſonable, that the Pope ſhould do ſo great a benefite for thoſe whom he was bound to purſue with armes; ſeeing that by the confederation of *Cambray* euery Confederate was bound reciprocally to aid one another till there was abſolute recouery of all thoſe places which were named for euery one in particular: Wherefore then ſeeing *Ceſar* had not yet conquered *Treuiſa*, none of them was freed of that bond: beſides that, he might iuſtly refuſe abſolution to the *Venetians*, for that they had not reſtored to the Church the townes of *Romagna*, either willingly, or in the time ſet downe in the monition: nay, they had not as yet fully obeyed, for that they were admoniſhed beſides the townes, to reſtore the fruites, which they haue not accompliſhed. But hereunto the Pope anſwered, that ſince they were returned to penance, and had ſought for abſolution with great humilitie, it was not the office of Chriſts Vicar to perſecute them any further with ſpirituall weapons to the preiudice of ſo many thouſand ſoules, ſpecially hauing obtained of them the Townes, and by that meanes the occaſion ceaſſing for which they had bene ſubiect to the cenſures of the Church: That touching the reſtitution of the fruites, it was but a matter accidentall, and vrged more to aggrauate their diſobedience, then for any other reaſon; and that it was not meete that that ſhould ſtand againſt them as a matter of importance: That it was an action of another nature to purſue them with temporall armes, wherein (ſeeing he had determined in the league of *Cambray* to perſeuere) he offered himſelfe readie to be concurrant with the others; although any of the Confederates might iuſtly leaue off, for that if *Ceſar* had not *Treuiſa*, it was through his owne fault, in refuſing the firſt offers which the *Venetians* made to him by their Embaſſador *Anthonie Iuſtinia*, to leaue him all that they poſſeſſed in the firme land; and alſo the other offer, which they made him many times ſince, to giue him ſufficient recompence in exchange for *Treuiſa*. And thus not being retained by any contradiction of the Embaſſadours, he was ſlow to this action onely by the haughtineſſe of his mind, whereby it came to paſſe, that albeit he eſteemed the abſolution of the *Venetians* to be profitable vnto him, and to the plots he had layed, yet he had determined not to giue it them, but with great reſpect to his authoritie, and in ſuch ſort, as whatſoeuer was dependant of the Church, might be wholly freed from their oppreſſions: which was the cauſe that the *Venetians* being vnwilling to yeeld to two conditions which he propoſed vnto them among many others, he deferred to abſolue them. One of the conditions was, that they ſhould leaue the nauigation of the *Adriatique* ſea free to the ſubiects of the Church, which they reſtrained to all thoſe that would not pay them a certaine tribute for the merchandize they brought: the other, that they ſhould continue no longer at *Ferrara* (a Citie depending of the Church) the office of *Vicedomino*. The *Venetians* alledged, that they of *Ferrara* had conſented to it, Pope *Clement* the ſixt giuing no impediment, who at that time remained with his Court in the Citie of *Auignon*: and that Pope *Alexander* the fourth had giuen them the iuriſdiction and guard of the Gulfe with very large priuiledges; being hereunto moued, for that with their armes, by their vertue, and with their expences they had defended it againſt the *Saracens* and pirats, and made that nauigation ſafe for the Chriſtians. To theſe reaſons it was anſwered on ꝯ Popes behalfe, that they of *Ferrara* could not in preiudice of the Eccleſiaſtike iuriſdiction, conſent, that any other ſhould hold office or exerciſe dominiō in *Ferrara*: & that the people of *Ferrara* had not willingly conſented, but forced by a long & grieuous war, and hauing in vaine craued aid of the Pope, whoſe cenſures the *Venetians* contemned, were conſtrained to accept peace at the diſcretion of thoſe, who could do more againſt them by arms then by reaſon. And wheras they ſay it was granted to thē by Pope *Alexander*, there appeareth nothing either in hiſtories or cōtracts, neither is there any othet thing to cauſe vs to beleeue it, ſaue only the teſtimonie of the *Venetians*, which in their owne cauſe, of ſo great conſequence, is to be ſuſpected: & though there ſhould ſome ſuch thing appeare, yet it is more likely, that he, whom they ſaid had accorded to ſuch things in *Venice*, had done it by threatnings or for feare, then that a Pope of *Rome*, to whom afore all others appertained the defence of iuſtice, and the

recourſe

recourſe of the oppreſſed, would haue conſented to a thing ſo imperious and domageable to all the world.

In this eſtate of affaires, diuerſitie of intentions of Princes, and ſmall power and reputation of the Emperour, the *Venetians* ſent their armie to *Vincenſa* vnder the leading of *Andrew Gritti*, knowing that the people there deſired to returne vnder their obedience; and making their approch in the euening, after they had battered the ſuburbes of *Portello* with the artilleries, they tooke it. Touching the Citie, although there were very few ſouldiers in it, yet the *Venetians* had no great aſſurance to carrie it: but the townesmen, ſtirred vp by *Fracaſſe* (as the bruite went) after they had ſent Embaſſadours to them about midnight, let them in, and the Prince of *Henault* and *Fracaſſe* retired into the Caſtle. And it was aſſuredly beleeued, that if the *Venetian* armie, hauing obtained *Vincenſa*, had without delay approched *Verona*, that towne had done the like: but the Captaines thought it not fit to depart out of the towne vntill the Caſtle were taken, which they had the fourth day, for that the Prince of *Henault* and *Fracaſſe* finding themſelues too weake, left it abandoned. In the meane time 5 companies of *Ceſar* entred *Verona*, and three hundred Lances of the *French* King, vnder the charge of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*: in ſo much as containing a ſtrength of fiue hundred Lances and fiue thouſand footmen *Spaniſh* & *Almains*, it was now no more eaſie to take it. Not long after the *Venetian* armie approched *Verona*, being deuided into two parts, in either of which were three hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſmen, and three thouſand footmen. They hoped, that as ſoone as they were approched, there would be ſome commotion in the Citie, but becauſe they preſented not themſelues afore the walls all at one time, thoſe within the towne going to afront the former part which came beyond the riuer of *Adice*, and was already entred the ſuburbes, conſtrained them to retire; and *Luke MalueZZo* coming a litle after on the other ſide of the riuer with the other part, retired alſo: and both theſe ioyning together, incamped in the village of *S. Martin* within fiue miles of *Verona*, where vnderſtanding that two thouſand *Almain* footmen iſſued out of *Baſciana*, were gone to make pillage about *Ciuitella*, turning that way, they encloſed them in a valley called *Fidato*: but the *Almaines* being ſuccoured by thoſe of *Baſciana*, made their way by force, though not without ſome hurt by reaſon of the ſtraite paſſages, and leauing *Baſciana* abandoned, the *Venetians* tooke it. From *Baſciana* part of the armie went to *Feltre* and *Ciuital*, which places after they had recouered, they preſented themſelues before the Rocke of *Eſcalo*, which was taken as ſoone as the artilleries were planted. At the ſame time *Anthonie* and *Hierome Sauorgniana*, Gentlemen that followed the *Venetians* in the countrey of *Friul*, tooke Newcaſtle, which ſtandeth on a rough mountaine in the midſt of the Patrimonie (ſo is that part of *Friul* called which is beyond the riuer of *Taillement*:) and all this while there was no other thing heard of *Maximilian* (who being moued with the action of *Vincenſa*, was ſuddenly come to *Pietra*) then vaine rumours, and that he often trauelled from one place to another in great diligence, but without any effect.

The Venetian armie at Vincenſa.

After this, the *Venetian* armie drew towards *Monſelice* and *Montagnana*, both to recouer *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and to enter vpon the places of *Ferrara*, together with ſome boates, which the Senate, (reiecting the counſell of the moſt wiſe Senators, who iudged it raſhneſſe to intangle themſelues with new enterpriſes) had determined to ſend againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, well furniſhed with ſtrength and munition along the riuer of *Po*. They were moued to this action, not ſo much for the profite of the affaires preſent, as for the incredible hatred they had conceiued againſt him: it ſeeming to them that they could not iuſtly complaine of that he had done, to ſhake off the yoke of *Vicedomino*, and to recouer *Poleſina*; but that they ought not to ſuffer, that not being content with that which he pretended to appertaine to him by right, he aſpired to retaine that which did no way appertaine vnto him; for that at ſuch time as *Ceſar* raiſed his ſiege from before *Padua*, he receiued of him in fee the borough of *Eſte* (from whence is ſprong the ſurname of the family of *Eſte*) and by way of pawne, the borough *Montagnana*, for aſſurance of the money that he had lent him; to which places he had no right at all. They added hereunto the remembrance that his ſouldiers in the recouerie of *Poleſina*, puſhed on with an incredible hatred againſt the *Venetian* name, had executed great harmes vpon the Gentlemen, raging cruelly againſt their houſes, and ſetting them on fire. In theſe reſpects it was agreed, that their nauie commanded by *Ange Treuiſan*, compounded of ſixteene galleys, with a great number of ſmaller veſſels well furniſhed with men of warre, ſhould ſaile towards *Ferrara*: the which armie being en-

The Venetian army vpon the countrey of Ferrara.

tred into *Po* by the mouth of Fornacies, and hauing burnt *Coruola* with certaine other villages neare to *Po*, went ſpoiling all the countrey vp to the lake of *Scuro*, from which place the light horſemen who followed them as a ſtrength by land, made incurſions as farre as *Ficherolo*, which is rather a houſe of pleaſure then a Caſtle, but of great reputation, for that *Robert S. Seuerin* lay long time before it, being Captaine to the *Venetians* in the warre which they had againſt *Hercules* father to *Alphonſo*. The coming of this nanie, together with the rumor of the armie by land that was to follow, brought no litle amaze to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, hauing but a ſlender ſtrength of ſouldiers, and the inhabitants of *Ferrara*, either for their ſmall numbers, or for their ignorance in warre, not ſufficient enough to oppoſe againſt ſuch a danger, he had no other meane to defend himſelfe vntill the ſuccours which he expected from the Pope and *French* king were come vnto him, then to let with force of ſhot beſtowed vpon the brinke of *Po*, that the enemies ſhould paſſe no further: for which cauſe when *Treuiſan* had in vaine aſſayed to paſſe, and ſeeing he could aduance nothing except he were ſuccoured by land, he came to an anker in the midſt of the riuer of *Po* behind a litle Ile, right ouer againſt *Puliſelle*, a place within eleuen miles of *Ferrara*, and very apt to annoy the towne. His intention was to expect there the army, who had gotten all *Poleſina* without any difficultie, hauing firſt recouered *Montagnana* by compoſition, whereby the magiſtrates of *Ferrara* were deliuered to them as priſoners, together with the Captaines of the footmen that were within. In this time of expectation of the armie, for the more ſafe riding of the galleys in the place where they lay, *Treuiſan* began to raiſe two baſtillions vpon the banks of *Po*, the one on that ſide to *Ferrara*, the other vpon the ſhore right againſt it, caſting withall a bridge vpon the veſſels to haue the more oportunitie to ſuccour that baſtillion that was on *Ferrara* ſide: the finiſhing whereof, the Duke purpoſing to hinder, but with a counſell haply more couragious then diſcreete, hauing called together as many of the youth of the towne as he could, with ſuch companies of ſouldiers as came to his pay, he ſent them continually to aſſaile the baſtillion on a ſudden: but the defendants receiuing ſuccous of their peoples which iſſued out of the veſſels, began to diſorder the enemie and put them to flight; and albeit the Duke himſelfe came to the medley with a freſh ſuccour of horſemen, and with his preſence brought a new heart to moſt of his people not trained in warre, and reduced them into order, yet ſuch was the furie of the enemie, for whom the ſuretie of the place fought, being manned with many peeces of ſmall ſhot, that in the end he was conſtrained to retire, leauing many of his people either dead or taken, and that not ſo many of the vnexperienced and baſe multitude, as of the moſt braue ſouldiers and nobilitie of *Ferrara*; amongſt whom was *Hercules Cantelmo*, a yong man of great hope, whoſe anceſtors aforetime were Dukes of *Sore* in the kingdome of *Naples*: for as certaine *Slauonian* ſouldiers led him priſoner into a galley, and contending amongſt themſelues to which of them he ſhould be priſoner, there was one of them, who, with a rare example of barbarous crueltie, miſerably ſtroke off his head. Wherefore the towne of *Ferrara* ſeeming to all men to be in great danger, *Monſieur de Chaumont* ſent to the ſuccours of it the Lord of *Chaſtillion* with an hundred and fiftie *French* Lances: and the Pope being kindled againſt the *Venetians* for entring into that action without any regard to the ſuperioritie which the Church hath there, appointed the two hundred men at armes which he had ſent to *Cæſars* aide, to be conuerted to the defence of *Ferrara*. But theſe ſuccours haply had come too late, if the *Venetians* had not bene compelled to looke to the defence of their owne eſtate. For as the troubles wherein *Maximilian* was (as hath bene declared before) were nothing grieuous to the *French* King, partly for the continuall feare he had of his proſperitie, and partly for that burning in deſire to make himſelfe Lord of *Verona*, he hoped by reaſon of his neceſſities to haue it of him at laſt, either by purchaſe or by engaging: but on the other ſide he was much diſpleaſed that the *Venetian* greatneſſe was eſtſoones reeſtabliſhed, which would turne him to continuall perill and perplexitie for his Duchie of *Millan*. And therefore *Cæſar* not hauing ſufficiently furniſhed *Verona* for want of money, the *French* King was conſtrained to enter into care of things, and by ſending thither new companies, beſides thoſe men at armes which were there already, ſo to prouide that that Citie returned not to their obedience. To this *Monſieur de Chaumont* gaue beginning, who, after the loſſe of *Vincenſa*, being come vpon the marches of *Verona*, he retained in the *French* kings pay two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, which were within *Verona*, who began to draw into tumult for want of paiment: and he ſent thither for a greater ſuretie, other bands of footmen, according to the aduice of *Triuulce*; who, for that *Monſieur de Chaumont* feared leſt

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the King would be diſcontented with ſo great expences, made anſwer, that it was better the King ſhould charge him with the expence of his money, then to haue loſt or put in danger his eſtate. Beſides this, he lent to *Ceſar* eight thouſand duckats to pay the ſouldiers that were within *Verona*, but receiuing in pawne for the repaiment of that ſumme and others which afterward he ſhould aduance for his affaires, the towne of *Vallegge*, a place which the King eſteemed much for the ſuretie of *Breſſe*, for as much as it is within ſixe miles of *Breſſe*, and is a paſſage ouer *Mincia*; yea ſuch a one, as he who poſſeſſeth *Vallegge* and *Peſquiero*, is maiſter of that riuer. The comming of *Monſieur de Chaumont* being followed with the moſt part of the Lances in the Duchie of *Millan*, together with the companies which he had put into *Verona*, and the rumour that ran of his preparation to beſiege *Vincenſa*, were the cauſes that the *Venetian* armie, leauing for the defence of *Poleſina* and to ſuccour their nauie, foure hundred light horſemen and foure hundred footmen, retired from the country of *Ferrara*, deuiding themſelues into *Legnaguo*, *Soaue*, & *Vincenſa*: and being carefull to aſſure *Vincenſa*, and to prouide that the country thereabout were not diſtreſſed by the garriſon of *Verona*, they fortified it with a wonderfull trench, large and full of water, enuironed with a rampier, whereon were diſperſed many baſtillions. It began from the foote of the mountaine which lieth below *Soaue*, and reaching about fiue miles along the plaine that leades from *Rouigna* to *Montfort*, it ended neare to certaine mariſhes which ioyne to the riuer of *Adice*. They alſo fortified *Soaue* and *Legnaguo*, by which meanes ſtanding vpon their gard, they aſſured all the countrey, chiefly for the winter ſeaſon. By the departure of the *Venetian* regiments, the danger of *Ferrara* was ſomewhat diminiſhed, but not altogether taken away; for though they were acquited of all feare to be forced, yet they were troubled with a ſuſpition leſt the people for the great harmes they receiued would diminiſh, or elſe fall into the laſt deſpaire. For the ſouldiers of the nauie and their followers, ranne vp euery day euen to the gates of the towne, and other veſſels of the *Venetians* which had on another ſide aſſailed the ſtate of the Duke of *Ferrara*, had taken *Comachio*. About this time arriued the companies of the Pope and the *French* king, and therefore the Duke, who (being warned afore by the harmes receiued in the aſſault of the baſtillion) was incamped in a ſtrong place neare to *Ferrara*, began to make many incurſions, to draw the enemies to battell, who hoping that their armie would returne, refuſed to fight vntil then. And it hapned one day that the Cardinall of *Eſte* hauing run vp neare to the baſtillion, as he returned backe, a ſhot came out of one of the veſſels of the enemies, which carried away the head of the Count *Lodowike de la Mirandola*, one of the Captaines of the Church, none other in ſo great a multitude being hurt, either with that or any other ſhot. At laſt the knowledge of the countrey, and of the nature and oportunitie of the riuer, made eaſie that which in the beginning had ſeemed hard and dangerous. For the Duke and the Cardinall, hoping to be able to deſtroy their nauie with the artillerie, if they could by any meanes bring it ſafely vpon the banke of the riuer, the Cardinall returned to charge the baſtillion with part of the bands, and giuing the repulſe to the enemie which were iſſued out to the skirmiſh, and making ſlaughter of ſome of them, he occupied and fortified that part that was next to the riſing, and ſo without all priuitie and knowledge of the enemie, vpon the beginning of the night, he drew the artillerie to the banke ſide right ouer againſt them, and planting it with great ſilence, he began to ſhoote vpon the enemies with a wonderfull furie. The veſſels ſought to ſaue themſelues by flying, but becauſe there was a long traine of great peeces of artillerie, which managed by men experienced, beat afar off, they rather changed the place of peril, then auoided ỹ danger, ſpecially when the Duke himſelf came vnto thẽ, who knew both how to make artilleries, & how to manage them. By reaſon of ſo many ſhots of artillerie, notwithſtanding the enemies for their part ceaſſed not to ſhoot, but in vaine, for that they that played vpon the brinke were couered with the riſing of the hill, their veſſels were conſumed with ſundry miſerable aduentures. Some of them that could no more gouerne themſelues againſt the furie of the ſhot, yeelded; others, being ſet on fire by the ſhot of the artilleries, were miſerably burnt with the men that were in them: others, for that they would not fall into the hands of the enemie, ſunke themſelues: and the Generall, leaping into a litle skiffe almoſt in the beginning of the skirmiſh, found ſafetie by the ſwiftnes of his oares, and his gally being galled through both ſides, was ſunk after it had fled about three miles, vſing continuall defence againſt the aduerſitie of her fortune. To be ſhort, the riuer being full of bloud, of fire, and of dead bodies, fifteene galleys fell into the power of the Duke, with certaine great ſhips, many foiſts, and an infinite number of ſmall veſſels. There died

A memorable accident.

about two thouſand bodies, ſome by ſhot, ſome by fire, and ſome by water: threeſcore enſignes were taken, but not the principall ſtandard, which was ſaued with the Generall: many recouered the ſhore, whereof ſome were gathered vp by the *Venetian* light horſemen, and ſaued by that meanes; others being purſued by the enemie, were taken priſoners, and others in flying receiued many harmes by the paiſants. The veſſels taken were carried to *Ferrara*, where, in memorie of ſo great a victorie, they were kept many yeares, vntill Duke *Alphonſo* hauing a deſire to gratifie the *Venetians*, made reſtitution. Immediatly after the ouerthrow of this nauie, Duke *Alphonſo* diſpatched with expedition three hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen to do the like to them that had taken *Comachio*, who recouered *Loretto* which the *Venetians* had fortified, and as it was thought, had broken the whole armie, if, ſeeing into their danger, they had not retired to *Bebia*, finding more ſuretie to auoide the perill, then to hope in fortune. This was the end of the ſiege of *Ferrara*, which continued about a moneth, the euent and iſſue whereof (which ordinarily is the true touchſtone whereby men may iudge of things) did well declare how much wiſer were the counſels of a few, who perſwaded that leauing all other enterpriſes, and reſeruing their treaſures to be employed in actions more conuenient and profitable, they ſhould onely looke to the preſeruation of *Padua*, *Treuiſa*, with other places recouered; then of ſuch, who though more in number, yet inferiour in diſcretion, and pricked forward with paſſions of hate and diſdaine, tooke pleaſure to be intangled with ſo many enterpriſes, which being vndertaken raſhly, were at laſt the cauſe of incredible expences, with ſhame & loſſe to the Commonweale. But about *Padua*, matters ſucceeded rather to the furtherance of the *Venetians* then otherwiſe. For, *Cæſar* keeping vpon the country of *Vincenſa* with foure thouſand footmen, a part of the regiment of the *Venetians* (and that neither ſtrong nor great) with the aide of the paiſants of that quarter, tooke almoſt before his eyes, the paſſage of *Eſcalo*, *Cogolo* and *Baſciana*, which is a place of importance, & conuenient to hinder the deſcending of the *Almaines* into *Italy*: and he complaining that by the departure of *Monſieur la Paliſſa* many diſorders had befallen him, went at laſt to *Boſſana* to aſſiſt the Diot which by his appointment was to be kept at *Inſpruch*: according to which example, *Monſieur de Chaumont* left off all his thoughts and deſires to performe the enterpriſe of *Vincenſa* and *Legnaguo*, conſidering withall that thoſe places were well manned and fortified, and the ſeaſon of the time very contrary; and retired to *Millan*, leauing good garriſon within *Breſſe*, *Peſquiero* and *Valegge*; and within *Verona* (for that *Cæſar* of himſelfe was not able to defend it) he beſtowed ſixe hundred Lances and foure thouſand footmen, who being ſeparate from the ſouldiers of *Cæſar*, were lodged in the ſuburbes of *S. Zena*, hauing yet the Citadell in their power for their greater ſuretie. *Verona* a noble and ancient Citie, is deuided by the riuer of *Adice*, a riuer both large and deepe coming from the mountaines of *Almaine*, and as it falls into the plaine, it goeth crooking on the left hand, touching vpon the foote of the mountaines, and ſo entreth into *Verona*, and when it iſſueth out, it runneth from the mountaines and ſpreadeth into a pleaſant and fertile plaine. That part of *Verona* which hath his ſituation vpon the deſcent and ſomewhat into the plaine, is beyond *Adice* towards *Almaine*: the other on this ſide *Adice*, and all in a goodly plaine, hauing *Mantua* for his proſpect. Vpon the mountaine neare *S. Georges* gate, ſtandeth the Caſtle of *S. Peter*, and within two croſ-bowes ſhot from thence drawing againſt the hill, is the Caſtle of *S. Felix*, ſtanding vpon the very top of the hill, both the one and the other being farre better fenced by the nature of the place then by art; and yet to loſe them, for that by the aduantage of their ſituation they commanded the Citie, were to put *Verona* in manifeſt danger. Theſe Caſtles were kept by the Lanceknights: but in the other part which is ſeparate from this by the riuer, is the old Caſtle looking towards *Peſquiero*, and hath his ſituation almoſt in the midſt of the Citie, going croſſe the riuer with a bridge: and three croſ-bowes ſhot from thence towards *Vincenſa*, ſtands the Citadell, and betweene them both, the walls of the Citie ioyne without, in forme of halfe a circle; but within, is a wall going from the one to the other, which is betweene two great ditches, and the ſpace betweene both the wals is called the ſuburbes of *S. Zena*, which, with the guard of the Citadell was appointed for the lodging of the *French*. Now whileſt armes were there as it were in reſt, *Maximilian* ſolicited continually to make truce with the *Venetians*, the Pope alſo interpoſing very diligently by the working of *Achilles de Graſſi* Biſhop of *Peſere*, and his Nuncio: and to this end his Embaſſadours went to the Hoſpitall which is aboue *Eſcalo*, to negociate with *Iohn Cornaro* and *Lewis Monſenigno* Embaſſadours for the *Venetians*. But by reaſon of the exceſſiue demands of

Deſcription of Verona.

Cæſar

Caſar, this conference tooke no effect, to the great diſcontentment of the Pope, who wiſhed that the *Venetians* might be deliuered of all trouble, with whom he had wrought ſo much, to the end there ſhould be no matter of queſtion, to render to the Duke of *Ferrara* the towne of *Comacho*, which they had burned before: and they had promiſed him to vexe no more the eſtate of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he fauoured and ſupported much, both to make him beholding to him, for that he had obtained, and was to obtaine by his meane; and alſo for the hope he had that hereafter he would depend more vpon him then of the *French* king; againſt whom, being in continuall ſtudie to lay foundations of right great importance, he had ſecretly diſpatched a meſſenger to the King of *England*, and begun to work the *Swiſſers*, who were at that time entred into ſome quarrell with the *French* King: and when the Biſhop of *Sion* (whom the *Latins* call *Sedunenſis*) enemy to the *French* King, who by this meanes ſought to be Cardinal, came vnto him, he receiued him with great ioy.

About the end of this yeare, *Maximilian* and the King Catholike were reconciled, who were at diſcord touching the gouernment of the Realmes of *Caſtile*. This controuerſie was long debated in the Court of *France*; and albeit it ſuffered many great difficulties, yet in the end it was brought to perfection by the vndiſcreete counſell of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who conſidered not how much this vnion was hurtfull to the affaires of his King. But, it may be, he thought that if by his working they might come to agreement, it would be a good meane to raiſe him to the Popedome. He wrought ſo then by his diligence and authoritie, that he induced *Maximilian* to conſent that the King Catholike, in caſe he had no iſſue males, ſhould be gouernour ouer thoſe Realmes vntill their litle ſonne *Charles* were come to the age of fiue and twentie yeers, who ſhould not take vpon him the title of King during the life of his mother who had the title of Queene, for that in *Caſtile* the males exclude not the females: That the King Catholicke ſhould pay to *Caſar* fiftie thouſand duckats: That he ſhould aide him according to the treatie of *Cambray*, vntill he had conquered and recouered all that appertained to him: And laſtly, to pay to *Charles* euery yeare fortie thouſand duckats. By which conuention the King of *Aragon* was confirmed Gouernor ouer the Realme of *Caſtile*, and ſtanding now in ſtate to haue credite with *Caſar*, ſince all controuerſies were determined, and that they both had equall intereſts touching their nephew; he might now more boldly looke into the meanes by which he might hinder the greatneſſe of the *French* King, which was alwayes ſuſpected vnto him in regard of the kingdome of *Naples*. About this time, the Pope entred into ſuſpition, that the Pronotarie *Bentiuole* remaining at *Cremona*, laboured ſecretly to returne into *Bologna*, for which cauſe he cauſed *Iulian de Medicis* to be retained in the Pallace of *Bologna* for certaine dayes: and attributing all things to the hatred of the *French* King againſt him, he made knowne the feare he had, leſt he would paſſe into *Italy* to ſubdue it, and to make Pope by violence the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*: and yet at the ſame time, he ſpake openly in derogation of the honor of *Caſar*, as of a perſon incapable of ſuch a dignitie, and who by his incapacitie had brought the name of the Empire into great contempt. About the end of this yeare died the Count *Petillane*, Generall of the *Venetians*, a man of great age and long experience in the art militarie, and of that credite and truſt, that the *Venetians* neuer feared he would by raſhneſſe put their State in danger.

The Emperour and the king Catholike fall to accord touching the gouernment of Caſtile.

The death of the Count Petillane.

The yeare after, which was the yeare 1510, the ſame doubts and ſuſpitions continuing, warres began to ſtirre on all parts, but coldly, and according to the ſeaſon. For the *Venetian* armie lying encamped at *S. Boniface* vpon the countrey of *Verona*, held *Verona* as it were beſieged: from whence *Charles Baillon*, *Federike de Boſſolo*, and *Sacromoro Viſcount*, comming to their ſuccours, were charged by the eſtradiots, who ouerthrew them, and tooke priſoners *Charles* and *Sacromoro*, for *Federike* found ſafetie in the reſcue of the *French*, which iſſued out of *Verona* to their ſuccours: and a litle after, theſe eſtradiots brake another band of *French* horſemen, amongſt whom *Monſieur de Ceſy* was taken priſoner: and on the other ſide, two hundred *French* Lances iſſuing out of *Verona* with three thouſand footmen, tooke by aſſault a baſtillion towards *Soaue*, which was guarded by ſixe hundred footmen, and in their returne they ouerthrew a great multitude of paiſants. But whileſt the warre went on thus coldly, the minds of the Princes were in great paine and care, but ſpecially *Caſar*, who not knowing how he might carrie the victorie of the warre againſt the *Venetians*, and poſting ouer (according to his cuſtome) his affaires from one Diot to another, had cauſed to be publiſhed the Diot at *Auſburg*; and being kindled againſt the Pope, for that the Electors of the Empire, puſhed on by his authoritie, made inſtance to nego-

1510.

ciate in the Diet rather for peace with the *Venetians*, then for prouiſions for the warre, he had cauſed to depart from *Auſpurg* the Biſhop of *Peſere* his Nuncio: and conſidering that the deliberations of Diets were vncertaine, tedious, and full of difficulties, the end of one breeding the beginning of another; and that the *French* King excuſed himſelfe dayly of the demands and enterpriſes that were propoſed to him, ſometimes alledging the ſharpneſſe of the ſeaſon, ſometimes requiring aſſignation certaine of the expences which were to be made, and eftſoones proteſting that by the treatie of *Cambray*, he was not bound to aide him alone, but ioyntly with the Pope and King of *Aragon*, with whom it was reaſonable that the proceedings ſhould be mutual & common, as the confederation and bond was ioynt and general. For theſe reaſons, he entred into reſolution, that there was no remedie more readie for his affaires, then to induce the *French* King to embrace the enterpriſe to take *Padua*, *Vincenſa* and *Treuiſa* with his owne forces, and taking ſufficient recompence: which thing was liked by many of the Kings Councell, who conſidering that till the *Venetians* were wholly chaſed out of the firme land, the King ſhould dwell in continuall expences and dangers, perſwaded his Maieſtie vpon theſe reaſons, to free himſelfe of that feare with one great expence. And the King ſhewed himſelfe not altogether eſtranged from this counſell, being carried with the ſame reaſon, and therefore inclined to paſſe in perſon into *Italy* with a mightie armie (which he called mightie and puiſſant as often as he had in the ſame more then ſixteene hundred Lances, with his Gentlemen and Penſioners,) and yet being drawne by other reaſons into another mind, he ſtood very doubtfull in his mind, and more confuſed then he was wont, for that the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, a man of great authoritie and ſtomacke, afflicted with a long and grieuous maladie, looked no more to his affaires, which were wont to be diſpatched wholly by his direction. The King, beſides that of his naturall diſpoſition, he loued not great expences, was retained alſo by a deſire he had to *Verona*; for the accompliſhing whereof, it ſeemed to him a good meanes to haue *Ceſar* intangled with continuall warres: for which regard he had newly lent to him eighteene thouſand duckats to pay the Lanceknights that lay in garriſon in *Verona*, and promiſed him to make it vp fiftie thouſand, with condition that he might not onely hold the Citadell for his ſecuritie and pawne, but alſo the old Caſtle ſhould be ſet ouer to him, together with the next gate of the towne, the better to haue free entrie and iſſue: and that if the money were not reſtored to him within one yeare, the towne of *Valegge* ſhould remaine to him in perpetuall gouernment, with power to fortifie as well the towne as the Citadell at the charges of *Ceſar*. Theſe conſiderations drew the Kings mind into no ſmall doubts, but much more was he troubled with feare, leſt the Popes intentions would wholly vary and alter, if he ſhould either leade or ſend into *Italy* a new armie. For, the Pope, full of ſuſpition, and alſo ill contented that he ſhould ſeiſe vpon *Verona*, beſides that he perſeuered ſtill in a will to abſolue the *Venetians*, did all that he could to ioyne himſelfe with the *Swiſſers*: for which intent, he had ſent backe againe into that countrey, the Biſhop of *Sion*, with money to diſtribute amongſt them, and promiſe to indue himſelfe with the Cardinals Hat: and ſought with all his diligence, by what meanes he might eſtrange the King of *England* from the amitie of the *French* King; whom albeit his father at the inſtant of death had aduiſed, for his ſecuritie and benefite, to continue in aſſured league with him, and for that reſpect was yearely payed fiftie thouſand duckats: yet, being carried with the hote humours of youth, and the great quantitie of treaſure that his father had left him, it ſeemed he had no leſſe in conſideration the counſels of thoſe, who for the deſire of new things, and for an ancient hatred which the *Engliſh* do ordinarily beare to the *French* nation, perſwaded him for the warre, then the wiſedome and diſcreet example of his father, who refuſing all contentions with the *French*, had gouerned his kingdome in great obedience and tranquillitie, notwithſtanding he had aſpired to a ſtate new and full of troubles. All theſe things troubling not a litle the minde of the *French* King, who, the better to prouide for the affaires of *Italy*, was now gone to *Lions*, he feared leſt his marching into *Italy*, which the Pope deteſted openly, would ſtirre vp ſome new innouations by his meanes: and beſides, he ſaw that the King of *Aragon* diſſwaded him from it, but vnder demonſtrations of a friend, and as a louer of the common tranquillitie: in ſo much as amid theſe doubts which trauelled him on all parts, he had no more certaine nor preſent counſell, then with great labour and diligence, to ſtudie ſo to appeaſe the mind of the Pope, that at the leaſt he might ſtand aſſured that he were not his enemie. And in this thing it ſeemed occaſion fauored him greatly, for that it was beleeued, that by the death of the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*,

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who was extremely ſicke, he ſhould be eaſed of thoſe ſuſpitions, from whence it was ſuppoſed his ill contentments did principally proceed. And for that the King was aduertiſed by good intelligence, that the Cardinall of *Auchx*, nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, with others that managed his affaires in the Court of *Rome*, had with great raſhneſſe both in deed and with words laboured more to quicken and kindle, then to appeaſe and mollifie the Popes mind, as had bene very neceſſary, he would no more vſe their ſeruice in thoſe actions, but ſent to *Rome* in poſt the Lord *Albert Pio* Earle of *Carpie*, a man of great wit and dexteritie, to whom were giuen very large commiſſions, not onely to offer to the Pope the Kings forces and authoritie to ſerue his turne in all accidents, and vpon all occaſions, accommodating himſelfe as much as he could to his will and nature, but alſo to communicate with him frankly and ſimply the ſtate of all things that were practiſed, together with the requeſts that *Ceſar* made to him; and finally to referre to his will whether he ſhould paſſe into *Italy* or not, and whether he ſhould miniſter to the Emperour ſpeedily or ſlowly. He had alſo in charge to diſſwade the abſolution of the *Venetians*; but before he arriued, it was alreadie reſolued and promiſed by the Pope: becauſe the *Venetians* after long diſpute of their Embaſſadours with the Popes Delegates, which continued many moneths, conſented at laſt to the conditions whereupon the difficulties ſtood, not finding any other remedie for their ſafetie, then to be ioyned with him. The conditions for the which the abſolution was to be giuen, were openly publiſhed in the Conſiſtorie the foure and twentieth day of February, in preſence of the ſame *Venetian* Embaſſadors, who confirmed thē by writing, according to the authentike direction from their Commonweale. Theſe were the particulars: That they ſhould not in any ſort diſpoſe of the benefices or dignities of the Church: and that they ſhould make no reſiſtance or difficultie againſt whatſoeuer ſhall be determined in the Court of *Rome* concerning the ſame: That they ſhould not gainſay that in that Court ſhould be proſecuted the cauſes for benefices with others appertaining to the Eccleſiaſtike iuriſdiction: That they ſhould not charge the goods of the Church, and exempt places of their temporall dominion, with tenths or any other ſorts of impoſition: That they ſhould renounce from the appeale againſt the Popes cenſure, and all rights gotten vpon the Church lands in what ſort ſoeuer, but ſpecially from all thoſe prerogatiues and rights by the which they pretended to hold the office of *Vicedomino* in *Ferrara*: That the ſubiects of the Church and their veſſels may freely traffike through their Gulfe, and that with ſuch ample facultie, that the merchandize of other nations brought in their bottomes, ſhould not be troubled nor ſubiect to pay any toll: That it ſhould not be lawfull for them in any ſort to meddle with *Ferrara*, or any townes of that State which were dependant on the Church: That all couenants and contracts which they had made to the preiudice of the Church, with any the ſubiects or vaſſals of the ſame, ſhould be cancelled and made voide: That they ſhould not receiue any Duke, Baron, or other ſubiect or vaſſall of the Church, that ſhould be an enemie or rebell to the ſea Apoſtolicke: That they ſhould be bound to make reſtitution of all the moneys which they had exacted vpon the reuenues of the Church, and to make amends for all the harmes which the Church had ſuffered thereby. Theſe obligations with the promiſes and ſufficient renouncements, being receiued in the Conſiſtorie, the *Venetian* Embaſſadours at a day appointed, according to ancient examples, were brought vnder the portall of the great Church of *S. Peter*, where falling at the Popes feete, being ſet in his Pontificall ſeate neare the brazen gates, aſſiſted with all the Colledge of Cardinals and a great number of Prelates, they asked him pardon in great humilitie, confeſſing their contumacie and faults committed: and after this, according to the cuſtome of the Church, were pronounced certaine prayers, and the vſuall ceremonies being ſolemnely performed, the Pope receiuing them into grace, gaue them abſolution, and enioyned them for penance to go viſite the ſeuen Churches. When they were abſolued, they entred into *S. Peters* Church, being guided by the great Penitenciarie: and after they had heard Maſſe, which was denied to them before, they were very honorably accompanied to their houſes by many Prelates and Courtiers, and not as perſons excommunicated and interdicted, but as reconciled Chriſtians and deuout children to the ſea Apoſtolike. Soone after they returned to *Venice*, leauing behind them at *Rome* *Hieronymo Donato*, a very learned man, and one of their number, who by his vertues and dexteritie of wit, becoming very agreeable to the Pope, did afterwards great ſeruice to his countrey in things which he negociated with him.

The Venetians abſolued.

The end of the eighth Booke.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

POpe Iulio the ſecond forſaketh the league of Cambray, and practiſeth againſt the French King and the Emperor: he fauoureth the Venetians, and falleth out with the Duke of Ferrara. The French King and the Emperour enter league againſt the Venetians. Legnago taken by the French. The death of the Cardinall of Amboiſe. The Pope determineth to chaſe the French out of Italy. The Venetians beſiege Verona. The Pope taketh Mirandola, and makes warre vpon the Duke of Ferrara. The families of Bentiuole returne to Bologna. A Councell is publiſhed at Piſa againſt the Pope.

Maximilian was much moued for this abſolution which the Pope gaue to the *Venetians* with ſo reſolute a will, for as much as it touched him principally; but the *French* King was not much leſſe vexed, for that he deſired for his priuate profite that the greatneſſe of the *Venetians* ſhould not be eftſoones reeſtabliſhed: neuertheleſſe he could not find out what were the intentions and laſt ends of the Pope: but feeding himſelfe with vain hopes concerning the difficulties of the affaires that were prepared againſt him, he perſwaded himſelfe that the Pope ſtirred onely for ſuſpition of his vniting with *Maximilian*; and that temporiſing with him, and giuing him no occaſion of greater feare, he would paſſe no further, but reſt ſatisfied with the abſolution he had giuen. But the Pope, growing more and more confirmed in his deliberation, and notwithſtanding the declarations and impediments of the confederate Embaſſadours, ſuffered the ſubiects and dependants of the Church to enter into the pay of the *Venetians*, who receiued into entertainment *Iohn Paul Baillon* as Generall of all their companies, ſtanding without a Gouernour ſince the death of the Count *Petillane*: and tooke alſo into their wages *Iohn Lewis* and *Iohn Vitelli*, ſonnes to the late *Iohn* and *Camilla*, and made *Ranſo de Cere* Colonell of their footmen. And as in this action he made open declaration that he tooke the *Venetians* into his protection, ſo he laboured alſo to bring them to agreement with *Caeſar*, hoping by that meanes, not onely to ſeparate him from the *French* King, but withall to knit him with himſelf and with the *Venetians* to make warre vpon the King. And for the more eaſie ſucceeding of this deuice, taking his oportunitie vpon the neceſſities of *Caeſar*, he interpoſed his authoritie with the Electors of the Empire and the free townes, to the end that in the Diot of *Auſburg* there ſhould be no conſent of contribution. But the more he aduanced this practiſe, the more difficult he found it: for that *Caeſar* would not hearken to any motion of agreement, vnleſſe *Verona* might remaine to him: and the *Venetians* (in whom the Pope had hope of a greater facilitie) perſwading themſelues to be able to defend *Padua* in all fortunes, and that keeping that Citie, time would fauour them with more occaſions, demanded reſolutely the reſtitution of *Verona*, offering to pay in recompence a very great ſumme of money. The Pope omitted not alſo to make ſecret ſolicitation to the King of *England*, to raiſe warre againſt the *French* King, putting him in mind of the ancient emulations of thoſe two kingdomes, ſhewing him the occaſion which offered him a moſt happie ſucceſſe: for that if he would begin to leuie armes againſt the *French* King, many others, to whom his puiſſance and greatneſſe was either ſuſpected or hated, would do the like: and he encouraged him to embrace with that deuotion which had bene proper to the Kings of *England*, the glorie that was offered him, to be protector and preſeruer of the ſea Apoſtolike, which otherwiſe ſtood in manifeſt danger by the ambition of the *French* King: and in this practiſe the King of *Aragon* did communicate with the Pope, but very ſecretly. But (which was of greater importance) the Pope continuing ſtill with the *Swiſſers* the practiſes which were begun by the Biſhop of *Sion*, whoſe authoritie was great

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in that nation, and who ceaſſed not to make orations with great efficacie to this effect in their aſſemblies and councels, and to preach it in their Churches; he obtained at laſt that the *Swiſſers*, receiuing euery yeare a thouſand Florins of *Rhein* for euery Canton, ſhould be bound to the protection of him and the eſtate of the Church, with permiſſion to the Pope (for his defence againſt all men that would vexe him) to leuie certain proportions of footmen: and that which moſt helped him to obtaine this matter the more eaſily, was the diſagreement that began to kindle betweene them and the *French* King. For the *Swiſſers* becoming proud by the eſtimation that others had of them, and preſuming that all the victories obtained in *Italy* by the King now reigning, or by King *Charles* his predeceſſor, proceeded principally by their valour and of the feare of their armes, and that therefore they merited much of the Crowne of *France*; they demanded (the King ſoliciting them to make renouation of the alliance that now was determined) that he would augment their penſions, being then threeſcore thouſand Frankes by yeare, ouer and aboue the mercenarie contributions which were ſecretly diſperſed amongſt priuate perſons; penſions which had bene begun vnder *Lewis* the eleuenth, and continued vnto the preſent time. But for that they made their demands with preſumptuous audacitie, the King being offended with their inſolencie, and for that of peaſants and mountaine men (ſuch was his phraſe) they ſought ſo imperiouſly to taxe him, he began to ſhake them off with haughtie words, and in a maner to make ſhew as though he diſdained them, more reſpecting his dignitie royall, then regarding the preſent vtilitie: whereunto he was the more induced, for that at the ſame ſeaſon by the ſolicitation of *George Supreſan*, the *Valeſians* ſubiects of *Sion*, who were gouerned in ſeuen communities, which they call Courts, being corrupted by briberies and promiſes of penſions, were not onely confederate with him, but alſo bound to giue paſſage to his people, and refuſe it to his enemies, and withall to enter into his pay with ſuch numbers of footmen as their forces were able to beare: and in the ſame ſort did enter confederacy with him, the Lords of the three leagues, whom they call *Griſons*. And albeit part of the *Valeſians* had not yet approued theſe conditions, the King hoped to induce them to the ratification by the ſame meanes: in ſo much as he began to perſwade himſelfe that the amitie of the *Swiſſers* was now no more ſo neceſſarie to him, hauing determination to ſupply his warres with *Almaine* footmen, ouer and beſides the companies of the *Valeſians* and *Griſons*, and ſo ſtood in litle feare of their ſtirres, for that he beleeued they were not able to aſſaile the Duchie of *Millan* but by the ſtraits of *Bellinſona*, and other paſſages of great difficultie, through the which, if they ſhould march in great troupes, they might be eaſily reduced into neceſſitie of victuals by a ſmall armie: and if they came but in ſmall companies, a ſlender ſtrength would likewiſe ſuffice to make them retire. Thus remaining reſolute not to augment their penſions, he could not obtaine in the councels of the *Swiſſers* a renouation of the alliance, notwithſtanding many among them did earneſtly perſwade it, to whom in particular were retributed no ſmall rewards: and for that cauſe they conſented more eaſily to the confederation which was demanded of them by the Pope. By which new confederation the Pope ſeeming to haue layed a great foundation for the aduancing of his purpoſes; and beſides, proceeding in all things according to his nature, as ſuperiour to all men, and as though all muſt of neceſſitie receiue lawes of him, he began to ſow ſeeds of new controuerſies with the Duke of *Ferrara*, either puſhed on by the cauſe that was in queſtion betweene them, or elſe by hatred, for that hauing receiued of him ſo many benefites and honours, he depended more of the *French* King then of him. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, ſearching a beginning of quarrels, he imperiouſly commanded *Alphonſo* Duke of *Ferrara* to ſurceaſſe the working of ſalt at *Comachio*; for that it was not reaſonable that that which was not lawfull to him when the *Venetians* held *Ceruia*, ſhould now haue ſufferance, being poſſeſſed by the ſea Apoſtolike, to whom appertained the abſolute gouernment of *Ferrara* and *Comachio*: beſides, it was a matter of great profite, for that the working ceaſſing at *Comachio*, the ſaltpits of *Ceruia* miniſtred traffike to all the townes thereabouts. But Duke *Alphonſo*, who repoſed more in the coniunction which he had with the *French* King and in his protection, then he feared the Popes forces, gaue ſmall obedience to this commandement: but complained that he ſhould be conſtrained not to reape the fruite which grew to him in his proper houſe with ſmall labour, and to be driuen to buy of another for the vſage of his peoples, the ware whereof he had enough to repleniſh forreine countreys, alledging withall, that that ought not to be enforced for an example, which the *Venetians* had made him conſent vnto, more by force

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of armes then by courſe of iuſtice. Wherefore the Pope ſent to command him vnder great paines and accurſings to diſcontinue that worke. Such were the thoughts and actions of the Pope, inclined altogether to raiſe vp and ſupport the *Venetians*.

The league of Cæſar and the French king againſt the Venetians.

But on the other ſide, *Cæſar* and the *French* King, who deſired as much their embaſement, being diſcontented with the demonſtrations which the Pope expreſſed on their behalfe, and for this cauſe being more cloſely knit one to another, they met together, and concluded to inuade the *Venetians* that Sommer with great forces: and to that end the *French* King for his part ſhould ſend *Monſieur Chaumont* with a puiſſant armie, whereunto ſhould be ioyned the Lanceknights that lay at *Verona*: and on the other ſide, *Cæſar* ſhould enter into the countrey of *Friul* with thoſe forces which he hoped to obtaine of the Empire in the Diot of *Auſburg*: and hauing accompliſhed that action, he was to proceed to other enterpriſes according to the eſtate of occaſions and time. They ſolicited the Pope to ioyne his forces with theirs, according to the bond of the league of *Cambray*. But he, being much diſcontented with that motion, made anſwer, that he was no more bound to that confederatiō which had alreadie had his perfectiō, ſeeing it had bene in the power of *Cæſar* firſt to haue *Treuiſa*, and afterwards a recompence in money. *Cæſar* likewiſe demanded ſuccours from the King Catholike, both by vertue of the ſame capitulations of *Cambray*, and alſo vnder couenants made particularly with him, at ſuch time as he conſented to him the gouernment of *Caſtile*: and this ſolicitation was by way of requeſt, rather to aid him with mony then with men; but the King of *Aragon* being vnwilling to diſfurniſh himſelfe of the thing whereof he had moſt need, made anſwer, That he would ſend him foure hundred Lances: which was a ſtrength of litle profit for *Cæſar*, for that as wel in the *French* army as in his owne camp, there were great plentie of horſemen. At this time the Citie of *Verona* being much afflicted by the ſoldiers that guarded it, for that they were not payd, certain of the *Venetian* bands, being ſecretly called thither by ſome of the captains, iſſued out of *S. Boniface*, & approched the Citie by night to ſcale the Caſtle of *S. Peter*: and as they were entred *S. Georges* gate, whileſt they taried to faſten their ladders together (for that being ſingle, they ſufficed not to reach to the height of the wall) either they were heard by the warders of the Caſtle of *S. Felix*, or elſe they ſeeming to heare ſome noiſe, were fearfull, and retired, leauing their ladders behind them. By reaſon whereof the armie returned to *S. Boniface*, and at *Verona* the conſpiracie being diſcouered, many were puniſhed. In this ſeaſon the Pope had ſome inclination to be reconciled to the *French* King, not of good will, but for feare: for that *Maximilian* by way of brauado ſummoned him to lend him two hundred thouſand duckats, threatning that otherwiſe he would ioyne with the *French* King againſt him: and for that a bruite was ſpread, that in the Diot of *Auſburg* it was agreed to miniſter to him a ſtrong ſuccour, and for that peace had bene newly eſtabliſhed betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*, and publiſhed with great ſolemnitie: by reaſon whereof, he began to treate in good earneſt with *Albert de Carpi*, whom till that day, he had entertained with words and hopes generall. But he continued not long in that reſolution, both for that the Diot of *Auſburg* (without the forces and aides of which, there was no great reckoning to be made of the threats of *Cæſar*) not anſwering the expectation, determined for him no other ſuccours, then a ſupply of three hundred thouſand Florins of *Rhein*, in hope of which money he had alreadie made great expences: and the King of *England* ſignified vnto him that he had ſet downe an article in the peace, wherein was expreſſed that it ſhould be no peace as often as the *French* King ſhould offend the ſtate of the Church. In regard of theſe things, the Pope reentring into new ſtomacke, and returning to his former thoughts, began to make new complaints againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, for that the ſaid Duke ſince it was ſuffered to the ſubiects of the Church to ſaile and traffike frankly through the Gulfe of *Venice*, had impoſed new tributes vpon the goods which were brought to *Venice* by the riuer of *Po*; which thing the Pope alledged, that the vaſſall could not do (according to the order of law) without licence of the Lord of the ſoyle; and that it was a matter of great preiudice to the people of *Bologna*, who were his ſubiects: and therefore he made inſtance that they might be diſcharged, threatning that otherwiſe he would make warre vpon him: and to put him in the greater feare, he cauſed his bands of men of warre to march into the countrey of *Bologna* and into *Romagna*. Theſe things troubled not a litle the mind of the *French* King, being loath on the one ſide to fall at oddes with the Pope, and on the other ſide he felt himſelfe touched in honour and conſcience not to leaue abandoned the Duke of *Ferrara*, to whoſe protection he had bound himſelfe by receiuing thir-

The Pope threatneth the Duke of Ferrara.

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tie thouſand duckats. And he was no leſſe moued with the regard of his proper profite, for that Duke *Alphonſo* depending wholly vpon him, and becoming ſo much the more at his deuotion, by how much he ſaw him perſecuted by the Pope, and his eſtate being very commodious for the affaires of *Lombardie*, he eſteemed it his proper intereſt to preſerue him; and therefore he dealt with the Pope to make ſome accord betweene them by ſome meanes. But it ſeemed iuſt to the Pope that the King ſhould withdraw himſelfe from that protection, alledging that he had taken it vpon him againſt the capitulations of *Cambray*, by the which (made vnder colour to render to the Church that which was vſurped) it was forbidden that none of the confederates ſhould take into protection any that was named by another, and that for his part, he had named the Duke of *Ferrara*: and further, that it was forbidden that none of them ſhould meddle with the things appertaining to the Church: That the like alſo was confirmed in the confederation made particularly betweene them at *Biagraſſo*, wherein was expreſly prouided that the King ſhould not keepe in his protection any that depended of the Church, nor ſhould hereafter take any of them into his protection, and ſhould cancel and make void all his former protections. To which things notwithſtanding it was anſwered on the Kings behalfe, that by the ſame conuention it was prouided, that the King ſhould haue power to diſpoſe of the Biſhopricks on this ſide the Mounts as he liſted, which the Pope had violated in the firſt auoidance that fell, as likewiſe in fauour of the *Venetians*, he had broken the capitulations made at *Cambray*, and that therefore the King was at libertie not to obſerue the things he had promiſed him: yet becauſe he would not come to armes with the Pope for the quarrell of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he offered conditions, by the which, not offending directly his honor, the Pope in a great part might reſt ſatisfied touching the intereſts which the Church and he pretended againſt Duke *Alphonſo*: and beſides this, he was content to bind himſelfe (according to the Popes requeſt) that the *French* armies ſhould not paſſe the riuer of *Po*, but for the protection of the *Florentines* whereunto he was bound; and to moleſt *Pandolfe Petrucci* and *Iohn Paul Baillon*, vnder colour of money promiſed by the one, and detained by the other.

Monſieur Chaumont againſt the Venetians.

Whileſt theſe things were in action, *Monſieur Chaumont* with an armie of fifteene hundred Lances, and ten thouſand footmen of many nations, amongſt whom were ſome *Swiſſers* which were priuatly leuied, and not by permiſſion of the Cantons, being followed with great ſtore of artilleries, with three thouſand pioners, and bridges prepared to paſſe riuers; and hauing ioyned with him the Duke of *Ferrara* with two hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen; tooke *Poleſina de Rouigna* without any impediment, the *Venetians* hauing abandoned it; and taking alſo the Tower *Marquiſano* ſtanding vpon the riuer of *Adice* towards *Padua*, he marched on to *Caſtelbaldo*, and had at the firſt ſummons the townes of *Montagnana* and *Eſte*, the one appertaining to *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, by grant from *Maximilian*, who had giuen him the other in gage. When *Alphonſo* had recouered theſe places, he ſent backe the moſt part of his regiments vnder colour to encounter certaine galleys of the *Venetians*, which floted vpon the riuer of *Po*. The Prince of *Henault* *Maximilians* Lieutenant, marched in like ſort out of *Verona* with three hundred *French* Lances, two hundred men at armes, and three thouſand *Almaine* footmen, and ioyned with *Monſieur Chaumont*, following him alwayes within one remoue of his campe. They left behind them *Monſelica*, which was holden by the *Venetians*, and marched towards the countrey of *Vincenſa*, where *Lonigua* and the whole countrey yeelded without reſiſtance; for that the *Venetian* armie, which was ſaid to containe ſixe hundred men at armes, foure thouſand light horſemen and eſtradiots, and eight thouſand footmen vnder *Iohn Paul Baillon* Generall, and *Andrew Gritti* Treaſurer, hauing firſt abandoned *Soano*, and alwayes retiring into places of ſuretie according as the enemie aduanced, and laſtly hauing beſtowed ſufficient garriſon within *Treuiſa*, and a thouſand footmen within *Meſtro*, they were retired to *Brentelli*, a place within three miles of *Padua*, and of great ſuretie for their incamping, both for that the countrey is full of hils and riſings, and the place it ſelfe ſtandeth enuironed with the waters of theſe three riuers, *Brento*, *Brentello*, and *Baquillon*.

But the people of *Vincenſa*, for that the armie was retired, finding themſelues altogether abandoned, and vnable of themſelues to defend their Eſtate, and knowing that they had no other hope then ſuch as they might expect in the mercie of the victors, which they ſuppoſed they might more graciouſly obtaine by the meanes of *Monſieur Chaumont*; they ſent to him to demand ſafeconduct to addreſſe Embaſſadours to him and the Prince of *Henault*; which being gran-

granted, they preſented themſelues in rufull maner, and full of ſorrow and feare afore them, both being then at the bridge of *Barberano* ten miles from *Vincenſa*, where all the Captaines and principals of the armie being preſent, he that was the chiefe of the Embaſſadours, ſpake in this ſort: "If it were well knowne how much this Citie of *Vincenſa* (heretofore enuied of many her neighboring Cities for her riches and felicitie) hath ſuffered, ſince (more by the error and folly of her inhabitants, and haply more by a certaine fatall diſpoſition, then through any other occaſion) ſhe returned vnder the iuriſdiction of the *Venetians*, together with the intollerable harmes and domages ſhe hath receiued: we do certainly beleeue (moſt inuincible Captaines) that in your hearts would be greater the pitie and compaſſion of our miſeries, then the diſdaine and hatred for the memorie of our rebellion; if the error of that night may be called rebellion, wherein our people, drawne into aſtoniſhment, for that the armie of our enemie had forced the ſuburbes of *Portello*; not to rebell, nor to ſhun the eaſie gouernment of *Cæſar*, but to deliuer our Citie from the ſacke and extreme miſerie, did ſend Embaſſadours to compound with the enemie. Whereunto our peoples, not accuſtomed to armes, nor acquainted with the dangers of warre, were altogether puſhed on by the authoritie of *Fracaſſe*, a Captaine experienced in many ſeuerall wars: who either by ſubtiltie or feare (a matter not appertaining to vs to examine) gaue vs counſell to prouide by meane of accord, for the ſafetie of our wiues, of our children, and of our afflicted countrey. The ſame making manifeſt, that no ill impreſſion of mind, but onely feare, increaſed through the authoritie of ſuch a Captaine of *Cæſars*, was the cauſe, not that we determined by long counſel, but rather on a ſudden, in ſo great a tumult, & in ſo fearful a noiſe of armes & thundring of artilleries, which we haue not bin accuſtomed to heare, we ran raſhly vnder the rule of the *Venetians*, the felicitie and power of whom was not ſuch, as ought of it ſelfe to allure vs thereunto. Now it is well knowne to all men what difference there is between faults committed by feare and errour, and offences proceeding of ſet malice and ill intention. But be it ſo, that it had not bene feare, but a willingneſſe to rebell, and that it had bene begun by an vniuerſall counſell and conſent, and not in ſo great confuſion, but rather by the vnbridled raſhneſſe of a few, not being contradicted by the others, and that the tranſgreſſions of this wretched Citie were altogether inexcuſable; yet our calamities haue bene ſo great ſince that accurſed reuolt, that we may truly ſay, that the puniſhment, without all compariſon, hath bene greater then the fault. For, within our wals we haue bene miſerably ſpoiled of all our goods by the garriſon ſouldiers that were left vs: and who knowes not what we haue ſuffered without, by the continuall warre? And what remaines there entire to vs now in this miſerable countrey? All the houſes of our poſſeſſions are burned, all the trees cut downe, and all our cattell loſt. This is the ſecond yeare that we haue bene driuen to reape our harueſt afore the time, that we haue had no ſecuritie to ſow our ſeeds, that we are without reuenue, and without fruites, and without hope that this countrey ſo generally deſtroyed, can be euer redreſſed. We are brought to ſuch a ſtraight, and into ſo great miſerie, that for the needfull ſupportation of our liues, and to furniſh the intollerables charges which our neceſſities haue brought vpon vs, hauing conſumed all that remaineth euen of our hidden treaſure, we know not how for the time to come to nouriſh our ſelues and our families. Whoſoeuer he be that hateth vs moſt, and is of a moſt cruell mind (hauing but heretofore ſeene our country) let him come & ſee it now: and we are ſure he cannot refraine from weeping, when he ſhal conſider that this Citie, the which was wont to be repleniſhed with inhabitants, moſt ſumptuous in magnificence, famous for ſtately buildings, the ordinarie retraite for all ſtrangers, a Citie reioycing in bankets, iuſting and pleaſures, is now in a manner voide of dwellers, that the men and women therein are poorely apparelled, that there is not therein any one man who can aſſure himſelfe to be able to feed himſelfe and his family for one moneth; and in place of magnificence, feaſts and pleaſures, there is nothing elſe ſeene but penurie, publike ſorowing of all the men, weeping and pitifull crying of all the women in euery ſtreet and quarter of the Citie. And theſe calamities (moſt gracious Prince of *Henault*) would be yet greater, if we conſidered not that on your will dependeth either the laſt deſolation of our afflicted country, or the hope that we may yet once again vnder the wings of *Cæſar*, & vnder the gouernment of your wiſedome and clemencie, we ſay not, take breath and raiſe our ſelues againe, for that is impoſſible, but conſuming our liues in all extremitie, auoide at leaſt an extreame and laſt deſtruction: a grace which we do the rather hope for, becauſe your benignitie and humanitie is knowne to vs, wherein we doubt not but you will imitate *Cæſar*, with whoſe examples of clemencie

mencie all *Europe* is repleniſhed. All our wealth is conſumed, all our hopes determined, there » remaineth nothing elſe to vs but our liues and perſons, againſt the which if crueltie ſhould be » vſed, what profite would it be for *Cæſar*, or what praiſe to you? We beſeech you with moſt » humble prayers, the which you may imagine to be mingled with the miſerable complaints of e- » uery ſexe, of euery age, and of euery degree that is within this Citie, that it may pleaſe you to » make the wretched and vnfortunate *Vincenſa* an example to all others of the clemencie of the » *Almaine* Empire: that it may pleaſe you to follow the clemencie and magnanimitie of your an- » ceſtors, who being victorious in *Italy*, preſerued the Cities by them ſubdued, many of them » chuſing thoſe ſeates for their proper dwellings, from whence, to the great glory of the *Almaine* » race, are deſcended ſo many noble houſes in *Italy*, as ſome of *Gonſague*, ſome of *Carraro*, and o- » thers of *Eſcalo*, who ſometimes were our Lords. Let *Vincenſa* now ſerue for an example, that » the *Venetians*, aided and ſupported by vs in leſſer dangers, haue cowardly & diſhonorably left vs » abandoned in the greateſt perils, wherein they ought to haue defended vs; and that the *Almains*, » who had ſome reaſon to offend vs, haue frankly and glorioufly preſerued vs. Take vs, moſt in- » uincible Lord *Chaumont*, into your protection: remember the example of your King, whoſe cle- » mencie to them of *Millan* and *Genes*, being drawne into voluntary rebellion, without any cauſe » or neceſſitie, was greater then their fault: who after he had pardoned them, being wonne by ſo » great fauours, haue alwayes bene moſt affectionate and ſeruiceable vnto him. Olt Prince of *He-* » *nault*, if the preſeruation of *Vincenſa* turne not to the profite of *Cæſar*, yet at leaſt it will bring » him glorie, remaining as a perpetuall example of his benignitie: but if he deſtroy it, it can bring » him no profite; and the ſeueritie which he ſhall vſe to vs, will be grieuous to all *Italy*. Clemencie » will make the name of *Cæſar* more acceptable to all men; and as in actions of warre and mana- » ging of an armie, he is knowne much to reſemble the ancient *Cæſar*, ſo clemencie ſhal alſo be ac- » knowledged in him, whereby the name of *Cæſar* was exalted to heauen, and his memory made » more perpetuall to all poſterities, then by his armes. *Vincenſa* a flouriſhing and ancient Citie, » which hath heretofore bene full of ſo great Nobilitie, is now at your deuotion: ſhe expecteth » frō you either her preſeruation or deſtruction, her life or her death. Take pitie of ſo many inno- » cent perſons, and ſo many vnfortunate women and poore litle children, who in that lamentable » night full of folly and errour, medled with nothing, and now with plaints and wailings expect » your deliberation. Send foorth at laſt that ſo much deſired voice of mercie and clemencie, » through the which our moſt wretched Citie coming to receiue new life, ſhall alwayes call you » her preſeruer and patron. »

Neither this ſo pitifull Oration, nor the compaſſion of ſo vnfortunate a Citie, could any whit aſſwage the mind of the Prince of *Henault*, but being full of pride and crueltie, not hauing ſo much commandouer his paſſions, as to make his words leſſe cruell then his deeds, he made them a moſt churliſh & inhumane anſwer, the which by his commandement was pronounced by his Chancellor in this ſort: Thinke not rebellious *Vincentines*, that your faire words can ſuf- » fice to wipe out the memory of your faults committed againſt the maieſtie of the name of *Cæ-* » *ſar*, without any regard to whoſe dignitie, or reſpect to the benignitie wherewith you were re- » ceiued by him, you haue by common counſell and conſent of the whole Citie, called into your » towne the *Venetian* armie, who forcing the ſuburbes with great difficultie, diſtruſted to take it, » and began to go away. You haue called them in againſt the will of the Prince that repreſented » the perſon of *Cæſar*: you conſtrained that Prince to retire into the Caſtle, and being full of rage » and malice, haue ſacked the powder and munitions of *Cæſar*: you haue torne in peeces his pa- » uillions diſplayed by him in ſo many warres and triumphing in ſo many victories. The *Vene-* » *tian* ſouldiers haue not done theſe things, but the people of *Vincenſa*, diſcouering their violent » thirſt after the bloud of the *Almaines*: and it was not long of you that the *Venetian* army tooke » not *Verona*, which they had done, if knowing the occaſion, they had followed the victorie: nei- » ther did this happen by the counſell or perſwaſion of *Fracaſſe*, who abuſed by your ſlanders, hath » clearely manifeſted his innocencie. It was by your malice; it was by a hatred, which without » cauſe you beare to the *Almaine* name. Your offences are inexcuſable, and ſo great, as they deſerue » no pardon. The clemencie that ſhould be vſed to you, would be both hurtfull and infamous; for » that it is well knowne you would vpon euery occaſion do yet worſe: and theſe haue not bene » your errors, but your wickedneſſe: and the harmes you haue receiued, haue not bene for a pu- » niſhment of your faults, but for that you would obſtinately perſeuere in rebellion: and now be- »

« ing abandoned of the *Venetians*, you haue no other remedy to defend you, then to implore the « pitie and mercie of *Cæsar* whom you haue betrayed. The Prince was determined, following the « intention and commission of *Cæsar*, not to heare you, and yet he hath not denied you audience, « satisfying therein the will of the Lord *Chaumont*: but for all that he will not change the sentence, « which since the first day of your rebellion hath remained fixed in the mind of *Cæsar*: he will not « receiue you otherwise, then to discretion for your goods, your honors, & your liues. And hope « not that he will do that to shew you the more clemencie, but the better to make you serue for « an example of punishment to such as accursedly breake their faith to their Prince. The people of *Vincensa* astonished with this cruell answer, seeming for a while to suffer a generall priuation of all sense and feeling, began againe with teares and lamentable speeches, to recommend them to the mercie of the victor. But being repulsed by the same Doctor, who rebuked them with words more bitter and fierce then the first, they knew not what to answer, nor what to thinke, had it not bene that *Monsieur Chaumont* encouraged them to obey necessitie, and in giuing themselues wholly vp to the will of the Prince, to seeke to appease his wrath: declaring vnto them the singular humanitie and curtesie of *Cæsar*, and that it was not to be suspected, that a Prince of so noble race, and so excellent a Captaine, would do a thing vnworthy of his name and vertue: and that they should not be amazed with the seuere answer that was made, but rather desire that noble and generous spirits should vtter sharpe and biting words, for that oftentimes by that meanes some part of their indignation is abated. He offered himselfe to do all that he could to mitigate the mind of the Prince, so far forth as they would preuent him by putting themselues wholly to his discretion. By whose counsell, and the consideration of their owne necessitie, the *Vincentines* falling eftsoones prostrate on the ground, referred absolutely both their honors, liues and Citie to the power of the victor. And then *Monsieur Chaumont* began to solicite for them, declaring to the Prince, that in chastising them he was to respect more the greatnesse and glory of *Cæsar*, then the qualitie of their offence: That he should not set downe such an example to others that were fallen, or hereafter should fall into the like faults, lest despairing to obtaine mercie, they should become obstinate to the extremitie: That clemencie had alwayes caused Princes to be loued and respected, but crueltie without necessitie, wrought alwayes a contrary effect, not taking away (as many vndiscreetly beleeue) impediments and difficulties, but rather augmenting them and making them greater. By whose authoritie accompanied with the petitions of many others, together with the miserable wailings of the *Vincentines*, the Prince at last was content to promise them safetie of life, the disposition of all their goods remaining wholly at his will: a bootie greater in opinion then in effect, for that the Citie was left almost desolate both of men and goods: the which as the *Almaines* sought after with great furie, vnderstanding that many of the towne and countrey were withdrawne with their goods into two caues in a certaine mountaine neare to *Vincensa*, called the grot of *Masano*, where by the strength of the place and difficultie to enter, they supposed to find securitie, the *Almaines* coming thither, after they had in vaine, and not without some harmes, assailed those that were within the great caue, they went to the lesser, and finding that they could not otherwise force it, they made great fires about it, and at last by the benefite of the smoke carried it, with the losse (as the bruite went) of more then a thousand persons.

The Vincentines yeeld to discretion.

Vincensa being taken, greater difficulties appeared in other things then was expected in the beginning: for that not onely *Maximilian* did not stirre against the *Venetians* as he had promised, but also the regiments which he had in *Italy* diminished continually for want of pay: in so much as *Monsieur Chaumont* was constrained to stay vpon the guarding of *Vincensa*; neuertheless he determined to go incampe before *Legnaguo*, a towne of such special regard, that if it were not taken, all that had bene done till that day serued to nothing. The riuer of *Adice* passeth by the towne of *Legnaguo*, and the lesser part of the same, which they call *Porto*, is towards *Montagnana*, where the *Venetians* not reposing so much in the strength of the towne and valour of the defendants, as in the impediments of the waters, had cut the riuer in one place: and on the other side, where is the greater part of the towne, they had cut it in two places; so as the riuer falling through those trenches, had spread it selfe by many armes into the lowest places, and so couered the countrey about, that standing drowned for many moneths, it was almost become a marrish. But it hapned that the rashnesse and disorder of the *Venetian* bands, made these difficulties lesser. For *Monsieur Chaumont* coming to incamp with his armie at *Minerua*, three miles from *Legnaguo*,

nagno, and hauing ſent before certaine of his horſemen and footmen, who as they would haue paſſed the laſt arme of the water, which was within halfe a mile of *Legnaguo*, they encountred the bands of the footmen which had the guard of *Porto*, who were iſſued out to ſtop their paſſage. But the *Gaſcoines* and *Spaniards* ruſhing reſolutely into the water vp to the breaſt, repulſed them, and purſued them with ſuch valour and fury, that they entred with them pelmell into *Porto*, very few of the footmen of that place being ſaued, for that ſome were ſlaine in flying, and the greater part of thoſe other that ſought to retire into *Legnaguo*, were drowned as they would haue paſſed the riuer of *Adice*. By reaſon of this ſucceſſe *Monſieur Chaumont* altering his intention to encampe at *Minerus*, went the ſame night to lodge within *Porto*: and after he had cauſed to traile vnder the water the great artilleries, which the firme bottome of the earth did ſuſtaine, the ſame night he cauſed the trench of the riuer to be filled vp and ſtopt. And knowing that on that ſide to *Porto*, *Legnaguo* was inexpugnable by reaſon of the largeneſſe of the riuer, ſo great, that they could hardly fight on that ſide, (notwithſtanding betweene *Legnaguo* and *Porto*, for that it is incompaſſed with hils, it is not ſo large as below) he commanded to prepare a bridge to paſſe the artilleries and ỹ greateſt part of the armie to the other ſide. But finding that the barks which he had cauſed to be brought thither, were not anſwerable to the largeneſſe of the riuer, he incamped himſelfe neare the riuer oppoſite to *Legnaguo*, and cauſed Captaine *Molard* with foure thouſand *Gaſcoins* and ſixe peeces of artilleries to paſſe vpon thoſe barkes to the other ſide of *Adice*, who being paſſed, they began on both ſides the riuer to batter the baſtillion which was vpon the riſing of a hill at the vpper point of the towne: and part of it being beaten downe, notwithſtanding the defendants vſed all diligence to fortifie it, the night following, the Treaſurer of the *Venetian* camp, hauing more feare of his enemie then hope or confidence in his owne people, withdrew himſelfe ſuddenly into the Caſtle with certain *Venetian* Gentlemen. As ſoone as it was day, and their retiring being perceiued, the Captaine of the footmen that guarded the baſtillion rendred it to *Molard*, their liues and goods ſaued, and yet when he was come out, he and his footmen were ſtripped by the ſouldiers of the campe. The baſtillion being taken, the towne was immediatly put to ſacke by Captaine *Molard*, and the bands of footmen who guarded another baſtillion made on the other corner of the towne, hauing caſt away their armour, ſought ſafetie by flying through the marriſhes. Thus *Legnaguo* by the cowardiſe of ſuch as were within it, was more ſuddenly and more eaſily conquered, then was either expected or imagined. *Legnagno taken by Chaumont.* The caſtle made no greater reſiſtance then the towne; for, the bulwarkes being beaten downe the day following by the artillery, as they began to vndermine one ſide of a tower with intention afterwards to giue fire to it, they within yeelded themſelues, with condition that the Gentlemen of *Venice* remaining in the power of *Monſieur Chaumont*, the ſouldiers ſhould depart without armour. Fortune in this victory mixed ſome of her gall among the felicities of *Monſieur Chaumont*, for that in that place he had aduertiſement of the death of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* his Vnkle, by whoſe great authoritie with the *French* King, he who had bene raiſed to high promotions and honours, hoped for greater things. Now becauſe the *Almaines* had not ſufficient ſouldiers to leaue within *Legnaguo*, *Monſieur Chaumont* left there in garriſon an hundred Lances and a thouſand footmen, and ſo diſmiſſing the *Griſons* and *Valeſians*, he prepared to returne with the reſidue of his armie to the Duchie of *Millan*, following the commandement of the King, who would no more be at ſo great expences. Of this armie, for that the prouiſions on *Cæſars* part anſwered not the promiſes that were made, there came no effect of importance. Neuertheleſſe the King commanded him afterward to ſtay yet for the whole moneth of Iune, for that *Cæſar* being then come to *Inſpruch* full of difficulties, according to his cuſtome, but full of plots and hopes, made inſtance that he ſhould not depart, promiſing from time to time that he would paſſe into *Italy*. About which time the *Almaines* deſiring to recouer *Maroſtico*, *Ciuitella*, *Baſciano*, and other peeces thereabouts, to make the deſcending of *Cæſar* more eaſie on that ſide, *Monſieur Chaumont* with his armie incamped at *Lungaro* vpon the riuer of *Baquillon*, to the end to ſtop the *Venetian* companies for entring into *Vincenſa*, where there was but a very ſmall garriſon, and that they ſhould not oppoſe againſt the *Almaines*. But being aduertiſed there that the *Venetians* were retired to *Padua*, the *Almaines* ioyning themſelues againe with him, they went to the *Torricelli*, vpon the high way that leadeth from *Vincenſa* to *Padua*, and from thence leauing *Padua* on the right hand, they marched to *Ciuitella* with no litle diſcommoditie of victuals, being troubled by the light horſemen that were within *Padua*, and much more by ſuch as were *M. Chaumont incampeth at Lungaro.*

at *Monſelica*. *Ciuitella* yeelded without reſiſtance, by whoſe example alſo *Maroſtico*, *Baſciano*, with other peeces thereabouts, abandoned by the *Venetians*, did the like. Therefore things being diſpatched on that ſide, the armies returned to the *Torricelli*, and leauing *Padua* on the right hand, and turning on the left towards the mountaine, they encamped aboue *Brenta* neare to the mountaine, within ten miles of *Vincenſa*: the chiefe reaſon why they went to that place, was, for that the *Almaines* deſired to occupie *Eſcalo*, a paſſage very conuenient for the regiments that were to come out of *Germanie*, and the onely peece that of all other places from *Treuiſa* to *Vincenſa*, remained in the hands of the *Venetians*. From which place the Prince of *Henault* being departed with his *Almaines* and an hundred *French* Lances, he tooke the way of *Eſcalo*, which was fiue and twentie miles from thence: but he could paſſe no further, for that the countrey people, (full of incredible affection to the *Venetians*, and ſuch, as being taken priſoners, they choſe rather to die then to denie them, or to ſpeake ill of them) had taken many paſſages in the mountaine: ſo that after he had obtained by compoſition *New-caſtle*, which is alſo a paſſage of the mountaine, he returned to the incamping place at *Brento*, hauing ſent by another way many of his footmen towards *Eſcalo*; who, according to his direction, forſooke the way of *Baſciano*, to auoide *Couolo*, which is a ſtrong paſſage in thoſe mountaines, and compaſſing more low by the way of *Feltre*, they found very few people within *Feltre*, which they ſacked and burned, and ſo tooke the way to *Eſcalo*, which, with *Couolo*, they found abandoned. About that time alſo the ruines were nothing leſſe in the countrey of *Friul*, for that being ſometimes aſſailed by the *Venetians*, and ſometimes inuaded by the *Almaines*, now defended and eſtſoones pillaged by the Gentlemen of the countrey, and whileſt the one aduanced and the other gaue backe, as occaſion ſerued, there was ſeene in euery place nothing more then dead carkaſſes of men, townes ſacked, and fortreſſes burned: and it hapned oftentimes that the ſame places which had bene firſt ſacked by one partie, were ſhortly after ſacked and burned by the other; and except certaine ſtrong peeces, all the reſidue of the countrey was expoſed to this miſerable deſtruction. But becauſe in thoſe actions there was nothing done worthy of memory, it would be no leſſe ſuperfluous to recount the particulars, then troubleſome to vnderſtand ſo many variable reuolutions, which brought forth no effect importing the ſubſtance of the ware.

Conuention between Cæſar and the French king.

But now the time approching that the *French* armie ſhould depart, there was made this new conuention between *Cæſar* and the *French* King, that his armie ſhould yet continue for the moneth following, with couenant that the extraordinary expences, ſuch as ran ouer and aboue the payes of the bands which the King had defrayed till that time, ſhould be payed hereafter by *Cæſar*, together with the regiments of the footmen for that moneth. But becauſe *Cæſar* was not then prouided of money, that the ſumme ſhould be ſet downe of thoſe expences, and the King to make it vp by way of loane to the ſumme of fiftie thouſand duckats: which if *Cæſar* did not repay within one yeare following, together with the other fiftie thouſand which were lent him before, the King ſhould take into his hands *Verona* with all the territories, till he were ſatisfied. *Monſieur Chaumont* hauing receiued the Kings commandement to follow ſtill thoſe warres, turned all his wits and deuices to take *Monſelica*, and therefore as ſoone as foure hundred *Spaniſh* Lances led by the Duke of *Terminy* were arriued, who, being ſent by the King Catholike to the ſuccours of *Maximilian*, had according to their cuſtome marched very ſlowly; the armies after they had paſſed the riuer of *Brento*, and afterwards the riuer of *Baquillon* at the village of *Purlo*, within fiue miles of *Padua*, arriued at *Monſelica*, not without great ſcarcitie of victuals and forrages, by reaſon of the incurſions of the horſemen that were within *Padua* and *Monſelica*, who beſides this tooke *Sonzin Be...one* of *Crema*, a Captaine for the *French* King, being gone with a very ſlender ſtrength of horſemen to view the ſcouts: and, for that he was the author of the rebellion of *Crema*, *Andrew Gritti* reſpecting more that he was a ſubiect to the *Venetians*, then a ſouldier of the enemies, cauſed him to be hanged preſently. In the towne of *Monſelica* which ſtandeth in the plaine, is a riſing as it were a ſtonie hill (by reaſon whereof it is called *Monſelica*) which is very high, on the top whereof is a Caſtle, and at the back of that hil which goeth always leſſening, there be three circuits of wals, the loweſt whereof comprehended ſo much ſpace, that it well needeth two thouſand men to defend it againſt a whole armie. The enemies abandoned ſuddenly the towne, wherein the *French* being beſtowed, they planted their artillery againſt the firſt circuite, and after they had well battered it in many places, the footmen of the *Gaſcoins* and *Spaniards* began to approch the wall in diſorder, ſtriuing to enter by many breaches. There were

The taking of Monſelica.

within

within for the defence of it ſeuen hundred men, who ſuppoſing it had bene an aſſault appointed and ordered, and ſeeing their diſabilitie to make reſiſtance if the aſſault were giuen in ſundry places, after they had made a ſmall defence, began to retire according to an agreement made amongſt themſelues before (as was beleeued:) but they made their retrait in ſuch diſorder, that the enemie who had already begun to enter the firſt circuit, purſuing them with light skirmiſh to the top of the hill, entred pelmell with them the other circuits, and ſo to the caſtle: where the greateſt part of them that were in garriſon being ſlain, the reſidue which were withdrawne to the tower, offering to yeeld vpon ſuretie of life, were not accepted by the *Almaines*, who at laſt put fire to the tower: ſo as of ſeuen hundred footmen and fiue Centurions, whereof *Martin de Bourg* of *Tuſcane* was the principall, there were very few ſaued, euery one hauing leſſe compaſſion of their calamities, for the cowardiſe they had ſhewed. And the *Almaines* ſhewed no leſſe crueltie againſt the buildings and walls; for not hauing ſufficient companies to guard them, they did not onely diſmantle the fortreſſe of *Monſelica*, but alſo conſumed the towne with fire: after which day thoſe armies did nothing of importance, ſauing that foure hundred *French* Lances ran vp euen to the gates of *Padua*. About this time the Duke of *Ferrara* departed from the campe, and *Monſieur Chaſtillon* with him, whom *Monſieur Chaumont* ſent with two hundred and fiftie Lances for the guard of *Ferrara*, where the people liued in great ſuſpition, for that the bands of the Pope were not farre from thence: notwithſtanding the *Almaines* perſwaded much *Monſieur Chaumont* (according to the agreement formerly made betweene them) to go incampe before *Treuiſa*, alledging that the actions which had bene done with ſo great expences, were of litle importance, if *Treuiſa* were not taken: for, touching *Padua*, there was no hope to be able to haue it. But on the contrary, *Monſieur Chaumont* replied, that *Ceſar* was not deſcended againſt the *Venetians* with ſuch forces as he had promiſed: and that thoſe that were ioyned to his army, were reduced to a very ſmall number: that within *Treuiſa*, where the *Venetians* had made very great fortifications, there were ſtore of ſouldiers: that the ſtore of victuals was worne out of the countrey, and that it was very difficult to bring prouiſion to the campe from farre places, for the continuall vexation of the light horſemen and eſtradiots of the *Venetians*, who being aduertiſed by the diligent eſpiall of the countrymen of euery litle mouing that was made, and being beſides in great number, ſhewed themſelues alwayes in euery place where they might endomage them. Theſe diſputations ceaſſed, by reaſon of a new commandement that came from the *French* King to *Monſieur Chaumont*, that leauing in the army of the *Almaines* foure hundred Lances and fifteene hundred *Spaniſh* footmen of the Kings pay, beſides thoſe that were in garriſon in *Legnaguo*, he ſhould ſuddenly returne with his army to the Duchie of *Millan*: for that many great troubles and dangers began already to appeare, whereof the Pope was the cauſe. By reaſon whereof *Monſieur Chaumont* leauing the gouernment of thoſe companies to *Monſieur Perſi*, he followed the Kings commandement; and the *Almaines* diſtruſting to be able to do any thing more of importance, put themſelues into *Loniguo*.

The Popes deliberation to chaſe the French out of Italy.

The Pope had of long time ſet downe in his mind an obſtinate reſolution, not onely to repoſſeſſe the Church of many Eſtates, which he pretended to appertaine to him, but alſo to chaſe the *French* King out of all that he held in *Italy*: and that which induced him thereunto, was either a ſecret and ancient ill will that he bare him, or a iealouſie which he had nouriſhed a long time, and now was conuerted into extreame hatred: or elſe a deſire of glorie, to be the deliuerer (as he boaſted afterwards) of *Italy* from forreine nations. To theſe ends he had abſolued the *Venetians* of the Church cenſures: to theſe ends, he was entred into intelligence and ſtraight alliance with the *Swiſſers*, making ſemblance to proceed in theſe things, more for his proper ſuretie, then for deſire to offend another: and to theſe ends, not being able to withdraw the Duke of *Ferrara* from the deuotion of the *French* King, he was determined to do all that he could to occupie that Duchie, giuing it out that he ſtirred onely for the quarrell of ſalt and tribute. And yet to the end not fully to diſcloſe his thoughts vntill he were better prepared, he dealt continually with *Albert Pio*, to haue agreement with the *French* King; who perſwading himſelfe that all his diſcontentment came for that he had taken the Duke of *Ferrara* into his protection, and being very deſirous to auoide his ill will; he conſented to contract with him new couenants, referring himſelfe to the capitulations of *Cambray*, wherein was expreſſed, that none of the Confederates ſhould intrude vpon any thing appertaining to the Church, inſerting therein ſuch words and clauſes as might make it lawfull to the Pope to proceed againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſo far forth

as concerned the particularitie of the tribute and ſalt, to which ends the King ſuppoſed the Popes thoughts did chiefly tend: interpreting the protection which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*, as though there was left to him a lawfull libertie to contract with the Pope in that maner. But the nearer the King approched to the demands of the Pope, the further was he eſtranged and ſeparate from him, being nothing moued for the newes he heard of the death of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*. For, to ſuch as perſwaded him to the peace, and tooke their argument vpon this, that his ſuſpitions were now finiſhed, he anſwered, that the ſame King liued, and therefore the ſame iealouſies continued; alledging for confirmation of that ſaying, that it was well knowne, that the accord made by the Cardinall of *Pauie* had bene violated by the Kings owne determination, contrary to the will and counſell of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*. Yea ſuch as looked more deeply into the Popes proceedings, found that his ſtomacke and his hopes were ſo much the more increaſed, and not without cauſe; for the qualities of the King being ſuch, as he ſtood in more need to be gouerned, then he was fit to gouerne, doubtleſſe he was much weakned by the death of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, ſince that beſides his long experience, his abilitie of wit was great, and had ſuch grace and authoritie with the King, that he almoſt alwayes followed his counſell, whereby it came to paſſe, that truſting to his greatneſſe, he would oftentimes take vpon him of himſelfe to giue a forme and reſolution of affaires: a matter which was not found in ſuch as ſucceeded him in the gouernment, who durſt not ſpeake to the King of ſuch things as they thought would diſpleaſe him, much leſſe could they determine: beſides, he repoſed not ſuch confidence in their counſels, and being many in number, reſpecting one another, and as yet not greatly truſting in their new authoritie, they proceeded more coldly and more careleſly then either the importance of the preſent affaires required, or was neceſſary againſt the heate and importunitie of the Pope: who not accepting any of the offers made by the King, required him at laſt to renounce, not with condition and limitation, but abſolutely and ſimply, the protection which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*. And the King labouring to perſwade him, that ſuch a renunciation would bring him great infamie, he anſwered in the end, that ſeeing the King refuſed to renounce ſimply, he would neither contract with him, nor be againſt him; and that not binding himſelfe to any perſon, he would ſtudie to maintaine the ſtate of the Church in peace, complaining more then euer of the Duke of *Ferrara*: who, his friends counſelling him to giue ouer the making of ſalt, had made this anſwer, that he could not follow their aduice without preiudicing the rights of the Empire, whereunto the iuriſdiction of *Comachio* did directly appertaine. But beſides this, many entred into a certaine doubt and opinion, which tooke increaſing with time, that *Albert Pio* the *French* Kings Embaſſadour, not proceeding ſincerely in his legation, ſtirred vp the Pope againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, for a burning deſire he had (wherein he continued till his death) that *Alphonſo* ſhould be depriued of the Dukedome of *Ferrara*. The reaſon was, for that *Hercules*, father of *Alphonſo*, hauing had certaine yeares afore of *Gilbert Pio* the moitie of the dominion of *Carpy*, giuing him in recompence the borough of *Saſſuola* with certaine other lands, *Albert* feared (as oftentimes it falls out, that the weakeſt is compelled to yeeld to the will of the ſtronger) that in the end the other moitie either by compulſion or corruption would deuolue to him. But whatſoeuer the truth was, the Pope ſhewing ſignes of a perſon vnreconcileable againſt *Alphonſo*, and hauing alreadie determined to make warre againſt him, he prepared to proceed againſt him with the cenſures of the Church, ſeeking to iuſtifie the grounds of this action; and ſpecially by giuing out ỹ he had found among the Records of the Chamber Apoſtolik, the inueſtiture of the towne of *Comachio*, giuen by ỹ Popes to the houſe of *Eſte*. Theſe were the publike behauiours of the Pope, but in ſecret he ſolicited to ſet abroach farre greater troubles, ſuppoſing that he had layed a good foundation to his affaires, in contracting amitie with the *Swiſſers*, and hauing the *Venetians* at his deuotion: and withall that he ſaw the King of *Aragon* had the ſame end with him, or at leaſt was not ſoundly ioyned with the *French* King: that the forces and authoritie of *Cæſar* were ſo weake, that he had no need to feare him: and laſtly, that he was not without hope to procure the King of *England* to ſtirre. But that which ſhould moſt haue appeaſed him, did moſt ſtirre vp his ſpirits, which was the knowledge he had that the *French* King hauing no diſpoſition to make warre againſt the Church, nouriſhed a ſetled deſire to haue peace: inſomuch as it ſeemed to him that it would alwayes remaine in his power to draw him to peace, yea though he had leuied armes againſt him. For which reaſons growing dayly more inſolent, and redoubling openly

his

his complaints and threats againſt the *French* king and the Duke of *Ferrara*, he refuſed in the feaſt of the celebration of *S. Peter* (a day wherein, according to ancient cuſtome, are offered the tributes which are due to the ſea Apoſtolike) to accept the tribute of the Duke of *Ferrara*; ſaying, that the grant of *Alexander* the ſixt, who in marrying his daughter, had from foure thouſand duckets, reduced that offering to an hundred yearely, was of no force, becauſe it was to the preiudice of his Sea: beſides, he would not afore this time giue licence to the Cardinall of *Achx* and other *French* Cardinals to returne into *France*; and vnderſtanding that the Cardinall of *Achx* was gone to take the pleaſure of the fields with certain grayhounds, he entred into a vaine ſuſpition that he would ſecretly ſtart away, and therfore ſent ſpeedily after to take him, and held him priſoner in the caſtle *S. Ange*. Thus diſcloſing himſelfe now openly againſt the *French* king, and for that cauſe ſeeing himſelfe ſo much the more conſtrained to lay the greater foundations, he granted to the King Catholike the inueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, vnder condition of the ſame tribute with the which the Kings of *Aragon* had obtained it, notwithſtanding he had refuſed afore to beſtow it otherwiſe then for fortie thouſand duckats: a rate afore time impoſed vpon the *French* king when he obtained it. That which moued the Pope hereunto, was not ſo much the bond which in other inueſtitures of the ſame kingdome, was wont to be made to him to entertaine euery yeare for him three hundred men at armes for the defence of the Church, as often as need required, as the deſire he had to make him his friend, and the hope that his aides (vpon occaſion) might do much to leade him into an open contention with the *French* King: whereof were already diſcerned certaine ſeeds and beginnings, for that the King Catholike ſuſpecting much the greatneſſe of the *French* King, and no leſſe iealous of his ambition, for that not content with the limits of the league of *Cambray*, he ſought to draw *Verona* to his obedience; and beſides all this, being puſhed on by the memory of ancient quarrels, he deſired greatly that there might be found ſome impediment in his affaires; and therefore ceaſſed not to counſell a peace betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, which was not a litle deſired by the Pope: and albeit he proceeded very ſecretly in theſe actiõs, yet he was not able altogether to couer his thoughts; inſomuch as his armie by ſea being fallen vpon *Sicile*, which he ſent to aſſaile the Ile of *Gerbes* (an Iland anciently called by the *Latines* the great *Sirta*) the King was entred into ſuſpition, and the minds of men that were well acquainted with his ſubtilties, were occupied with many doubts.

But troubles begã to ariſe to the *French* king frõ thoſe parts which he doubted leaſt, & in a time wherein he had no expectation of any mouing of armes to be prepared againſt him. For the Pope working alwayes vnder hand, ſolicited that at one time *Genes* might be aſſailed both by ſea and land: that twelue thouſand *Swiſſers* might deſcend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: that the *Venetians* aſſembling all their forces, ſhould take the field to recouer their townes holden by *Ceſar*: and that his owne armie ſhould enter vpon the country of *Ferrara*, with intention to paſſe afterward into the Duchie of *Millan*, if things began to ſucceed happily to the *Swiſſers*. And he hoped that *Genes* being aſſailed vpon the ſudden, there would eaſily ariſe ſome mutation, for that there were many that bare no ſound affection to the gouernment of the *French*, and for that the faction of *Fregoſa* would riſe into mutinie, going thither vnder colour to make *Octauian* Duke, whoſe father and vnkle had poſſeſſed the ſame dignitie: that the *French* men amazed for the commotion of *Genes*, and being inuaded by the *Swiſſers*, would reuoke to the Duchie of *Millan* all the bands which they had with *Ceſar* and the Duke of *Ferrara*, which would be a cauſe that the *Venetians* ſhould eaſily recouer *Verona*, and afterwards ſet vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: that his regiments ſhould do the like after they had (as he hoped) made an eaſie conqueſt of *Ferrara*, being abandoned of the *French*; ſo that the eſtate of *Millan* could not defend it ſelfe againſt ſo many enemies, and ſo ſudden a warre. He began at one time the warre againſt *Ferrara* and againſt *Genes*: for albeit the Duke of *Ferrara* (againſt whom he proceeded, the more to haſten the execution, as againſt a notorious offender) offered to giue him the ſalts that were made at *Comachio*, with obligation that hereafter there ſhould be no more made; yet after he had diſmiſſed his Embaſſadours, he cauſed his armie to march againſt him, which with the onely ſummons of a trumpet, and no defence appearing, obtained *Cente* and *Pieua*, the which boroughs appertaining formerly to the Biſhopricke of *Bologna*, Pope *Alexander* in marrying his daughter, had annexed them to the Duchie of *Ferrara*, recompencing that Biſhopricke with other reuenues. Againſt *Genes* were ſent eleuen galleys of the *Venetians*, guided by *Grillo Contarin*, and one of the Popes, carrying *Octauian Fregoſa*, *Ieronymo Dorea*, with many other of the ba-

The Popes armie againſt Ferrara & Genes.

baniſhed men: and by land at the ſame time, and for the ſame expedition, was diſpatched *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with an hundred men at armes, and ſeuen hundred footmen: this Captaine hauing left the pay of the *Florentines*, and being entertained by the Pope, abode vpon the territories of *Lucques* vnder colour to furniſh his band, giuing out a bruite that he was afterwards to go to *Bologna*: and albeit *Monſieur Chaumont* entred into ſome ſuſpition of *Genes* by reaſon of his abiding, yet not knowing that the army by ſea was to come, and the Pope hauing ſubtilly ſpread a bruite, that the preparations of the *Swiſſers*, and the lingring of *Marke Anthonie* were to execute ſome ſurpriſe vpon *Ferrara*, he made no other prouiſion for *Genes*, then to ſend thither a few footmen. *Marke Anthonie* with his companies marched to the vale of *Biſagna*, within a mile of the walls of *Genes*, although he was not receiued (according to the Popes hopes) either into *Serezana* or into the towne of *Spetia*: and at the ſame time the armie by ſea which had occupied *Seſtria* and *Chiauera*, was come from *Rapale* to the mouth of the riuer *Entelle*, which falleth into the ſea neare the port of *Genes*: into which Citie, vpon the firſt bruite that the enemies approched, there was entred for the *French* King the ſonnes of *Iohn Lewis de Fieſque* with eight hundred men of the countrey, with whom was ioyned the Cardinals nephew of *Finalo*, with an equall proportion of ſouldiers, which both aſſured the towne, and kept ſuppreſſed all commotions. By meanes whereof the Pope and the exiles being deceiued of their principall hope, ſeeing beſides a continuall flocking of ſouldiers out of *Lombardie* and the riuer of *Ponant*, together with ſixe great Galleys entring the hauen guided by *Preian*, they thought that to tarry longer there, would bring more perill then profite: and therefore both the nauie by ſea and the armie by land returned to *Rapale*, and in returning aſſayed to take *Portofino*, where died *Franciſco Bolani*, a patron of one of the *Venetian* galleys. And from thence their armie by ſea hoiſſing ſaile to go to *Ciuitauecchia*, *Marke Anthonie Colonno* doubting he could not paſſe ſafely by land for the commotions of the countrymen and popular fury alwayes raging againſt ſouldiers that retire in diſfauour, imbarked himſelfe in the galleys with threeſcore of the beſt horſemen, ſending the reſidue by land to *Spetia*, the moſt part of whom were ſtript, as well vpon the countrey of *Genes*, as vpon the marches of *Lucques*, and the frontiers of the *Florentines*. This attempt was done with very ſmall honour to *Grillo* and *Octauian*, for that for feare they abſtained to charge the veſſels of *Preian*, who being inferiour, it was ſuppoſed that before he entred the hauen, they might haue ſet vpon him with a great aduantage. After they were gone, *Preian* iſſued out of the hauen with ſeuen galleys and foure ſhips, and followed the *Venetian* nauie which was ſtronger then he in galleys, but weaker in number of ſhips. Both the one and other fell with the Ile of *Elba*, the *Venetians* in the port of *Lungono*, and the *French* in the hauen of *Ferrato*, who after they had accoaſted the enemie to the mount *Argentaro*, returned againe to *Genes*. About this time the Popes ſouldiers were entred into *Romagna* vnder the Duke of *Vrbin*, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*; where hauing taken the towne of *Lugo*, *Bagnacaual*, and all the reſidue that the Duke held on this ſide *Po*, they encamped before the Caſtle of *Lugo*: and whileſt they lay there, without vſing diligence, and in no good order, being aduertiſed that the Duke of *Ferrara* with the *French* bands, and an hundred and fiftie men at armes of his owne, with many troupes of light horſemen, was marching to the reſcue of it, the Duke of *Vrbin* raiſed the ſiege ſuddenly, leauing three peeces of artillery in prey to the enemie, & retired to *Imola*. *Alphonſo* taking the aduantage of this occaſion, recouerd all that they had taken from him in *Romagna*: but the campe Eccleſiaſtike being againe aſſembled and increaſed, reconquered eftſoones the ſelfe ſame places eaſily, and immediatly after forced the caſtle of *Lugo*, hauing battred it many dayes: and after the taking of it, an occaſion of greater ſucceſſe preſented it ſelfe vnto them. For there being no garriſon in *Modena*, for that the Duke being buſied about the defending of other places where the danger was neareſt, could not prouide of himſelfe, nor obtaine of *Monſieur Chaumont* to ſend thither two hundred Lances, the Cardinall of *Pauie* paſſing with the army to *Frank caſtle*, obtained that Citie preſently by compoſition, whither he was inuited to come by *Gerard* and *Francis Maria Rangons* Gentlemen of *Modena*, whoſe authoritie was ſo great (chiefly *Gerard*) that they were able to diſpoſe of it as beſt liked them: and it was beleeued, that they were puſhed on more by ambition and deſire of innouation, then by any other occaſion. *Modena* being loſt, the Duke fearing leſt the like would happen to *Regge*, beſtowed preſent garriſon there, and *Monſieur Chaumont* doing after the hurt receiued, that which would haue profited more in the beginning, ſent thither two hundred Lances, notwithſtanding he had many impediments for the deſcending

ſcending of the *Swiſſers*. The confederation betweene the *French* King and the *Swiſſers*, was determined many moneths before, the King continuing in his reſolution not to augment their penſions, contrary to the counſell of all his Nobles, who aduiſed him to conſider of what importance it would be, to make thoſe armies his enemies, with the which he had before danted all men. And therefore they being already drawne into armes vnder the authoritie and promiſes of the Pope, and incited by the Biſhop of *Sion*, but ſpecially made angry with the Kings obſtinacie in denying their demands, were reſolued by an vniuerſall conſent of the Communalties in an aſſembly holden at *Lucerna*, to make warre againſt him. But *Monſieur Chaumont* foreſeeing theſe ſtirres, had ſet good guard vpon the paſſages towards *Coma*, and taken from the riuers all the boates and barks, and withdrawne into places of ſtrength all victuals and prouiſions, and laſtly had taken from the mils their grinding inſtruments. And being vncertaine, whether the *Swiſſers* would deſcend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, or paſſing the mount *S. Bernard*, enter into *Piemont* by the vale of *Auguſto*, go to *Sauona*, with intention to domage *Genes*, or elſe paſſing the *Appenin*, to go againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*; he had induced the Duke of *Sauoy* to deny them paſſage; and for their more impediment, he ſent with his conſent fiue hundred Lances to *Turea*, not ceaſſing neuertheleſſe in the meane while to do all that he could to corrupt with preſents and promiſes the chiefe Commanders of that Nation, to withdraw them from riſing. But it was in vaine, ſo great was their hatred, and ſo much were they incenſed (chiefly the commons) againſt the *French* king: in ſo much as eſteeming it to be their proper cauſe, notwithſtanding the difficulties that were in the Pope to ſend them money, for that the Fookers bankers of *Germanie*, who had promiſed to defray it for him, ſhrunke backe for feare to offend *Cæſar*, ſixe thouſand of them leuied by the Pope began to march in the beginning of September: amongſt whom were foure hundred horſemen, halfe of them armed with ſhot, fifteene hundred footmen with caliuers, and fiftie harquebuſiers, without artillerie or other prouiſion of bridges or boates: who turning to the way of *Belinſona*, and hauing taken the bridge of *Treſa*, left abandoned by ſixe hundred *French* footmen which were there in garriſon, they incamped at *Vareſa*, expecting there (as they ſaid) the Biſhop of *Sion* with new companies. This troubled much the minds of the *French*, both for an ordinary feare they had of the *Swiſſers*, and more particularly for that at that time they had a very ſmall number of men at armes in *Millan*, part of them being diſtributed for the guard of *Breſſa*, *Legnaguo*, *Valegge*, & *Peſquiero*, and three hundred Lances being gone to the ſuccours of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and fiue hundred being ioyned with the armie of the *Almaines* againſt the *Venetians*. Yet neuertheleſſe *Monſieur Chaumont* aſſembling his forces, came with fiue hundred Lances and foure thouſand footmen into the plaine of *Chaſtillon* within two miles of *Vareſa*, hauing ſent *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* to the mount of *Brianſa*, to the end that not ſo much with the bands which he brought with him, which were in very ſmall number, as with the fauour of the men of the countrey, he might endeuour to keepe the *Swiſſers* from taking that way: who as ſoone as they were arriued at *Vareſa*, ſent to demand paſſage of *Monſieur Chaumont*, ſaying they would go to the ſeruice of the Church: by reaſon whereof it was doubted they would paſſe to *Ferrara* by the Duchie of *Millan*, by which way (beſides the impediments of the *French* companies) they ſhould haue found difficultie to haue paſſed the riuers of *Po* and *Oglia*: or elſe taking the left hand, would turne by the hils below *Coma* and *Lucques*, to paſſe the riuer of *Adda*, which there is narrow and not rough, from whence they might be guided by the hill of the countrey of *Bergamo* and *Breſſia* to the riuer of *Oglia*: and hauing paſſed ouer there, they might deſcend either by the countrey of *Breſſia* or by *Guiaradadda* vpon the marches of *Mantua*, which is a countrey large, where there are neither townes nor forces to reſiſt them. Such was the valour of that nation, and the reputation of their militarie diſcipline, that *Monſieur Chaumont* had no intention to ſet vpon them, by any meanes, no although they ſhould deſcend into the plaines, but with his horſmen & footmen ioyned together, and with his field peeces, to accoaſt and houer vpon them to cut off their victuals, and to giue them as many impediments as he could to paſſe the riuers (without tempting fortune): and in the meane while from thoſe places neare *Vareſa* that were well furniſhed with horſemen and footmen, he giuing them oftentimes falſe alarums, keeping them in breath all the night. At *Vareſa*, where the *Swiſſers* were now in great want of victuals, a new ſupply of foure thouſand came and ioyned with them, and the fourth day after their coming, they marched all together towards *Chaſtillon*, keeping vpon the left hand along the hils, marching alwayes in cloſe ranke,

The deſcending of the Swiſſers to the Duchie of Millan.

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in good order, and without making any haſte. They were in euery file foure ſcore or an hundred, and in the laſt files were all the harquebuſiers and caliuers; and marching in this ſort, they defended themſelues valiantly againſt the *French* army, which alwayes accoaſted them, and skirmiſhed with them both behind and before; yea ſometimes an hundred or an hundred and fiftie of them would iſſue out of their ſquadron, to entertaine skirmiſh, aduancing, ſtaying, and retiring in ſuch ſort, as there could be diſcerned no diſorder in their doings. In this ſort they arriued the firſt day at the paſſage of the bridge of *Vedan*, which was guarded by Captaine *Molard* with certaine *Gaſcoines*, who being driuen backe with the ſhot of their harquebuſes, they lodged the ſame night at *Appiana*, eight miles from *Vareſa*, and *Monſieur Chaumont* encamped within *Aſſaron*, which is a great village towards the hill of *Brianſa* ſixe miles from *Appiana*. The day following, they drew along the hils, towards *Cantu*, *Monſieur Chaumont* accoaſting them alwayes with two hundred Lances, for that by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the places, the artilleries remained more lower together with the footmen that guarded them: and yet in the mid way either for the domages which the *French* had giuen them that day, as *Monſieur Chaumont* boaſted, or for that ſuch was their reſolution, leauing the way of *Cantu*, and turning more on the left hand, they went retiring by the high places towards *Coma*, encamping for that night in a ſuburbe of that Citie, and in the villages thereabout. From the ſuburbe of *Coma*, they made another lodging at *Chiaſſo* three miles more forward, keeping the *French* men in doubt, whether they would returne to *Belinſona* by the valley of *Lungaro*, or draw towards the riuer of *Adda*; where, albeit they were not furniſhed with bridges, yet many ſuppoſed that hauing made a bridge of boates, they would aſſay to paſſe all at once. But the next day putting them out of this doubt, they went and harboured at the bridge of *Treſa*, and from thence retired by troupes into their houſes, being reduced into the vttermoſt extremitie of victuals and want of money. It was beleeued that this ſo ſudden retrait was done for want of money, and for the difficulties to paſſe the riuers, but much more for the neceſſitie of victuals. In this ſort the *French* men were deliuered for this time, of a danger which they eſteemed not litle, although the King making his matters greater then they were indeed, affirmed that he could not but hold it profitable for his affaires to ſuffer them to paſſe, making this queſtion, whether of theſe two things would make the Pope more weake, either to be without ſouldiers, or to haue an armie that came to offend him, as did the *Swiſſers*, whom, with ſo many forces and ſo much treaſure, he had had all the paine in the world to manage.

The Venetians recouer moſt part of their townes after the departing of Chaumont.

The perill of the *French* had yet bene farre greater, if at one time they had bene aſſailed in many places, according to the purpoſe of the Pope: but as the enterpriſe of *Genes* was afore the mouing of the *Swiſſers*, ſo the armie of the *Venetians* aduanced not ſo ſoone as was determined, notwithſtanding they had had a ſingular occaſion and commoditie, for that the *Almaine* bands within *Vincenſa*, with whom were the *Spaniſh* footmen, and the fiue hundred *French* Lances, being much diminiſhed ſince the departure of *Monſieur Chaumont*, the *Venetian* armie iſſuing out of *Padua*, recouered without great trauell *Eſte*, *Monſelica*, *Montagnana*, *Maroſtico*, and *Baſciana*: and paſſing further, the *Almaines* alwayes drawing towards *Verona*, they entred into *Vincenſa* which they had abandoned: and ſo hauing recouered all thoſe peeces, except *Legnaguo*, which with ſo great expences and trauell of the *French* men, they had loſt in the whole Sommer; they came to *S. Martin* fiue miles from *Verona*, into which Citie the enemies retired, whoſe retraite had not bene without danger, if (as the *Venetians* ſay) there had bene greater courage in *Luke Maluezzo*; who was then their Generall, for that *Iohn Paul Baillon* had left their pay. For, the *Venetians* being come to the village of *Towre*, the enemies leauing great ſtore of victuals in their lodgings, tooke the way to *Verona*, the whole *Venetian* armie following them, and the light horſemen continually annoying them: and yet the *French* ſuſtaining valiantly the reareguard, chiefly with the artillery, they paſſed the riuer of *Arpan*, and marched without danger to *Newtowne*, the *Venetians* incamping within halfe a mile of them: and the day after, the *Venetians* not following them carefully, by reaſon, as they ſaid, their footmen were not able to follow the horſemen, they retired ſafely into *Verona*. The *Venetians* ſtayed certaine dayes at *S. Martin*, and then approching neare *Verona*, not without blame, for the vnprofitable ſtay they had made, they began to employ their artilleries (which they had planted vpon the oppoſite mountaine) againſt the Caſtle of *S. Felix* and the next wall: and haply they made choiſe of that place for that it was difficult to be fortified, and for that the horſemen could not ſtirre but very incommo-

diouſly.

diouſly. The *Venetian* army contained eight hundred men at armes, three thouſand light horſemen, the moſt part eſtradiots, and ten thouſand footmen, beſides a great quantitie of paiſants: and within *Verona* were three hundred *Spaniſh* Lances, one hundred Lances of *Almaines* and *Italians*, and more then foure hundred *French* Lances, fiue hundred footmen payed by the King, and foure thouſand *Almaines*, no longer vnder the Prince of *Henault*, who was dead certaine dayes afore. The people of *Verona* being ill affected to the *Almaines*, were vp with their weapons in their hands; a matter wherein the *Venetians* had much hoped, whoſe light horſemen paſſing at the ſame time the riuer of *Adice* at a foord beneath *Verona*, ouerranne the whole countrey. The artilleries of the *Venetians* battered the wall with great fury; notwithſtanding the artillery planted within by the *French*, and couered with their defences, did greatly diſtreſſe thoſe that were without, who had no rampiers: *Lactantius Bergame*, a Colonell of the greateſt account with the *Venetians*, had his buttocks ſtriken away with a ſhot of the artillery, of which he died within few dayes after. At laſt the artillery without hauing done a wonderfull execution, and beaten downe a great part of the wall, euen to the beginning of the ſcarpe, and ſo diſmounted and broken their Cannons that the artillery within was of litle or no ſeruice, the *Almaines* were not without feare to loſe the Caſtle, notwithſtanding it was well rampierd: to the loſſe whereof, to the end the loſing of the Citie ſhould not be ioyned, they determined in caſe of neceſſitie to retire to certaine rampiers which they had made in a place neare, to beate vpon the ſudden with their Cannons, which they had already planted, the face of the inner part of the Caſtle, hoping to make ſuch an opening, that the enemies ſhould find ſmall ſafetie to tarry there. But the valour of thoſe that were within, was farre aboue the vertue of the other; for that in the *Venetian* army were no other footmen then *Italians*, who being ordinarily payed euery fortie dayes, followed that ſeruice, more for that they found in other places very ſlender preferment, then for any other reaſon. Beſides, the *Italian* footmen, not accuſtomed to the order of ſeruice beyond the Mounts, nor reſolute in the field, were at that time almoſt alwayes reiected of euery one that had meanes to furniſh their ſeruice with footmen ſtrangers, ſpecially with *Swiſſers*, *Almains* and *Spaniards*. Therefore the towne being defended with a greater valour then it was aſſaulted, there iſſued out one night about eighteene hundred footmen, with certaine *French* horſemen to charge the artillery; and the footmen that guarded it being eaſily put to flight, they choaked two great peeces, ſtriuing to draw them into the towne: but the alarum being ſuddenly raiſed through all the campe, *Zitolo de Perouſa* came to the reſcue with many footmen, who fighting valiantly, finiſhed his life with great glorie. And *Denis de Naldo* coming on with the greater part of the army, the enemie was compelled to leaue the artillery and retire; yet with great praiſe, ſith that in the beginning they brake the guard that defended the artillery, and after ſlue part of ſuch as came firſt to the reſcue: and laſtly, retired almoſt all in ſafetie. In the end the *Venetian* Captaines being diſcouraged by this accident, ſeeing the inhabitants made no mutinie, and iudging withall, that their abiding there would be no leſſe vnprofitable then full of perill, for the ill ſuretie of their campe (their footmen being lodged in the mountaine, and their horſemen in the valley very farre from the footmen) they determined to retire to their old lodging at *S. Martin*, wherein they made the more ſpeed, for that they vnderſtood that *Monſieur Chaumont* would come to the reſcue of the towne, hauing already auoided the perill of the *Swiſſers*. When the campe brake vp, the forragers of *Verona* accompanied with a great ſtrength, entred the valley of *Poliento* ioyning to the mountaine of *S. Felix*: but many light horſemen of the *Venetians* being ſent out for reſcue, and ſeizing firſt of the entry of the valley, put them all to the ſword, or to the fortune of priſoners. From *S. Martin* the *Venetian* army drew to *S. Boniface*, being fearfull of the comming of *Monſieur Chaumont*: at which time thoſe that were in garriſon within *Treuiſa*, tooke by compoſition the towne of *Aſola* neare the riuer *Muſono*, wherein were eight hundred *Almaine* footmen: and afterwards the Caſtle. And in *Friul* they proceeded with the ſame variations and accuſtomed cruelties, no more making warre vpon the enemies, but proſecuting on all parts the deſtruction of buildings, and the ſpoiling of the countrey, which calamities likewiſe conſumed *Iſtria*. About this time it came to paſſe that the Marquis of *Mantua* was deliuered out of priſon after a very memorable maner, procured by the Pope, whereunto he was induced by an ancient affection which he bare to him before, and by a deſire to ſerue his turne of him, and the commoditie of his eſtate in the warre againſt the *French* King: and it was beleeued through all *Italy*, that he had bene the worker of his deliuery: but I haue bene informed by

Verona beſieged by the Venetians.

The calamities of Friul and Iſtria.

The Marquis of Mantua eſcapeth out of priſon.

by an author worthy of credite, and through whose hands at that time passed the whole gouernment of the estate of *Mantua*, that his libertie was wrought by another meane: for that he doubting lest the *Venetians* (as the truth was) either for the hate they bare him, or for the suspition they had of him, would keepe him perpetuall prisoner; after there had bene vsed in vaine many trials and remedies, it was determined in the Councell of *Mantua*, to haue recourse to *Baiazet* Prince of the *Turks*, whose amitie the Marquis had entertained many yeares, by sending him messages with sundry presents; who, taking knowledge of his calamitie, sent for the Gouernour of the *Venetian* Merchants lying at *Pera* in *Constantinople*, and told him, he must promise him that the Marquis should be deliuered: and the Gouernour refusing to promise that which was not in his power to performe, offered to write to *Venice*, where he doubted not but there would be set downe a resolution conformable to his desire; but *Baiazet* replying proudly, that it was his will that he should make an absolute promise, he was constrained to condescend thereunto; which being signified to the State of *Venice* by the Gouernour, the Senate considering that it was not now time to stirre vp so mightie a Prince, determined to set him at libertie. But to hide his dishonour, and to reape some fruite of his deuice, he gaue eare to the Popes desire; by whose meane it being concluded (but secretly) that to assure the *Venetians* that the Marquis should not moue against them, his eldest sonne should be put into the Popes hands, the Marquis was conueyed to *Bologna*, where after he had deliuered ouer his sonne to the Agents of the Pope, being now at libertie, he went to *Mantua*, excusing himselfe both to *Cæsar* and the *French* King by the necessitie he had to redresse his owne estate, that he came not to their armies to do them seruice, as freeholder to the one, and souldier to the other, (for the *French* King held him always in the number of his Pensioners) although in very deed his intention was to remaine a neuter.

The Pope determineth to assaile Genes.

Matters being thus vnhappily begun, had nothing diminished the hopes of the Pope, who perswading himselfe more then euer of the mutations of *Genes*, determined to assaile it againe. By reason whereof the *Venetians* following him more by necessitie, then that they approued of his furious dealing, augmented their nauie which was at *Ciuitauecchio* with foure great ships; and when the Pope had ioyned thereunto one of his Galeasses with some other vessels, perswading himselfe that his name would most easily induce the *Genowayes* to rebell, he blessed his banners publikly with Pontificall ceremonies; all men maruelling, that now whē his thoughts were made manifest, and that within *Genes* were many souldiers, and a strong nauie within the hauen, how he could hope to obtaine that, which he was not able to atchieue when the hauen was disarmed, when there was but a small garrison within the Citie, and when there was no doubt at all of him. To the armies at sea which were followed by the banished faction, and also by the Bishop of *Genes*, sonne of *Obietto de Fiesquo*, were to be ioyned the land forces. For *Federike* Archbishop of *Salerne*, brother to *Octauian Fregosa*, leuied with the Popes money companies of footmen and horsemen in the countrey of *Lunigiana*, *John de Sasatella* and *Reinold de Sasseto* his Captains, hauing commandement to be readie with their regiments at *Bagno de Porretto*, to make an approch to *Genes* as occasion should require. But in that Citie had bene made mightie prouisions both by sea and land, and therefore at the bruite of the approch of the nauie of the enemie, wherein were fifteene light galleys, three great galleys, one galeasse, and three *Biscain* ships, the *French* nauie lanching out of the hauen of *Genes* with two and twentie light galleys, went to meete them at *Portouenere*: and the diuersitie of vessels was to them a suretie, for that being inferiour to the enemies being vnited together in one strength, but superiour or at least equall in force in respect of the galleys, they might alwayes by their swiftnesse in dispersing saue themselues from the ships. The two nauies approched one another aboue *Portouenere* within the shot of the artillery, and after they had exchanged betweene them certaine volleys of shot, the Popes nauie went to *Sestria*, which is in the coast of Leuant, from whence they presented themselues afore the port of *Genes*, *John Fregosa* entring within ỹ port with a Brigantine: but the towne being so straitly guarded that the contrary faction could not rise, and the artillery of the tower of *Codisa* thundring without ceassing, they were constrained to retire. Afterwards they sailed to *Portouenere*, and spending many houres afore it without any effect, despairing of the successe of the whole enterprise, they returned to *Ciuitauecchia*; from whence the *Venetian* vessels departing with the Popes consent to returne into their owne seas, they fell distressed at *Far de Messina* with such a furious tempest, that fiue of their galleys were lost, & the others were cast vpon the coast of *Barbarie*, from whence, being much bruised, they fell at last into the ports of the *Venetians*.

tians. The forces that ſhould haue come by land, were not in this action, for that the companies that were leuied in the countrey of *Lunigiana* ſtirred not, iudging it an enterprife full of perill to enter the coaſt of *Leuant*, for the preparations which the *French* had made: and ſuch as were readie at *Bagno de Porreto*, making excuſe that the *Florentines* would not ſuffer them to paſſe, marched no further, but entring into the mountaine of *Modena*, which yet obeyed the Duke of *Ferrara*, they aſſailed *Fanana*, which though they could not obtaine at the beginning, yet in the end (for that the mountaine men ſaw no hope of ſuccours from the Duke of *Ferrara*) they yeelded to them. Thus till this day had nothing ſucceeded to the Pope of all that he had attempted againſt the *French* king: for that there was no mutation at *Genes*, as he did aſſuredly promiſe himſelfe; neither did the *Venetians*, after they had in vaine aſſailed *Verona*, hope for any aduancement on that ſide: neither did the *Swiſſers* accompliſh any thing, their action being rather in demonſtration then in effect: and touching *Ferrara*, whither the *French* had ſent ready ſuccours, and the Winter approching, there was no apparence of any danger; onely he had ſurprized *Modena*, a recompence vnworthy of ſo great emotions. But it ſeemed to be with the Pope, diſappointed of ſo many hopes, as the Poets haue left written of *Anteus*, who being tamed by the forces of *Hercules*, as often as he was throwne to the ground, ſo often did appeare in him a greater ſtrength and courage. Euen ſo was it with the Pope in his aduerſities; for when he ſeemed moſt deiected and moſt oppreſſed, then did he moſt lift vp himſelfe with a ſpirit more conſtant and reſolute, promiſing himſelfe for the time to come more then euer: and yet he had almoſt no other foundations then of himſelfe; and that which he preſuppoſed (as he would openly ſay) that albeit he was vtterly voide of valiant and loyall armes, hauing no other aſſured friends then the *Venetians* who by neceſſitie ran the ſame fortune; neuertheleſſe for that his enterpriſes were not vndertaken for any particular intereſt, but of an onely and ſincere deſire to ſet *Italy* at libertie, he doubted not, with the aide of God, to manage them to an iſſue honorable, happie and commendable. He could not hope much of the *Venetians*, for that they were alreadie drained of money, and oppreſſed with many difficulties: and the King Catholicke ſeemed rather to counſell him ſecretly, then to aide him openly; for that on the other ſide he vſing his ordinarie ſubtiltie, entertained amitie with *Maximilian* and the *French* King: and albeit he made him many promiſes, yet he held him in ſuſpence with many exceptions and delayes. And touching the trauell he had vſed to ſeparate *Ceſar* from the *French* King, and to bring him to agreement with the *Venetians*, it ſeemed euery day more vnprofitable: for that *Ceſar*, at ſuch time as the Pope had ſent out an armie againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, had ſent an Herald to charge him not to moleſt him: and *Conſtantine de Macedonia* being gone in the Popes name to ſolicite an accord betweene him and the *Venetians*, he did not onely refuſe to heare him, but giuing to vnderſtand that he would more firmly knit himſelfe with the *French* King, he ſpake of ſending vnto him the Biſhop of *Gurci* to negociate with him of all their affaires. Alſo the Electors of the Empire, notwithſtanding they bare great inclination to the name of the Pope, and to the deuotion of the ſea Apoſtolike, would not heare ſpeake of the expences: in ſo much as being addicted onely to the affaires of *Germanie*, they were not to do him any great ſeruice in thoſe actions. And it ſeemed he could not hope much more of the King of *England*, notwithſtanding he was yong, and deſirous of innouations, and had made profeſſion to affect the greatneſſe of the Church, and had heard his Embaſſadours, not without ſome inclination of mind: for that being ſo farre remoued from *Italy*, as well by land as by ſea, he was not able of himſelfe to embaſe the *French* king, hauing withall ratified the peace with him, and by a ſolemne Embaſſage ſent to that end, receiued the full confirmation. Certainly any other, who had ſo weake foundations, and ſo great impediments, would haue abated in courage, ſeeing withall he had the meanes to obtaine peace with the *French* King, with ſuch conditions as a conqueror could hardly deſire greater. For the King conſented to abandon the protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though not directly in regard of his honour, yet indirectly to ſatisfie the Pope, referring it to the arbitration of the law, but into the hands of ſuch Iudges as would haue pronounced according to the Popes will: who albeit he was certaine that he might obtaine this forme of peace to his quiet and honour, yet he added, that ouer and beſides theſe, he would haue the King to leaue *Genes* at libertie, proceeding in theſe actions with ſuch obſtinacie, that not one of his deareſt familiars durſt once aduiſe him to the contrarie: and which more is, the Embaſſadour of *Florence* offering to ſound him according to the Kings commandement, put him into great

Pope Iulio.

choler; & a meſſenger whō the Duke of *Sauoy* had ſent to him about other affaires, offering that his Prince (if it ſo liked him) would interpoſe in the working of the peace, he was ſo much moued, that crying out, that he was ſent to eſpie, and not to negociate, he committed him to priſon thereupon, and cauſed him to be examined with torments: and finally growing daily more obſtinate in difficulties, not reſpecting either impediments or dangers, he determined to lay aſide all his other thoughts, and to vſe all his endeuours for the ſubduing of *Ferrara*; and reſolued to go in perſon to *Bolognia*, both to haſten things by his preſence, to giue more authoritie to his affaires, and to increaſe the courage of his Captaines, which was farre inferiour to his furie: aſſuring himſelfe that to take *Ferrara*, his owne forces would ſuffice ioyned with the *Venetians*, who laboured to feed him in that perſwaſion, for feare leſt in the end loſing all hope of good ſucceſſe, he ſhould come to accord with the *French* King. On the other ſide, the *French* King being now certaine by ſo many experiences of the intention and ill affection of the Pope towards him, and knowing that it was neceſſarie to prouide againſt other dangers that might happen to his eſtate, he determined to defend the Duke of *Ferrara*; and keeping eſtabliſhed the amitie he had with *Cæſar*, he reſolued to perſecute (by his conſent) the Pope with armes ſpirituall, and in the meane while to put off matters vntill the Spring, when he would paſſe into *Italy* with a puiſſant armie, to make warre either vpon the *Venetians*, or againſt the Pope, as the eſtate of affaires ſhould require. Wherefore propoſing to *Cæſar*, not onely that he would go againſt the *Venetians* with a greater power then heretofore, but alſo that he would aide him (as he knew well he had long deſired) to take *Rome* and the whole ſtate of the Church, as of right belonging to the Empire: and likewiſe all *Italy*, except the Duchie of *Millan*, *Genes*, the ſtate of the *Florentines*, and of the Duke of *Ferrara*: he ranged him eaſily to his opinion, and ſpecially that by their authoritie, ioyning with them the conſent of the nations of *France* and *Almain*, they might call a generall Councell, wherein they hoped would be concurrent the *Spaniſh* regions and the King of *Aragon*, who durſt do nothing againſt their will. To theſe was added another moſt great foundation, that many Cardinals of *Italy* and beyond the Mounts, hauing minds ambitious and ſtirring, promiſed to make open profeſſion to be the authors of the Councell. The King for the better direction of theſe things, expected with no ſmall deſire the coming of the Biſhop of *Gurce*, whom *Cæſar* had determined to ſend to him. But in the meane while, to lay a beginning to the inſtitution of the Councell, and to remoue preſently from the Pope the obedience of his kingdome, he made ſummons to all the Prelates of *France* to aſſemble at *Orleans* in the midſt of September. Such were the reſolutions and preparations of the *French* King, not altogether approued by thoſe of his Councell and of his Court, who conſidering how vnprofitable it would be to giue leiſure to the enemie, perſwaded him not to deferre the mouing of armes to a new time; whoſe counſell if it had bene followed, the Pope had bene eaſily brought into ſuch neceſſitie, and his affaires ſo confuſed, that it had not bene ſo eaſie for him, as it was afterward, to ſtirre vp againſt him ſo many Princes. But the King perſiſted in his opinion, either through auarice, or for feare leſt other Princes would be iealous of his greatneſſe if he onely made warre againſt the Pope: or perhaps he abhorred ſuch an action, as contrary to the ſurname of *Right Chriſtian*, and vnworthy of the profeſſion to defend the Church, which his predeceſſors had alwayes done in ancient times.

The kings diſpoſitiō againſt the Pope.

The Pope entred into *Bolognia* vpon the end of September, with intention to inuade *Ferrara* as well by water as by land with all his owne forces, and thoſe of the *Venetians*. Therefore the *Venetians* at his requeſt ſent out two fleets armed againſt *Ferrara*, which entred into the riuer of *Po*, the one by *Fornaci*, and the other by the port of *Primaro*, and began to do many domages to the people of *Ferrara*, as the Popes companies did alſo at the ſame inſtant, who ouerran and pillaged the whole countrey, but not coming neare to *Ferrara*, wherein was a ſtrength of two hundred and fiftie *French* Lances beſides the Dukes ſouldiers. For albeit the Popes Captaines were payed for eight hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen, yet, beſides that they were bodies taken vp at randon, (the Popes being ordinarily ill ſerued in warres) the numbers were farre leſſe. And beſides *Monſieur Chaumont* hauing ſent, after the loſſe of *Modena*, to *Regge* and *Rubiero* two hundred and fiftie Lances, and two thouſand footmen: *Marke Anthonie Colonno* and *Iohn Vitelli* departed from the armie by the Popes commandement with two hundred men at armes and three hundred footmen, to go to *Modena*. For theſe reaſons the Pope made inſtance that of the *Venetian* armie (the forces of *Ceſar*

The Popes armie & the Venetians vpon the countrey of Ferrara.

ſar being much diminiſhed at *Verona* and euery where) which had without great difficultie recouered almoſt all *Friul*; he might paſſe a part of it into the country of *Ferrara*, where they had newly recouered *Poleſina de Rouigna*, left abandoned by the neceſſitie of the affaires which the Duke had about *Ferrara*. The Pope alſo expected three hundred *Spaniſh* Lances, whom the King of *Aragon*, according to the bond of the inueſtiture, ſhould ſend to him vnder the leading of *Fabricio Colonno* whenſoeuer he ſhould demand them: and he made his purpoſe when they were arriued at his campe, to ſet vpon *Ferrara* on his ſide, and the *Venetians* to do the like on their part: perſwading himſelfe that as ſoone as the people of *Ferrara* ſaw the armie approch the wals, they would take armes againſt the Duke, notwithſtanding his Captaines told him that the garriſon within was both able to defend the Citie, and keepe the people in order, what diſpoſition ſoeuer they had to run into tumult: and therefore with incredible care he entertained in ſindry places many bands of footmen. But the *Venetians* were more ſlow in coming forward then the Pope expected, for that hauing brought by the riuer of *Po* vpon the marches of *Mantua* many barkes to make a bridge, the Duke of *Ferrara* charging ſodainly vpon them with certaine *French* bands, tooke them from them: and alſo within certaine creeks of *Poliſena* he tooke many barkes and other veſſels, together with the Treaſurer of the *Venetian* armie. At which time an intelligence being diſcouered which the *Venetians* had within *Breſſia*, to make it rebell againſt the *French* King, the Count *John Maria de Martinengo* was beheaded there. But farre more ſlow in marching were the companies of the *Spaniards*, who being arriued vpon the frontiers of the kingdome of *Naples*, refuſed, according to the direction of their King, to paſſe the riuer of *Tronto*, vnleſſe the Bull of inueſtiture which had bene promiſed, were firſt deliuered to his Embaſſadour; which the Pope would not giue vntill they were arriued at *Bologna*, for doubt leſt after he had giuen it, the companies that were promiſed ſhould not come at all: and yet, neither for any declaration that his Captaines could make to him, neither for the preſent difficulties, did his hope diminiſh that he was able to carrie *Ferrara* with his owne ſtrength onely; and he looked into all the expeditions of warre with a wonderfull trauell and affection, notwithſtanding that at the ſame time he fell into a great maladie, which (gouerning himſelfe contrary to the counſel of Phyſitions) he deſpiſed no leſſe then other things, promiſing himſelf the victorie of that, as alſo of the whole war, hauing this firme perſwaſion, that it was the will of God that *Italy* ſhould be reſtored to liberty by his means. He brought to paſſe likewiſe, that the Marquis of *Mantua*, whom he had called to *Bologna*, and honored with the title of *Gonfalonnier* of the Church, ſhould take pay of the *Venetians* vnder the name of their Captaine generall (the Pope participating for an hundred men at armes, and twelue hundred footmen) but with ſpeciall charge, that it ſhould be kept ſecret, as the Marquis had deſired, vnder colour that it was neceſſary that he ſhould prouide firſt for the affaires of his own country, to the end to withſtand the harmes of the *French* men: but in truth for that he tooke this charge vpon him, not of good will, but by neceſſitie, becauſe of the promiſes he had made, he ſought to deferre the execution, the better to deliuer himſelfe of it by ſome occaſion that might happen. The great deſire which the Pope had to offend others, was turned into a neceſſitie to defend his owne things: which yet had bene more important and greater, if new accidents had not conſtrained *Monſieur Chaumont* to deferre his purpoſes. For after the *Venetian* armie was broken vp from before *Verona*, *Monſieur Chaumont* being come as farre as *Peſquiero* to march to the reſcue of that Citie, determined to returne ſpeedily with his armie to the recouery of *Modena*, in which quarter, his bands that were at *Rubiero*, had taken by aſſault the towne of *Formingo*; which if he had done, it was thought he might haue eaſily obtained it, both for that the garriſon was ſlender, the towne not fortified, and the inhabitants not liking the iuriſdiction of the Church. But it hapned as he thought to go his way, that the *Almain* footmen that were within *Verona* began to draw into tumult, for that they were ill payed of *Ceſar*; by reaſon whereof, leſt that Citie ſhould remaine abandoned, *Monſieur Chaumont* was conſtrained to abide there till he had appaiſed and reaſſured them, and to this end he gaue nine thouſand duckats for their preſent pay, and promiſed to pay them likewiſe for the moneth following. He had no ſooner put remedie to this diſorder, then there happened another accident, for the *Venetian* bands being retired towards *Padua*, and *Grotto* the Gouernour of *Legnagno* thinking now a fit occaſion was offered to ſacke the towne of *Montagnana*, he cauſed all his men at armes and foure hundred footmen to march thither: againſt whom, whileſt they of the towne (who could not be without feare of ſacking) made defence,

many troupes of the *Venetian* light horſemen, finding them in diſorder, brake them eaſily to their great harmes, for that the meanes to flie was taken from them by the enemie that had beaten downe a bridge: by which aduenture *Legnagno* being almoſt made naked of men, it is without all doubt, that if the *Venetian* bands had ſuddenly ſet vpon it, they had taken it; which opportunitie was ſoone loſt, for that *Monſieur Chaumont* being aduertiſed of all that had hapned, diſpatched thither in great diligence other bands. But theſe impediments were the cauſe that he loſt the oportunitie to recouer *Modena*, into which in this reſpite of time, were entred many footbands, and many fortifications had bene carefully made: and yet by his coming to *Rubiero*, the Pope was compelled to addreſſe to *Modena* that armie that was appointed to go againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*: and there all his forces being aſſembled vnder the Duke of *Vrbin* Captaine generall, and the Cardinall of *Pauie* his Legate, and vnder *Iohn Paul Baillon*, *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, and *Iohn Vitelli*, Captaines of authoritie, he importuned them to giue battell to the enemie: a matter which all his Captaines did impugne, foraſmuch as the forces of the *French* were without all compariſon greater both in number and valour; ſeeing that the footmen of the Church had bene leuied in haſte, and in the armie was no ſuch obedience and order as was fit; there being alſo betweene the Duke of *Vrbin* and the Cardinall of *Pauie* a manifeſt diſcord, which proceeded ſo farre, that the Duke accuſing him of infidelitie to the Pope, led him as priſoner to *Bologna*, either of his owne authoritie, or elſe by the Popes commandement: but all crimes and imputation of crimes being purged by his preſence, he was held in more fauour and authoritie then before. Whileſt theſe two armies lie one right againſt the other, *Monſieur Chaumont* abiding with his horſemen at *Rubiero*, and his footmen at *Marſaglio*, and on the other ſide, the Eccleſiaſtikes keeping at *Modena* in the ſuburbes of *Rubiero*, and many courſes and skirmiſhes paſſing betweene them, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who a litle before had recouered without reſiſtance *Poleſina de Rouigna*, ioyning to him the Lord *Chaſtillon* and the *French* lances, recouered without impediment *Finale*, and from thence entring into the towne of *Cento* (which the Pope had taken before) by the caſtle that held for him, he ſacked and burned it, and prepared himſelfe to go ioyne with *Monſieur Chaumont*: for feare whereof the Church armie within *Modena*, beſtowed part of their footmen in the ſuburbe toward the mountaine. But the Duke was no ſooner remoued, then he was conſtrained to ſtay for the defence of his owne; for that the *Venetian* ſouldiers containing three hundred men at armes, many light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, to winne the paſſage of *Po*, and ſo to ioyne with the Popes armie, were encamped before *Ficquerolo*, which is a litle and weake borough vpon *Po*, but of great renowme, both for the long time that *Robert* of *S. Seuerin* was afore it in the warre which the *Venetians* had with *Hercules* Duke of *Ferrara*, and alſo for the defence made by *Federike* Duke of *Vrbin*, Captaines of great valour in that time. The *Venetians* tooke it by compoſition when they had battered it with their artillerie, and afterwards forced the towne of *Stellato*, which is vpon the oppoſite ſhore; and commanding in that ſort the paſſage of *Po*, there reſted no more to paſſe ouer, but to caſt the bridge, which *Alphonſo* after the loſſe of *Stellato* (being come with his army to *Bondin*) hindred with his artillerie, which he had planted vpon a point of the land, from whence he eaſily beate that place, and beſides that ſcoured the whole riuer of *Po* with two galleys, which retired immediatly, for that the *Venetian* fleet, who at the firſt could not enter *Po*, the mouthes of the riuer being guarded by the ordinance of the Duke, found entrance now, coming vp *Adice* againſt the ſtreame; inſomuch as the countrey of *Ferrara* was much endomaged by the two fleets of the *Venetians*. But that ceaſſed forthwith, for the Duke iſſuing out of *Ferrara*, ſet vpon that fleet which was entred by *Primaro* and come vp to *Adria*, with two galleys, two ſoiſts, and many ſmall barkes: and hauing eaſily repulſed them, he came to the other, which being compounded but of foiſts and other ſmall veſſels, was entred by *Fornaces*, and come vp to *Puliſella*: and as they would haue entred into *Adice* by a riuer neare it, they were hindered by the ſhallowneſſe of the water: inſomuch as being continually beaten vpon by the artilleries of the enemie, they left their veſſels abandoned, being vnable to defend them, ſeeking to ſaue themſelues and their artilleries.

In theſe ſtirres of temporall armes, the ſpirituall weapons began to be ſtirring on all parts: for the Pope had publikely excommunicated *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, and all ſuch as were either come or ſhould come to his ſuccours, and ſpecially *Monſieur Chaumont*, with all the principals of the *French* armie: and in *France* the aſſembly of Prelates that had bene tranſported from *Orleans*

to

to *Tours*, had consented (although more not to oppose against the will of their King assisting, who was oftentimes present at their assembly, then of their proper will or iudgement) to many articles propounded against the Pope, with this onely modification, that before they withdrew themselues from his obedience, there should be Embassadours addressed to him, to aduertise him of such articles as were agreed vpon by the Clergie of *France*, and to admonish him that hereafter he should obserue them; and that in case of impugning or resisting, he should be cited to the Councel: and that instance should be made to other Princes, that all the nations of Christendom might be there present. And besides, there it was agreed to leuie a great impost of mony for the King vpon the Churches of *France*: and a litle after in another Session of the xxvij. of September, they published the Councell to begin at *Lions* in the beginning of the next March: and the same day the Bishop of *Gubei* entred into *Tours*, where he was receiued with so rare and excessiue honour, that it was well perceiued with what long and great desire his coming had bene expected. Furthermore, now began to be disclosed the diuision of the Cardinals against the Pope; for that the Cardinals of *S. Crosse* and *Cosenso* Spanish, and the Cardinals of *Baieux* and *S. Mallo* French, together with the Cardinall *Federike de S. Seuerin*, leauing the Pope going to *Bolognia* by the way of *Romagna*, and visiting in his iourney the temple of *Loretta*, which is very famous for the multitude of miracles, they took, with his leaue, their way through *Tuscane*: but being come to *Florence*, and obtaining of the *Florentines* safeconduct, not for any time determined, but vntill they reuoked it, and fifteene dayes after the reuocation should be signified to them, they deferred with many excuses to passe any further: and the Pope being entred into suspition for that they stayed so long, after many requests made to them to go to *Bolognia*, he wrote a briefe to the Cardinals of *S. Mallo*, *Baieux*, and *S. Seuerin*, to come to the Court vpon paine of his indignation: and proceeding more gently with the Cardinall of *Cosensa*, and with the Cardinall of *S. Crosse*, a Cardinall of marke, for his nobilitie, knowledge, good life, and for the embassages which he had managed for the sea Apostolike, he incited them by a Briefe to do the like: but they being resolued not to obey him, went to *Millan* by the way of *Lunigiana*, after they had in vaine solicited the *Florentines*, to giue not onely to them, but to all the Cardinals that would come to *Florence*, an assured safeconduct for a long time. In this meane while *Monsieur Chaumont* intending to recouer *Carpy*, which had bene taken before by the souldiers of the Church, sent thither *Albert Pio*, and *Monsieur de Palisse* with foure hundred Lances and foure thousand footmen; and *Albert Pio* going before with a trumpet, accompanied with a small troupe of horsemen, the townesmen that loued him well, hearing of his coming, began to fall in tumult: for feare whereof the Ecclesiastiks y lay there in garrison to the number of fortie light horsemen, and fiue hundred footmen, forsooke their charge, and tooke the way to *Modena*: but being pursued by the *French* which came soone after, they were put to flight in the medow of *Curtille*, which is almost in the mid way betweene *Carpy* and *Modena*; and the horsemen saued themselues, but most part of their footmen were lost. Now *Monsieur Chaumont* esteemed it the best policie, to set vpon the enemy afore the arriuall of the *Spanish* lances, whom to aduance, the Pope had deliuered into the hands of the Cardinal of *Rhegine* the Bull of inuestiture: and before the *Venetian* companies should ioyne with them, who hauing raised certaine rampiers against the artilleries of *Alfonso*, hoped speedily to haue cast their bridge. Therefore he drew neare to *Modena*, where after a long time was spent in skirmishing betweene both parts, the Ecclesiastikes finding themselues the weaker, would neuer issue out with all their forces. This hope being lost, he determined to put in execution that, whereunto many, and chiefly the *Bentiuoleis*, had perswaded him with sundrie offers: to wit, not to consume time vnprofitably about such small matters, whereof the difficulties were farre greater then the profits: but to assaile on the sudden the bodie of the warre, and the principall head, from whom proceeded so many perils and troubles: That he had now a very good occasion, for that within *Bolognia* were very few forreine souldiers, and amongst the people many that fauoured the *Bentiuoleis*, the most part of the residue being inclined rather to expect the issue of things, then to take armes to expose themselues to dangers, and produce new hatreds: That if the attempt were not now giuen, and the present occasion let passe, it would be in vaine to assay it hereafter; for that when the bands either of the *Venetians* or *Spaniards* that are expected, shall be come, there will be no hope to do that with a mightie armie, which now is easie to be obtained with farre lesser forces. Then the whole armie being assembled, which the *Bentiuoleis* followed with certaine horsemen and

a thouſand footmen of their owne pay, tooke their way betweene the mountaine and the high way, and aſſaulted *Spilinberto*, which is a borough of the Counts *Rangons*, wherein was a garriſon of foure hundred footmen, ſent thither by the Pope; but when they had battered it a litle, they had it the ſame day by compoſition; and *Frankeaſtle* the next day being rendred, they incamped at *Creſpolano*, a borough ten miles from *Bolognia*, with intention to preſent themſelues the day after afore the gates of that Citie, where the coming of the armie being diuulged, and that the *Bentiuoleis* were in it, all things appeared full of confuſion and tumult, and the Nobles no leſſe then the Commons fell into commotion, the one part fearing, and the other deſiring the returne of the *Bentiuoleis*. But greater confuſion and feare occupied the minds of the Prelates and Courtiers, better acquainted with the idleneſſe and delights of *Rome*, then accuſtomed to the dangers of warre. The Cardinals being much offended, ranne to the Pope, complaining that he had put himſelfe, the ſea Apoſtolike, and them into ſo great perill; importuning him with great inſtance, either to make ſome ſufficient prouiſion for their defence (which in ſuch ſhortneſſe of time they held impoſſible) or to ſeeke to qualifie matters, & aſſay to make ſome compoſition with conditions as eaſie as he could, whereunto they ſuppoſed the enemie would incline; or elſe that he would depart out of *Bolognia* together with them, and that he would conſider, at leaſt if his particular danger touched him not, of what importance it would be for the Sea Apoſtolike, and for all Chriſtian religion, if there happened any inconuenience to his perſon. All thoſe that were moſt familiar with him, and his moſt acceptable miniſters and ſeruants did communicate in theſe complaints. But he onely, in ſo great a confuſion, and in ſuch a diſorder of all things, no leſſe vncertaine of the fidelitie of the people, then ill contented with the ſlow coming of the *Venetians*, made obſtinate reſiſtance againſt all theſe aduerſities, and the maladie that had much weakened his bodie, ioyned to all theſe afflictions, could not once bend the greatneſſe of his mind. At the beginning he had cauſed to come thither *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with part of the ſouldiers that were within *Modena*, and likewiſe had ſent for *Ierome Donato* Embaſſadour to the *Venetians*, to whom he complained with moſt ardent exclamations, that for the long delaying of the aides which had bene ſo many times promiſed him, his perſon and his eſtate were in manifeſt danger, not onely with an ingratitude abhominable towards him that had begun the warre chiefly for their ſafetie, and who with great expences and dangers, hauing brought the whole Empire and the *French* King to be his enemies, had bene the cauſe of the preſeruation of their libertie till that day, but alſo with an incredible indiſcretion in regard of themſelues: for if he ſhould either be vanquiſhed or conſtrained to yeeld to any compoſition, there could be no hope of their ſafetie, and leſſe expectation of good degree for their Commonweale: and laſtly he proteſted with words full of affection, that he would fall to agreement with the *French* if the next day paſt ouer and no ſuccours of their people which lay at *Stellato* entred into *Bolognia*, hauing, for the difficultie to build a bridge, paſſed ouer the riuer of *Po* vpon barkes and other veſſels. Alſo he aſſembled the Senators and chiefe Captaines of *Bolognia*, and encouraged and ſtirred them vp with graue words, that remembring the miſeries of their tyrannie paſt, and how much the tyrants would be more hurtfull and dangerous, if they returned after they were expulſed, they would maintaine the iuriſdiction of the Church, wherein they had found ſo great eaſe: and to induce them to a more readineſſe, beſides the priuiledges he had granted them before, he gaue them exemption of the moitie of all the impoſts exacted vpon the victuals that entred into *Bolognia* for the vſe of man, with promiſe to gratifie them hereafter with greater benefites. He made theſe things knowne by proclamation, the better to moue the people to take armes for the defence of the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike: but without fruite; for not one bodie ſtirred, nor any ſigne made in his fauor. Knowing then in what danger he ſtood, and ouercome with the importunities and plaints of ſo many people, and beſides the Embaſſadours of *Ceſar*, the King Catholike, and the King of *England* making great inſtance vnto him, at the requeſt of the Cardinals he conſented they ſhould ſend to *Monſieur Chaumont*, to demand leaue for *Iohn Francis Pigna* Count of *Mirandola* to go to him in ſafetie in the Popes name: and not many houres after he himſelfe ſent one of his chamber, to require him to ſend to him *Albert de Carpy*, not knowing but that he was in the armie. And at the ſame time, to the end that in all aduentures the moſt precious things of the Pontificacie might be in ſafetie, he ſent *Laurence Pucci* his Secretarie to *Florence* with the *Regno* (ſo they call the principall Miter) which was full of precious ſtones, to be kept in the famous Monaſterie of the Nunnes. *Monſieur Chaumont* by reaſon of the requeſts that

Chaumont beſiegeth the Pope within Bolognia.

were

were made vnto him, hoped that the Pope would hearken to peace, which he desired much, for that he knew it was agreeable to the intention of his King: and therefore, not to trouble such a disposition, the day following he retained the armie in their lodgings, suffering notwithstanding the *Bentiuoleis* with many horsemen of their friends and followers, to run euen to the walles of *Bolognia*, hauing marching a good space after them an hundred and fiftie *French* Lances: at whose coming, notwithstanding *Hermes*, one of the yongest, but the most resolute of the brethren, presented himselfe at the side of the gate, yet there was no mutinie made within. *Monsieur Chaumont* gaue gracious audience to *Iohn Francisco de Mirandola*, and sent him backe the same day to *Bolognia*, to signifie to the Pope the conditions wherwith he was content to accord, viz: That the Pope should absolue *Alphonso d'Este* of the Church censures, together with all those whosoeuer, which vpon any occasion intermedled either in his defence, or the offence of the estate Ecclesiastike: That likewise he should acquite the *Bentiuoleis* of all paines, censures and fines, restoring to them the goods which manifestly appertained to them, referring to arbitration and iudgement such as they were possessed of afore their exile: That it should be lawfull for them to dwell in what place they would, so they came not within fourescore miles of *Bolognia*: That touching the *Venetians*, there should be nothing done contrary to that which had bene agreed vpon in the confederation of *Cambray*: That between the Pope and *Alphonso d'Este*, there should be a surceassing of armes at the least for sixe moneths, each of them retaining all that he possessed: in which respite of time their controuersies should be decided by Iudges assigned by common accord, reseruing to *Cæsar* the examination of the matters of *Modena*, which should be presently deliuered vp into his hands: That *Cotignolo* should be restored to the *French* King: That the Cardinall of *Achx* should be deliuered: That the Cardinals that were absent, should be pardoned: And that the collation of benefices through all the dominions of the *French* King, should be disposed according to his nomination. With this answer *Mirandola* being returned to the Pope, but not without hope that *Monsieur Chaumont* would not continue so seuerely in all these conditions; the Pope, contrary to his custome, heard the report with patience, together with the petitions of the Cardinals, who besought him with an incredible affection, that he would accept the composition that was offered, if he could obtaine no better. But on the other part, he complained of the exorbitant conditions that were offered, and mingling in all his speeches complaints against the *Venetians*, and shewing that he was in doubt, he consumed all that day without expressing what was his resolution: but at last his hope increased, for that *Chiappin Vitelli* in the euening entred into *Bolognia* with sixe hundred light horsemen *Venetians*, and an esquadron of *Turks* payed by them, who departing by night from *Stellato*, were come galloping all the way, for that the *Venetian* Gouernour had giuen him in charge to passe with great diligence. The morning following, *Monsieur Chaumont* encamped with all his armie at the bridge of *Rene*, which is three miles from *Bolognia*, where the Secretaries of the Embassadours of the Emperour, the King of *Aragon*, and the King of *England* went to him, and soone after the Embassadours themselues: who, together with *Albert Pio*, which was come from *Carpy*, returned many times that day betweene the Pope and *Monsieur Chaumont*. But the disposition of both the one and other, was greatly changed: for *Monsieur Chaumont* hauing now no hope by the experience of the day before to be able to raise the people of *Bolognia* by meanes of the *Bentiuoleis*, and beginning withall to fall into necessitie of victuals, which would continually increase vpon him, had great distrust of the victorie: and the Pope taking courage by the affection of the people disclosed in fauour of the Church, reentred eftsoones into armes the same day; and because they expected at *Bolognia* before night two hundred other *Venetian* Estradiots, two hundred light horsemen vnder *Fabricio Colonne*, and part of the *Spanish* men at armes, he did not onely see himselfe deliuered of danger, but returning to his accustomed haughtinesse and brauery, he threatned to assaile the enemies as soone as the *Spanish* bands were come, which were now not farre off: which confidence made him giue answer all that day, that he bare no inclination to peace, vnlesse the *French* King would be bound wholly to abandon the defence of *Ferrara*. The day following were propounded new conditions, by reason whereof the same Embassadours returned to *Monsieur Chaumont*, but many difficulties arising, there was nothing done: insomuch as *Monsieur Chaumont* distrusting to be able to profite any more either by armes or by treaties of peace, and besides it was hard for him to remaine there, both for the want of victuals, and distemperance of the time, Winter approching, he returned the same day to *Frankcastle*,

Chaumont retireth from before Bologna.

caſtle, and the day after to *Rubiero*, making ſhew that what he did, was done at the requeſt of the Embaſſadours, both to giue time to the Pope to conſider of the offers that had bene made, and leiſure to himſelfe to expect the further will and direction of his King. At that time many accuſed the reſolution of *Monſieur Chaumont* to be indiſcreet, and the execution negligent: for that not hauing forces ſufficient to take *Bolognia*, (ſith in his armie there were but three thouſand footmen) it was a counſell ill digeſted to ſtirre at the perſwaſions of baniſhed men, whoſe hopes being meaſured more by deſire then with reaſons, became for the moſt part deceitful and vaine: and that at leaſt, if he had deſired to embrace this enterpriſe, he ought firſt to haue reſtored and repaired the weakneſſe of his forces: but of the contrary, that he had loſt the oportunitie by his negligence, for that after his departure from *Peſquiero*, he had vnprofitably loſt three or foure dayes, whileſt he was in doubt, conſidering the weakneſſe of his armie, whether he ſhould aſſay any thing of himſelfe, or expect the bands of the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Lord *Chaſtillon* with the *French* lances. This perhaps may be defended; but how may it be excuſed, that *Frankcaſtle* being taken, he brought not his armie to the gates of *Bolognia*, and had giuen leiſure to take breath to a citie, wherein no ſuccour was as yet entred, the people being in ſuſpence, and as it hapneth in ſodaine things, in great feare and confuſion? a ſingular meanes (if there be any at all) to make him obtaine either the victory, or ſome honorable compoſition. But perhaps the authoritie of ſuch as reprehend things that haue ill ſucceeded, would oftentimes be leſſe, if at the ſame time might be knowne what would haue hapned if they had proceeded otherwayes.

After the retiring of *Monſieur Chaumont*, the Pope incenſed out of meaſure againſt the King, began to make his complaints to all Chriſtian Princes, that the *French* King, as vſing the title and name of *Moſt Chriſtian*, and alſo deſpiſing the confederation ſo ſolemnly made at *Cambray*, moued with ambition to vſurpe all *Italy*, and wickedly thirſting after the bloud of the Pope of *Rome*, had ſent out his armie to beſiege him with all the Colledge of Cardinals, and the reſidue of the Prelates within *Bolognia*: and returning eftſoones with a courage redoubled to the thoughts of warre, he refuſed the Embaſſadours (who following the ſolicitation begun with *Monſieur Chaumont*, offered him the meanes of peace) to heare them ſpeake of any thing, if *Ferrara* were not firſt deliuered to him: yea, notwithſtanding by the trauels he had ſuffered in ſo great an accident both in bodie and mind, his maladie was made much worſe, yet he began to make new leuies of ſouldiers, and to ſtirre vp the *Venetians* (who at laſt had caſt a bridge betweene *Ficquerolo* and *Stellato*) to ſend vnder the Marquis of *Mantua* part of their armie to *Modena* to ioyne with his, and with the other part to moleſt *Ferrara*, aſſuring them that within few dayes he ſhould haue *Regge*, *Rubiero* and *Ferrara*. The *Venetian* bands had deferred to paſſe the riuer, for the perill they had run into if the death of the Pope had hapned (as was doubted:) but being compelled in the end to yeeld to his will, leauing the other bands vpon the ſhore beyond *Po*, they ſent towards *Modena* fiue hundred men at armes, ſixteen hundred light horſmen, and 5000. footmen, but not vnder the leading of the Marquis of *Mantua*, who ſtaying at *Sermidro* 50 leuie horſemen and footmen, to the end (as he ſaid) to march afterwards to the armie, although the *Venetians* were alreadie entred into ſuſpition of his long abiding, went to *S. Felix*, a borough belonging to *Modena*: where being aduertiſed that the *French* that were within *Verona* were entred into the countrey of *Mantua* to pillage it, alledging the neceſſitie to defend his owne eſtate, he returned with the Popes leaue from thence to *Mantua*, but not without the great complaint of the *Venetians*: for that notwithſtanding he had promiſed to make preſent returne, being alreadie entred into ſuſpition of his faith, they beleeued (all *Italy* almoſt partaking in that opinion) that *Monſieur Chaumont*, to giue him an excuſe not to go to the armie, had by his conſent cauſed certaine *French* bands to make incurſions vpon the country of *Mantua*: which ſuſpition was increaſed by a letter which he wrote from *Mantua* to the Pope, that he was not able to march for a ſickneſſe that was befallen him. After the bands of the Pope, the *Venetians* and the *Spaniſh* lances were vnited in the confines of *Modena*; if they had preſently marched, it was thought that *Monſieur Chaumont* had abandoned the citie of *Regge* and retained the Citadell, hauing vpon his diſcamping from *Bolognia* diſmiſſed all his *Italian* footmen for auoiding of expences: but taking courage by their ſlowneſſe, he began of new to leuie bands of footmen, determining onely to looke to the guard of *Saſſuola*, *Rubiero*, *Regge* and *Parma*. But as the foreſaid armie lay vpon the marches of *Modena*, not knowing yet whether they ſhould paſſe further, or turne againſt *Ferrara*, certaine troupes of the Church which ran vp towards

Regge,

Regge, being put to flight by the *French*, loſt an hundred horſe, and Count *Mateliquo* was taken priſoner. At which time the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Lord of *Chaſtillon* with the *French* bands lay encamped vpon the riuer of *Po*, betweene the Hoſpitall and *Bondin*, oppoſite to the *Venetian* regiments, which were beyond *Po*: whoſe nauie ſeeking to retire, for the ſharpneſſe of the ſeaſon, and for the ill prouiſion that came from *Venice*, being charged by many barkes of *Ferrara*, whoſe artilleries ſunke eight veſſels to the bottome, they retired with great paine by *Newcaſtle* vpon *Po* into the channell that falleth into *Tanare* and *Adice*, and ſuddenly ſeparated themſelues. After this, the Pope gaue order that the armie (which was gouerned by *Fabricio Colonno*, for that the Marquis of *Mantua* was not come) ſhould draw ſtraight to *Ferrara*, leauing the Duke of *Vrbin* for the guard of *Modena*, giuing to the Captaines, which with one conſent blamed this counſell, a hope almoſt certaine that the people would draw into tumult. But the ſame day they departed, they returned incontinently by his commandement, no man knowing what had moued the Pope ſo ſuddenly to alter his determination: and leauing off his firſt deuices, the armie went and incamped afore the towne of *Saſſuola*, (whither *Monſieur Chaumont* had ſent fiue hundred *Gaſcoin* footmen) which when they had battered two dayes, to the great pleaſure and contentment of the Pope (who heard the noiſe of the artilleries that battered *Saſſuola*, in the ſame chamber, wherein not many dayes before he had heard, to his great diſliking, the thundering of his enemies ſhot who were about *Spilimberto*) they gaue the aſſault, which with ſmall ado ſucceeded happily to them, for that the footmen that were within, fell into diſorder. And then the artillerie being immediatly preſented before the Caſtle whither they were retired, they yeelded as ſuddenly almoſt without any compoſition, with the ſame infamie and infelicitie of *Iohn Caſalo* who was their Captaine, that he had incurred when the Duke *Valentinois* tooke the Rocke of *Furly*: he was a man of very meane and baſe ranke, but for that in the flower of his age he had bene well liked by *Lodowike Sforce*, he was now riſen to ſome honorable degree. After the taking of *Saſſuola*, the armie tooke alſo *Formingo*: and the Pope deſiring that they ſhould go take *Montechio*, which is a place of ſtrength and importance, ſtanding betweene the high way and the mountaine, vpon the frontiers of *Parma* and *Regge*, and part of the territorie of *Parma*, notwithſtanding it is holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Fabricio Colonno* refuſed to execute the direction, alledging that his King had forbidden him to moleſt any thing that was vnder the iuriſdiction of the Empire. *Monſieur Chaumont* prouided not for theſe diſorders, who hauing left within *Regge*, *Monſieur d'Aubigny* with fiue hundred Lances and two thouſand *Gaſcoins* vnder Captaine *Molard*, was gone himſelfe into *Parma*, the King hauing ſent him word to abſtaine as much as he could from expences. For, the King perſeuering in his deuice to temporize vntill the Spring, made then no prouiſion for the affaires of *Italy*; by meanes whereof his reputation declining there, and the courage of his enemies increaſing dayly, the Pope impatient that his armie aduanced no more, & not approuing the excuſes which his Captaines made, of the ſeaſon of the yeare, and other difficulties, after he had called them all to *Bologna*, he told them they muſt go and encampe afore *Ferrara*; which was allowed onely by the Embaſſadours of *Venice*, either not to offend him by gainſaying, or that by this occaſion their ſouldiers ſhould returne more neare to their frontiers; and blamed of all the reſidue, but in vaine, for that he did not conſult but command. It was then determined that the armie ſhould march to *Ferrara*, but with this adiunction, that to let the *French* for ſuccouring it, they ſhould attempt to take *Mirandola*, if they ſaw it were not a matter of too great difficultie: which Citie, together with the towne of *Concorda*, inherited by the ſonnes of the Count *Lodowike Picqua*, and by *Francis* their mother and tutrix, was kept vnder the deuotion of the *French* King, following the authoritie of *Iohn Iaques Trinulce*, naturall father to *Francis*, by whoſe meanes his nephewes obtained the inueſtiture of *Cæſar*. The Pope had receiued them long before into his protection, as appeared by a Briefe: but now he excuſed himſelf, that the condition of the preſent times conſtrained him ſo to deale, that thoſe townes ſhould not be holden by perſons ſuſpected, offering, if they would willingly put them into his hands, to redeliuer them immediatly after he had wonne *Ferrara*. From that time it was doubted (and the doubt increaſed much more afterwards) that the Cardinall of *Pauie*, who was alreadie ſuſpected to entertaine ſecret intelligence with the *French* king, had cunningly bene the author of this counſell, by the enterpriſe of *Mirandola* to auert the beſieging of *Ferrara*, which citie at that time was neither well fortified, nor ſufficiently manned: and beſides, the *French* ſouldiers were ouerwearied both in bodie and mind, by their paines and

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trauels, the Duke in great weakneſſe, and the King vnwilling to be at any more expences there. But whileſt the Pope with ſo great feruencie managed the expedition of the warre; the *French* King who was more inclined to practiſes then to armes, continued with the Biſhop of *Gurci* the negociation of ſuch things as had bene begun; which in the beginning carying a ſhew of great facilitie, proceeded now with greater delayes, both for the ſlowneſſe of the anſwers of *Cæſar*, and alſo for the doubt that was conceiued of the King of *Aragon*, who beſides his other actions, had newly called home to the kingdome of *Naples* his regiments that were within *Verona*, vndet colour, that towards *Otranto* the nauie of the *Turke* was diſcouered. *Cæſar* and the *French* King iudged it neceſſarie to make him aſcertained of their intention, as well in regard of the continuation of the league of *Cambray*, as for the action that was to be done with the Pope, if he ſtill perſeuered in the amitie of the *Venetians*, and in the deſire to get immediatly to the Church the territories of *Ferrara*. To which demands after certaine dayes the King Catholike anſwered, taking at the ſame time occaſion to purge himſelfe of many things, whereof *Cæſar* and the *French* King complained againſt him: That he had ſent the band of three hundred Lances to the Pope according to the obligation of the inueſtiture, and to the end onely to defend the ſtate of the Church, and to recouer the things that were the ancient demaines of the ſame: That he had called backe his men at armes from *Verona*, for that the tearme was expired for which he had promiſed them to *Cæſar*, and yet that he would not haue reuoked them, had it not bene for feare of the *Turke*: That at *Bologna* his Embaſſadour interpoſed with others to worke the peace with *Monſieur Chaumont*, not to giue time to the ſuccours of the Pope, but to quench and put out ſo great a fire in Chriſtendome, knowing withall that to entertaine warre with the Church, was grieuous to the King: That he had alwayes had a ſetled purpoſe to accompliſh all that had bene promiſed in the league of *Cambray*, which he had further manifeſted by aiding *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians* with fiue hundred lances and two thouſand footmen: That it was not his intention to bind himſelfe to new bands, nor to be reſtrained to new capitulations; for that he ſaw no vrgent occaſion, and for that deſiring to keepe himſelfe free, the better to be able to make warre vpon the Infidels of *Africa*, he would not increaſe the dangers and calamities of Chriſtendom, which had need of repoſe: That the Councell and the reformation of the Church pleaſed him well, ſo that it were vniuerſall, and not repugnant to the times: of which diſpoſition he asked no better a witneſſe then the *French* King, in the ſpeeches they had together at *Sauona*; but now the ſtate of times were much contrary, ſeeing that peace and concord among Chriſtians was the foundation of Councels, and that nothing could be agreed vpon to the vniuerſall benefite, without the vnion of wils: and that it was not a thing praiſeworthy to begin the Councel at ſuch a time and in ſuch a ſort, that it might ſeeme to take beginning more by diſdaine, and deſire of reuenge, then for zeale, either to the honour of God, or to the eſtate of the Chriſtian common weale. He ſaid further to the Embaſſadour of *Cæſar* apart, that it ſeemed ſomewhat harſh vnto him, that he ſhould aide him to preſerue and keepe his townes, ſince he diſpoſed them afterwards to the *French* King for money, meaning expreſly *Verona*. Thus the intention of the King Catholike being knowne by this anſwer, the Biſhop of *Gurci* on the one part in the name of *Cæſar*, and the *French* King on the other part in perſon, delayed no longer to make a new confederation, reſeruing place to the Pope to enter into it within two moneths next, and to the King Catholike and the King of *Hungarie* within foure. And for a neceſſary foundation of the couenants that were made, the King bound himſelfe to pay to *Cæſar* an hundred thouſand duckats, part in hand, and the reſidue at times limited: *Cæſar* promiſed to paſſe into *Italy* in the Spring with three thouſand horſemen and ten thouſand footmen, againſt the *Venetians*: in which caſe the King was bound to ſend him at his proper charges two hundred Lances, and eight thouſand footmen, with ſufficient prouiſion of artilleries, and to rig out by ſea two light galleys and foure baſtard galleys: That they ſhould obſerue the league made at *Cambray*; and that in both their names obſeruation ſhould be demanded of the Pope and King Catholike: and if the Pope made difficultie, in regard of *Ferrara*, that the King ſhould be bound to hold himſelf content with that that ſhould be reaſonable; but if the Pope would not conſent to their requeſt, that then they ſhould proſecute the Councell; for which purpoſe *Cæſar* ſhould aſſemble the Prelates of *Germanie*, as the *French* King had done his, to the end to proceed further, as they ſhould after be aduiſed. As ſoone as theſe capitulations were publiſhed, the Biſhop of *Gurci* receiuing many honors and rich gratifications of the King, returned to his Prince: and the King, with the fiue Cardinals

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that were procurers of the Councell, presently contracted, that neither he without them, nor they without his consent, should capitulate any thing with the Pope, expressing by a vehement demonstratiō in words, the great desire he had to descend into *Italy* in person, with such a power as should be able for a long time afterwards to assure his affaires. And to the end that afore his marching they should decline no more, he sent to *Monsieur Chaumont* that he should not let the Duke of *Ferrara* perish: which was the cause that he added eight hundred Lanceknights to the companie of two hundred Lances which he had afore sent to the Duke vnder the leading of the Lord of *Chastillon*. On the other side, the Popes armie, after they had (with great delayes) made necessary prouisions, and left *Marke Anthonie Colonno* for the guard of *Modena* with an hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horsemen, and fiue and twentie hundred footmen, went and incamped before *Concordia*, which they forced the same day that the artillery was planted: and afterwards obtaining the Castle by composition, they approched neare to *Mirandola*. It drew now towards the end of December, and haply the season was much more sharpe then ordinarily it had wont to be; in which respect, and for that the towne was strong, and it being also beleeued that the *French* would not suffer a place so conuenient to be lost, the Captaines began to distrust of the victorie; and yet the Pope promised himselfe so assuredly the victorie of the whole warre, that sending the Cardinall of *Sinigale* a new Legate into the armie, for the discord that was betweene the Duke of *Vrbin* and the Cardinall of *Pauie*, he charged him in the presence of many, that aboue all things, when the armie should enter into *Ferrara*, they should looke to the keeping of that Citie. The fourth day after the armie was approched neare *Mirandola*, the artillerie began to execute, notwithstanding with no lesse trauell then discommoditie, as well in regard of the present season, as for want of victuals, which came very sparingly from *Modena*: for that fiftie *French* Lances being bestowed within *Guastallo*, as many within *Correggio*, and two hundred and fiftie in *Carpy*, and the *French* hauing cast downe all the bridges, and occupied all the passages by the which relieue might come from *Mantua*, it was impossible to haue any from any other countrey. But their necessities began quickly to diminish, for that giuing out a false bruite, that the armie would come and assaile *Carpie*, such as were within, being fearfull, for that they were not furnished with artillery, did presently dislodge from thence. In the end of this yeare the person of the Pope fell into some infamie, as though he had bene consenting and fautor that by the meanes of ỹ Cardinal *de Medicis*, there was a practise with *Marke Anthonie Colonno* and certaine yong men of *Florence* to kill *Peter Soderin Gonfalonnier*, by whose working, it was supposed that the *Florentines* followed the *French* faction: and that because the Pope hauing vsed all his endeuours to win that Commonweale to his side, he could neuer bring it to passe: but a litle before, at the *French* Kings request, and to the Popes great discontentment, they had reuoked the truce with the people of *Sienna*, although they refused to mone armes vntill sixe moneths after the reuocation. And besides, they had sent to the King two hundred men at armes for the guard of the Duchie of *Millan*, a matter demanded by the King by vertue of their confederation, not so much for the importance of such a succour, as for a desire to set them at enmitie with the Pope. In this estate of affaires did end the yeare a thousand fiue hundred and ten.

The endeuours of the Popes armie.

Mirandola besieged.

But the beginning of the new yeare was made memorable by a matter not expected, and such as the like hath not bene heard of in former times. For the Pope supposing that there was not vsed that diligence in the seruice of *Mirandola* as was necessarie for the taking of it, and that they proceeded too slowly in the businesse, and attributing partly to the ignorance, and partly to the infidelitie of his Captaines, but chiefly of his nephew, that which chiefly proceeded of many difficulties, he determined to aduance things by his presence, preferring the importunitie and violence of his mind afore all other regards, and not retaining himselfe by the consideration how vnworthy it was for the maiestie of such a degree, that a Pope of *Rome* should in person leade armies against the towns of Christians; and how dangerous a thing it might be, making no reckoning of the opinion and iudgement that the world would haue of him, to giue an apparent colour, and almost a iustification to those, who vnder colour principally that his gouernment was hurtfull to the Church, and his vices scandalous and incorrigible, went about to call a Councel, and to stirre vp Princes against him. Such speeches ran through all the Court: all men marueled at him, euery one blamed him, and the *Venetian* Embassadours no lesse then the residue. The Cardinals besought him with great instance not to go: but all their prayers 1511.

ers were in vaine, and their perſwaſions to no end. He departed from *Bolognia* the ſecond day of Ianuarie, accompanied with three Cardinals, and being come to the campe, he was lodged in a litle countrey cottage, ſubiect to the ſhot of the artilleries of the enemies, being no further from the wals of *Mirandola* then a common crosbow will ſhoot at twiſe. There trauelling and exerciſing his bodie no leſſe then his mind and authoritie, he rode continually through the campe, now here now there, and was about the planting of the artillerie, whereof til that day the leſſer part could not be employed for the impediments which the vnſeaſonable time and continuall ſnowes gaue to all actions of warre; and forasmuch as, notwithſtanding any diligence that could be vſed, the pioners and labourers could not be kept to their worke, who beſides the hardneſſe of the time, were much offended with the ſhot of the artilleries out of the towne: and for this reaſon it being neceſſary to raiſe new rampiers in the places where the artilleries were to be planted, and to refurniſh the campe with new pioners, the Pope, in that reſpite of time, withdrew himſelfe to *Concorda*, ſomewhat to eſchue the incommodities of the armie: to which place *Monſieur Chaumont* ſent vnto him *Albert Pio* to make many offers and meanes of accord, the which (notwithſtanding the many labours and meetings of the one and other ſide) ſorted to no effect, either for his accuſtomed hardneſſe and obſtinacie, or for that *Albert*, who was daily more and more ſuſpected, followed not the buſineſſe with ſuch ſinceritie as appertained. The Pope remained not long at *Concorda*, the ſame impatience cauſing him ſuddenly to returne to the campe: and the ſame heate, which was nothing cooled by the great ſnowes that continually fell from heauen whileſt he was in the field, nor by the cold, which was ſo great, that the ſouldiers could hardly endure it. He was lodged in a litle Church neare to his artilleries, and ſomewhat nearer to the wals then was his former lodging: and being content with nothing that either had bene done, or was then done, he complained with bitter words againſt all his Captaines, except *Marke Anthonie Colonno* onely, whom he had newly ſent for from *Modena*; and went with no leſſe impatience about the armie, now crying out to ſome, then encouraging others, and both in words and deeds performing the office of a Captaine, promiſing the ſouldiers that if they did their dutie, and ſhewed themſelues valiant men, he would take *Mirandola* vpon no compoſition, but leaue it to them for pillage. Truly it was a thing notable, and to the eyes of men ſtrange and new, that the *French* King, a ſecular Prince, being yet in his flouriſhing age, in good health, and trained from his youth in warres, ſhould take his eaſe now in his chamber, and adminiſter by Captaines a warre that was made principally againſt himſelfe: and on the other ſide, to ſee a ſoueraigne Biſhop, Chriſts Vicar on earth, hauing a bodie aged and diſeaſed, nouriſhed in eaſe and pleaſures, to go in perſon to a warre ſtirred vp by himſelfe againſt Chriſtian Princes, and to lie in campe afore a place of baſe account, where, as a leader of ſouldiers, he expoſed himſelfe to paines and dangers, retaining no other thing of a Pope beſides the name. By his extreme diligence, by his complaints, promiſes and threats, all things were more aduanced then otherwiſe they would haue bene: and yet many difficulties reſiſting him, all things went but ſlowly forward, both for the ſmall numbers of pioners, and for that in the campe there was no great ſtore of artilleries, and that of the *Venetians* was not very great, and withall by reaſon of the wetneſſe of the ſeaſon the powder could hardly do his accuſtomed office. They that were within made a valiant defence, hauing for their Gouernour *Alexander Triuulce* with foure hundred footmen forreiners: and they ſupported all dangers with ſo much the more valour and reſolution, by how much they had hope in the ſuccours promiſed by *Monſieur Chaumont*, who being commanded by his King not to ſuffer the Pope to take the towne, had ſent for all the bands of *Spaniſh* footmen that were at *Verona*, and making continuall leuies of men from all parts, wherein was concurrant with him the Duke of *Ferrara*, he promiſed to ſet vpon the enemies in their campe before the twentieth day of Ianuarie were paſt. But many difficulties made that purpoſe both hard and dangerous, as, the litle time he had to make ſo great prouiſions, the leiſure giuen to the enemies to fortifie their campe, the difficultie to conuey the artilleries, munitions and victuals in ſo cold a ſeaſon, by wayes ſo troubleſome, and through ſo great ſnowes as had not bene ſeene of long time. And moreouer, he that ſhould haue diminiſhed the difficulties by recompencing the time loſt with diligence, augmented them: for *Monſieur Chaumont* rode in poſt to *Millan*, affirming that the cauſe of his going thither, was to make prouiſion of money and other things neceſſarie for the warre. But it being diuulged and beleeued that it was for the loue of a Ladie of *Millan*, his iourney (notwithſtanding

The Pope in perſon at the campe afore Mirandola.

ding his returne was ſpeedie) abated greatly the courage of his ſouldiers, and the hopes of ſuch as defended *Mirandola*. By reaſon whereof many ſaid openly, that the negligence and ſlackneſſe of *Monſieur Chaumont* was nó leſſe hurtfull, then the hate he bare to *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, and that for this cauſe, inclining more to his proper paſſion (as he often did) then to the profite of his King, it was not diſpleaſing to him that the nephewes of *Triuulce* ſhould be depriued of *Mirandola*. On the other ſide, the Pope ſparing nothing that might further his victory, being entred into greater furie, for that by a canon ſhot out of the towne two men were ſlaine in his kitchin, for which danger hauing forſaken that lodging, and then becauſe he could not forbeare returning thither againe, he was conſtrained by new perils to take the tent of the Cardinall of *Regina*, againſt the which place, they within the towne (haply ſuſpecting that he was there arriued) braked a great peece, not without the danger of his life. At laſt the defendãts (ſtanding deſperate to be ſuccoured oñ all ſides, and the artillery of the enemie doing great harme, and withall the water of the ditch being frozen ſo hard, that it was able to beare the ſouldiers) fearing they ſhould not be able to reſiſt the firſt aſſault which was to be giuen within two dayes, ſent on the ſame day that *Monſieur Chaumont* had promiſed to ſuccour them, Embaſſadours to the Pope, to yeeld themſelues, their goods and liues ſaued. To whom albeit the Pope made anſwer in the beginning, that he would not be bound to ſaue the liues of the ſouldiers, yet in the end being ouercome by the petitions of his Court, he accepted the towne vnder ſuch conditions as were offered, ſauing that *Alexander Triuulce* with certaine other Captaines of footmen, ſhould remaine his priſoners, and that the towne ſhould pay a certaine rate of money, to redeeme the ſpoile which he had promiſed to the ſouldiers: & yet the ſouldiers iudging that to be due which was promiſed them, the Pope had much to do to keepe the towne from ſacking; who being drawne ouer the wals, the gates being rammed vp, deſcended by that meanes into the towne. The caſtle alſo yeelded, with permiſſion to the Counteſſe to depart with all her goods. The Pope reſtored *Mirandola* to Count *Iohn Franciſquo*, and indued him with all the rights of the ſonnes of Count *Lodowicke*, as gotten by him in iuſt warres; receiuing of him bond, to pay him within a certaine time for all defrayments, twentie thouſand duckats, and for ſuretie of performance, the perſon of his ſon: and he left there (to keepe the *French* from recouering it after the armie was retired) fiue hundred *Spaniſh* footmen and three hundred *Italians*. From *Mirandola* he went to *Sermidi*, a borough ſtanding in the countrey of *Mantua*, vpon the brinke of *Po*, in great hope to take *Ferrara* ſuddenly: by reaſon whereof, the ſame day that he won *Mirandola*, he anſwered *Albert Pio* in very plaine words, that he would heare no ſpeech concerning peace, vnleſſe *Ferrara* were yeelded vnto him before any other matters were propounded.

Mirandola yeeldeth to the Pope.

But thoſe thoughts were changed by a new deliberation of the *French*. For, the King conſidering how much the loſſe of *Mirandola* had diminiſhed his reputation, and deſpairing that the Pope of his owne accord would be reduced to peaceable counſels, he commanded *Monſieur Chaumont* not onely to looke well to the defending of *Ferrara*, but alſo not to forbeare, vpon conuenient occaſion, to offend the ſtate of the Church. According to which commiſſion, *Monſieur Chaumont* making leuies of men from all parts, the Pope by the counſell of his Captaines, retired to *Bologna*, and hauing bene there but a very few dayes, either for feare, or to aduance (as he ſaid) more ſpeedily the battering of the baſtillion of *Geniuola*, againſt which he determined to ſend certain bands of ſoldiers which he had in *Romagna*, he came to *Lugo*, and from thence went at laſt to *Rauenna*, thinking perhaps that ſo ſmal an expeditiõ was not worthy of his preſence. The *Venetian* armie, who, for the neareneſſe of the enemies durſt not beſiege *Ferrara*, ſtayed at *Bondin*, and the *Spaniſh* and Eccleſiaſtikes betweene *Cento* and *Finalo*; who, notwithſtanding the terme of three moneths was paſt, ſurceaſſed at the requeſt of the Pope. On the other ſide, *Monſieur Chaumont* hauing aſſembled his armie, which was ſuperiour to his enemies in footmen, and alſo ſuperior to them in horſemen as touching their valor, but inferior in number, tooke counſel what were beſt to be done. The *French* Captaines perſwaded, that the companies of the Duke of *Ferrara* being ioyned to the armie, it were beſt to march directly to the enemie, who notwithſtanding they were lodged in places ſtrong, yet there was hope that by force of armes and with the furie of the artilleries, they would eaſily be driuen to retire: and that this ſucceeding, *Ferrara* would not onely be deliuered from danger, but they ſhould wholly recouer the reputation that had bene loſt euen till that day: and they alledged for the ſame opinion, that the armie paſſing by the marches of *Mantua*, they ſhould take from the Marquis all the

A new deliberation of the French according to the kings direction

excuſes and impediments for the which he profeſſed to be retained to take armes as Feodarie of *Cæſar* and ſouldier to the King; and that it was a thing very profitable for the ſuretie of *Ferrara*, that he ſhould come in and declare himſelfe, & which would greatly endomage the enemies in this war, for the cõmoditie of victuals, of bridges, and paſſages of riuers, which ſhould be taken away from the *Venetian* armies, and for that the Marquis wold reuoke immediatly the ſouldiers which he had in the campe of the Church. But *Triuulce* being returned out of *France* about the ſame time that *Mirandola* was loſt, gaue counſell to the contrary, declaring how dangerous it was to aſſaile the enemies in their campe, and how hurtfull it would be to ſubmit themſelues to a neceſſitie, to proceed day by day according to the progreſſions of the enemie: That it was farre more profitable and better aſſured, to turne towards *Modena* or *Bolognia*, for that if the enemies remoued for feare to loſe either of thoſe townes, then were obtained the end that was ſought, to deliuer *Ferrara* from the warre: and if they ſtirred not, the one or the other of thoſe two townes would be eaſily carried: the which ſucceeding, they would be drawne by a greater neceſſitie to defend their owne; and haply when they ſhall depart from a place of ſuch ſtrength, occaſions may be offered to obtain an honorable victorie. This was the perſwaſion of *Triuulce*. Neuertheles for the inclination of *Monſieur Chaumont* and the other *French* captains to diminiſh his authoritie, the other opinion was followed, *Alphonſo d'Eſte* alſo vſing all his endeuor, in hope the enemies would be conſtrained to retire from off his eſtate, which being ſo afflicted & conſumed (he ſaid) was vnable any longer to ſuſtaine ſo heauie a burthen: fearing withall, if the *French* men went away, that the enemies would enter vpon *Poleſina de Ferrara*, which would ſo much haue increaſed the calamities of that citie, depriued of all hope and ſpirit, that there remained no more comfort or remedie. Then the *French* armie marched by the way of *Luſero* and *Gonſaguo*, to encampe at *Raſſuola* and at *Mora*, where they ſoiourned three dayes for the ill weather that fell, reiecting the counſell of ſuch as perſwaded to go aſſaile *Mirandola*, for that it was impoſſible to lodge in the fields, and for that at the Popes going away the ſuburbes were burnt and all the houſes thereabout. In like ſort they thought it not conuenient to aſſaile *Concorda* fiue miles from thence, to the end not to loſe time in a matter of ſmall importance. Therefore they came to *Quiſtello*, and paſſing ouer the riuer of *Secchia* vpon a bridge of boates, they lodged the day after at *Rouera* vpon the riuer of *Po*: which was the cauſe that *Andrew Gritti*, who hauing afore recouered *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and left part of the *Venetian* ſouldiers at *Montagnana* vnder *Bernardin Montono*, to make reſiſtance againſt the garriſons that kept *Verona*, was withdrawne with three hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and a thouſand footmen, neare the riuer of *Po* to ioyne with the armie of the Church, hauing afore ſacked the towne of *Guaſtallo*. From *Rouero* the *French* men went to *Sermidy*, and diſperſed themſelues (but in good order) in the villages thereabouts: and when they were lodged, *Monſieur Chaumont* accompanied with certaine Captaines (but not with *Triuulce*) went to the towne of *Stellato*, being there expected by *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, to take counſell in what maner they ſhould proceed againſt their enemies, who were now come together and lodged at *Finalo*. And it was agreed, that the bands of *Alphonſo* ſhould ioyne with the *French* armie about *Bondin*, and then ſhould all go lodge in certaine villages three miles from *Finalo*, to proceed afterwards according to the nature of places, and as occaſion ſhould be offered by the enemies. But as *Monſieur Chaumont* was returned to *Sermidy*, it was told him, it was very hard to go to that place, by reaſon that for the impediment of waters, whereof the country was full about *Finalo*, there was no paſſage but by the high way and by the banks of the riuer, which the enemie had cut in many places, and beſtowed guard to hinder paſſage: a matter which ſeemed ſo much the more hard & troubleſome, by how much the ill weather and ſeaſon was ioyned to the other impediments. The conſideration of theſe perils bringing *Monſieur Chaumont* into no ſmall doubt, *Alphonſo* who had about him certaine enginers and men knowing the countrey, which gaue him information of the ſituation and diſpoſition of places, laboured to perſwade him the contrary, aſſuring him, that with the force of the artillerie, ſuch as kept the paſſages that were cut off, would be compelled to leaue them abandoned, by which meanes it would be very eaſie to caſt bridges for paſſage in any place where it ſhould be neceſſarie. Theſe reaſons being brought by *Monſieur Chaumont* into counſell and debated, the opinion of *Alphonſo* was approued, to whom *Triuulce* was rather not contrary then conſenting: and peraduenture his ſilence moued all men more then if he had directly impugned the deuice. For, all men conſidering more nearly

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the greatneſſe of the difficulties, and that this Captaine who was ancient and of long experience, had alwayes reproued that expedition, that if any inconuenience ſhould happen, the King would lay it to the charge of them that had bene the chiefe authors againſt his opinion: *Monſieur Chaumont* hauing aſſembled another day the Councell for the ſame cauſe, earneſtly deſired *Triuulce*, that he would expreſſe his opinion, not with ſilence, as he had done the day before, but plainly and ſimply: who being incited by this inſtance, but much more for the great importance of ſuch a deliberation, all men being very attentiue, he ſpake in this ſort:

Triuulce reaſoneth.

I vſed ſilence yeſterday, becauſe I haue often found by experience, that my counſel hath bene litle regarded, the which if it had bene followed from the beginning, we ſhould not now haue bene here, nor ſpent ſo many dayes in vaine, which might haue bene employed to more profite: and I could yet continue in the ſame mind, to vſe ſilence, if I were not ſpurred on with the importance of the matter, ſeeing we are now vpon termes to ſet vpon the incertaine caſt of a die, both this armie, the ſtate of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Duchie of *Millan*, which is too great a ſtake, keeping nothing in hand. Beſides, that which moues me to ſpeake, is, for that I perceiue *Monſieur Chaumont* deſireth that I may be he that ſhall firſt aduiſe that which he by reaſon diſcouereth already to be good; a matter of no noueltie to me, for that I haue heretofore proued that my counſels haue bene leſſe reiected, when was queſtion of retracting any thing not ſufficiently deliberated, then when the firſt deliberations were debated. We conſult of going to aſſaile the enemie; and I haue alwayes ſeene that great Captaines haue held for a firme principle (which I haue alſo found true by experience) that the fortune of a battell ſhould neuer be attempted, vnleſſe there be offer of ſpeciall aduantage, or compulſion by vrgent neceſſitie: and alſo according to the order of war, it belongeth to the enemies that be the inuaders, & haue taken the field to conquer *Ferrara*, to ſeek to aſſaile vs: and to our captains, to whom it ſufficeth to defend themſelues, it belongeth not to endeuor to aſſaile them, contrary to all the rules of military diſcipline. But let vs examine the aduantages and neceſſities that may induce vs. I am of opinion, and (if I be not vtterly deceiued) it is a thing very euident, that we cannot execute the deuice of the Duke of *Ferrara*, but to our great harmes; ſince we cannot go to their campe, but by a hill ſide, and by a ſtreight and very bad way, where all our forces cannot be employed, and where the enemie with a ſmall number may make reſiſtance againſt a far greater number. We muſt march by the ſide of the hill, one horſe after another, and ſeeing we haue no other way to draw our artilleries, our baggage, our carts and bridges, but by the ſtraite of the hill, who doubteth but in a way ſo narrow and comberous, euery artillery, euery cart, & euery wheele that ſhall breake, will ſtay a whole armie for an houre at the leaſt, and that being encombred with ſo many inconueniences, euery contrary accident may eaſily put vs into diſorder? The enemies are lodged in couert, prouided of victuals and forrages: and we muſt almoſt all lie in the open fields, and expect that forrage be brought after vs, which cannot be performed, but with great difficultie, to the halfe that we ſhall ſtand in need of. It belongeth not to vs to be caried with the reports and opinions of engineers and husbandmen that know the country, ſince warres are managed with the weapons of ſouldiers, and with the counſels of Captaines; they are performed by the execution of the ſword, and not by ſuch plots of people ignorant in warre, as are repreſented in paper, or pointed out with the finger, or with a wand in the duſt. For my part, I do not preſuppoſe that our enemies are ſo weake, nor their affaires in ſuch diſorder, nor that in their incamping they haue bene ſo negligent to take the oportunitie of the waters and other ſituations, that I can promiſe my ſelfe, that as ſoone as we ſhall be arriued at the place whither we ſeeme ſo deſirous to paſſe, although we could come thither with eaſe, that it would be in our power to aſſaile them. Many difficulties may compell vs to ſurceaſſe for two or three dayes; if nothing elſe, yet the ſnowes and raines, coming in ſo hard and crabbed a ſeaſon will detaine vs: and then how ſhall we do for victuals and forrages if we be conſtrained to ſtay there? And ſuppoſe it were in our power to aſſaile them, who is he that can ſo eaſily promiſe the victory? What is he that conſidereth not how dangerous it is to go ſeeke the enemie lodged in a ſtrong place, and to be driuen at one time to fight againſt them, and againſt the incommodities of the ſituation of the countrey? If we compell them not to abandon their campe, we cannot but be enforced to retire: and how hard a matter will that be in a country ſo wholly againſt vs, and where euery litle diſfauour will turne to our great diſaduantage? I ſee no neceſſitie as yet to put the Kings whole eſtate in ſuch danger, ſince we are entred into armes principally for no

« other occaſion then to ſuccour the citie of *Ferrara*; which if we do eſtſoones refurniſh with « new garriſons, we may hold our ſelues in ſuretie, though we ſhould diſſolue our whole armie. « And if any man will ſay, that that Citie is ſo much conſumed, that it is impoſſible that in ſhort « time it ſhall not fall of it ſelfe, the enemies remaining at the backe of it, haue we not meanes to « diuert them, which in warre is a moſt mightie remedie, and with the which we may enforce « them to draw backe from *Ferrara* without putting one horſe in danger? I haue alwayes perſwa- « ded, and now do perſwade more then euer, that we turne either to *Modena* or to *Bologna*, ta- « king the high way, and leauing *Ferrara* well furniſhed onely for a few dayes (for there will « be no further neede.) But I hold it beſt, that we go now to *Modena*, whereunto we are « incited by the Cardinall of *Eſte*, a perſonage of name and merite not vnknowne, and by whom « we are aſſured of intelligences able to put it into our hands: for, conquering a place of ſo great « importance, the enemies will be conſtrained ſuddenly to retire towards *Bologna*. And though « we ſhould not take *Modena*, yet the feare that the enemies wil haue, as well of it as of the eſtate « of *Bologna*, will enforce them to do the like, a thing which no doubt they had done many dayes « ſince, if this counſell had bene followed from the beginning.

Now did all men know, by the reaſons of this graue Captaine, the difficulties being preſent, that which he knew when they were yet farre off. Therefore his opinion was allowed of euery one, and *Monſieur Chaumont* leauing to the Duke of *Ferrara* for his better ſuretie a greater ſtrength of men, drew towards *Carpy* by the ſame way, hauing not yet obtained that the Marquis of *Mantua* ſhould declare himſelfe, which was one of the principall reaſons that had bene alledged by thoſe that gaue counſell againſt the opinion of *Triuulce*: for the Marquis deſiring to ſtand indifferent, and as a perſon neuter during the troubles, when the time drew on wherein he had giuen hope to declare himſelfe, he ſolicited with many excuſes to be yet deferred for certaine dayes, debating with the Pope the danger of the *French* armie that threatned him, and beſeeching *Monſieur Chaumont* not to take from him the hope he had that the Pope would reſtore to him his ſon within a very ſhort time. But the deuice to take *Modena* tooke no good ſucceſſe, the ſubtle and ſecret counſels of the King of *Aragon* giuing greater impediments then the armies of the Pope. *Cæſar* ſhewed himſelfe ill contented that the Pope had vſurped *Modena*, a citie alwayes eſteemed of the iuriſdiction of the Empire, and holden a long time by the family of *Eſte* with priuiledges and inueſtitures from the Emperours: and albeit he had made requeſt with many complaints to haue it deliuered to him, yet the Pope who had another opinion or pretence touching the rights of that citie, had alwayes refuſed it, but principally ſo long as he hoped to be able to take *Ferrara*. But as ſoone as the *French* armies began to appeare manifeſtly in fauour of them of *Eſte*; and being not able to defend *Modena* without great expences, he began to like the counſell of the King of *Aragon*, who encouraged him to redeliuer it, both to auoide ſo many preſent troubles, and to appeaſe the mind of *Cæſar*, and alſo by that action to kindle ſome alteration betweene him and the *French* King; ſpecially ſeeing that if he deſired to haue it againe at another time more conuenient, it would be a matter of no great difficultie, contenting *Cæſar* with a reaſonable ſumme of money. This debating was prolonged for many dayes, for that, according to the diuerſitie of hopes, the deliberation of the Pope changed; onely they ſtucke alwayes vpon this difficultie, that *Cæſar* refuſed to receiue it, vnleſſe in the inſtrument of aſſignation it were clearely expreſſed, that that Citie appertained to the Empire; whereunto the Pope would not conſent. But ſeeing after the taking of *Mirandola*, that *Monſieur Chaumont* was the ſtrongeſt in the field, and that the wonted expences and difficulties for the defence of *Modena* came vpon him againe, he left the diſputation of words, and conſented to haue it ſet downe in writing, that *Modena* ſhould be reſtored to *Cæſar*, of whoſe iuriſdiction it was. And as *Vitfruch* the Embaſſadour of *Cæſar* reſident with the Pope had receiued the poſſeſſion of it, perſwading himſelfe that he might remaine there in ſuretie by reaſon of the authoritie of *Cæſar*, he diſmiſſed *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with the other bands with whom he had kept it afore in the name of the Church, aduertiſing *Monſieur Chaumont* that *Modena* was no more the Popes, but was iuſtly reuerted to the iuriſdiction of *Cæſar*. This was not beleeued of *Monſieur Chaumont*, and therefore he incited the Cardinall of *Eſte* to put in execution the conſpiracie and intelligence which he ſaid he had in that Citie: according to whoſe direction, the *French* bands which *Monſieur Chaumont* had left in garriſon within *Rubiera*, being approched one night with as much ſilence as could be within a mile of *Modena*, they returned the ſame night to *Rubiera*, either for

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that the order of their faction within was not correſpondent, or for ſome difficultie that happened, or elſe for that the *French* men came too ſoone. They iſſued againe another time out of *Rubiero* to come to *Modena*, but they were hindred by the depth and riſing of the waters to paſſe the riuer of *Sechia*, which runneth before *Rubiero*. For which thing *Vitfruch* being entred into ſuſpition, and hauing committed to priſon certaine of the citie, whom he charged with an intelligence with the Cardinall of *Eſte*, he obtained of the Pope that *Marke Anthonie Colonno* ſhould eſtſoones returne thither with the garriſon that was there before: a matter which had not ſtayed *Monſieur Chaumont* (being now come to *Carpy*) to march and incampe before it, if the qualitie of the ſeaſon had not taken from him the meanes to draw his artillery along the way betweene *Ruolo* and *Carpy*, which was not aboue ten miles, but euen the worſt of all the wayes in *Lombardie*, being ouerflowed with waters in the Winter time, and very foule. Beſides all this, *Monſieur Chaumont* was euery day more and more aſſured, that *Modena* was redeliuered to *Ceſar* abſolutely; for which cauſe he made this couenant with *Vitfruch*, That he would not offend *Modena* nor his territories, receiuing reciprocally his promiſe, that in the actions betweene the Pope and his King, he ſhould fauor neither the one nor the other partie. Not many dayes after *Monſieur Chaumont* fell into a grieuous malady, and being caried to *Correge*, ended his life within fifteen days, hauing afore his death deuoutly giuen to vnderſtand, how much he repented for the vexations he had done to the Church, and beſought the Pope by a publike inſtrument to giue him abſolution; which being granted while he yet liued, could not come to his knowledge by reaſon of the ſodainneſſe of his death. He was a Captaine that in his life bare great authoritie in *Italy*, by meanes of the great credite of the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, and for that he managed almoſt abſolutely the Duchie of *Millan*, and all the armies of the King: but touching his valour, it was farre inferiour to ſo great a burthen, the greatneſſe of his place carrying him into ſuch ſingularitie of mind and weening, that not knowing of himſelfe the art and order of warre, he would not giue credite to ſuch as were able to inſtruct him: ſo that after the death of his vnkle, his inſufficiencie being no more ſupported by fauour, he fell in his later dayes almoſt into contempt among the ſouldiers, to whom, to ſtop them from ill reporting of him to the King, he permitted too great libertie: inſo much as *Triuulce*, a Captain trained in ancient diſcipline, wold oftentimes proteſt by oath, that he would neuer go more into the *French* armies, vnleſſe either the King marched in perſon, or himſelfe commanded as chiefe. Neuertheleſſe the King had determined afore to ſend for his ſucceſſour *Monſieur Longueuille*, who was of the bloud royall, but a baſtard, and not ſo much eſteemed for his vertue, as for his nobilitie and riches. By the death of *Monſieur Chaumont*, *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* remained Gouernour of the armie, as being one of the foure Marſhals of *France*, to whom, the Generall of an armie being dead, the gouernment appertaineth by the ſtatutes of *France*, vntill the King do otherwiſe diſpoſe of it. But *Triuulce*, not knowing whether the gouernment ſhould be continued to him or not, durſt not attempt any matter of conſequence. Yet he returned with the armie to *Sermidy*, to ſuccour the baſtillion of *Geniuola*, afore the which the Pope had not onely ſent his bands that were in *Romagna*, but alſo had procured the *Venetian* fleete to approch at the ſame inſtant, which came thither with thirteene light galleys, and many other veſſels of meaner burthen: but he had no neceſſitie to paſſe any further. For whileſt the land-men incamped about it with very litle obedience and order, vpon a ſudden the Duke of *Ferrara* and the Lord of *Chaſtillon* iſſued out of *Ferrara* with the *French* ſouldiers, being more in number then were the enemies; the footmen paſſing downe along the riuer of *Po*, and the Captaines and horſemen by the ſhore, and being come vp as farre as the riuer of *Santerno*, they caſt the bridge which they had brought with them, and in a moment charged and confuſed the enemies, who, by reaſon of their diſorder, none making reſiſtance, ſauing three hundred *Spaniſh* footmen which guarded the artillerie, they betooke themſelues to flight, loſing their enſignes and artilleries, *Guido Vaine*, *Brunalt de Furli*, and *Meleager* his brother, chieftaines of the horſemen ſauing themſelues with great difficultie; by reaſon whereof the *Venetian* fleet retiring from thence to auoide the danger, hoiſed ſaile, and ſet themſelues at large in the riuer of *Po*.

The affaires of the warre proceeded thus diuerſly, not expreſſing any aſſured token whereby could be iudged what would be the iſſue of it. But the thoughts alſo of Princes were no leſſe diuers and incertaine, ſpecially thoſe of *Ceſar*, who contrary to all expectation, determined to ſend the Biſhop of *Gurci* to *Mantua* to negociate a peace. We haue ſhewed before, that by the

working of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, it was reſolued betweene *Cæſar* and the *French* King, to make ſtrong warre vpon the *Venetians* in the Spring time; and to call a Councell, if the Pope conſented not to the obſeruation of the league of *Cambray*: whereunto *Cæſar* being much inclined, had ſince the returning of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, ſent to all the Prelates of his patrimoniall eſtates, to debate in what maner and in what place the Councell ſhould be celebrated. But as he was by nature variable and inconſtant, and an enemie to the greatneſſe of the *French*, he liſtened afterwards to the perſwaſions of the King of *Aragon*, who conſidering that the vnitie of *Cæſar* with the *French* King, and the embaſing of the *Venetians* by their common armies, and likewiſe the ruine of the Pope by meanes of the Councell, would be a cauſe of too great increaſe of the *French* Kings greatneſſe, he laboured to perſwade him, that an vniuerſall peace would be more profitable for him, ſith thereby he ſhould obtaine either the whole or the greateſt part of thoſe peeces which the *Venetians* vſurped vpon him: and he aduiſed him to ſend to this effect, ſome notable perſonage to *Mantua* with full power, and to procure the *French* King to do the like: that for his part he would ſend thither, and that by this meanes the Pope could not refuſe to ioyne in the action, nor go againſt the will of ſo many Princes: vpon whoſe reſolution the deliberations of the *Venetians* depending, (for not being able to ſtand alone, they were conſtrained to follow his authoritie) there was great hope that *Cæſar* without difficultie, without armes, and without increaſing the reputation and might of the *French* King, ſhould to his perpetuall praiſe, reobtaine his eſtate, together with an vniuerſall peace: and though it ſhould not come ſo to paſſe, as in all reaſon it muſt, yet he ſhould not be depriued of the meanes to moue the warre at the time appointed, and with the ſame commodities. But that he being chiefe of all Chriſtian Princes, and protector of the Church, his iuſtifications would be the more augmented, and by ſuch a counſell his glorie would be much exalted, for that it would plainly appeare to euery one, that he had ſought principally the peace and vnitie of Chriſtians, but that the obſtinacie and wicked practiſes of others had conſtrained him to make warre. Theſe reaſons alledged by the King Catholike, were right acceptable to *Cæſar*, who at the ſame inſtant addreſſed letters to the Pope and to the *French* King: To the Pope, that he had determined to ſend the Biſhop of *Gurci* into *Italy*, for that (as appertained to a Prince religious, and by the Imperiall dignitie being protector of the Church, and chiefe of all the Chriſtian Princes) he was reſolued in all that he might, to procure the tranquillitie of the ſea Apoſtolike, and the peace of Chriſtendome: and to ſummon him (as was fit for the true Vicar of Chriſt) to proceed with the ſame intention, leſt neglecting the dutie of a Pope, he ſhould be conſtrained to prouide remedies neceſſary for the peace of Chriſtendome: That he thought it not fit to depriue the Cardinals that were abſent, of their dignitie, for that being abſent not to any euill end, nor for any hatred they bare to him, they deſerued not ſo great a puniſhment: and that the depriuation of Cardinals belonged not to the Pope onely: He told him beſides, that it was a matter very baſe and vnprofitable, in ſo great troubles, to create new Cardinals, ſpecially ſince it was forbidden by the capitulations which the Cardinals made with him when he was elected Pope: He deſired him to reſerue that matter to a time of better tranquillitie, when he ſhould haue no neceſſitie or cauſe to preferre to ſo great dignities any but perſons wel approued for their diſcretiõ, doctrine, and good life. To the *French* King he wrote, that knowing he had bene by his vertuous diſpoſition alwayes inclined to embrace a good and aſſured peace, he was reſolued to ſend to *Mantua* the Biſhop of *Gurci* to ſolicite a peace vniuerſall, whereunto he beleeued (and vpon no light foundations) that the Pope (whoſe authoritie the *Venetians* were conſtrained to follow) would readily incline, and that the Embaſſadours of the King of *Aragon* had promiſed to do the like: That therefore he deſired him to ſend thither likewiſe his Embaſſadours, with full power: That when they were all aſſembled, the Biſhop of *Gurci* ſhould intreate the Pope to do the like; whereunto if he made refuſall, the Biſhop ſhould denounce the Councell in the names of them all, and ſhould giue order, that to make their proceedings more iuſtifiable, and to put end to all controuerſies, the Biſhop of *Gurci* ſhould heare the reaſons of euery one; but in all accidents, that he ſhould hold this for certaine, neuer to make any agreement with the *Venetians*, vnleſſe the controuerſies which he had with the Pope were reſolued at the ſame time. This ſolicitation pleaſed well the Pope, not for any deſire he had to peace and concord, but for that perſwading himſelfe that he could diſpoſe the Senate of *Venice* to compound with *Cæſar*, he hoped that *Cæſar* being freed by this meanes from any neceſſitie to remaine vnited with the

French

French King, he would ſeparate himſelfe from him, which might eaſily cauſe a confederation of many Princes againſt him. But the *French* King was not a litle diſcontented with ſuch an vnexpected deliberation, for that not hoping that an vniuerſall peace would proceed thereof, he iudged that the leaſt euill that might happen, would be a protracting and delaying of the execution of thoſe things which he had agreed with *Ceſar*, and feared that the Pope, promiſing to helpe *Ceſar*, to reconquer the Duchie of *Millan*, and to indue the Biſhop of *Gurci* with the dignitie of Cardinall and other eccleſiaſticall dignities, would alienate him from him; or at leaſt, being the worker of the compoſition with the *Venetians* to the aduantage of *Ceſar*, he might be conſtrained to accept the peace with diſhonorable conditions. And his ſuſpition was increaſed for that *Ceſar* was newly confedered with the *Swiſſers*, notwithſtanding for defence onely. Beſides, he perſwaded himſelfe that the King Catholike had bene the author of this new counſell, of whoſe intention he doubted much for many reaſons: for he was not ignorant that his Embaſſadour reſident with *Ceſar*, made open trauell and ſolicitation to eſtabliſh an accord betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*. He beleeued that he gaue ſecret encouragement to the Pope, in whoſe army his companies and bands of ſouldiers had remained a longer time then he was bound vnto by the capitulations of the inueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples*. He was not ignorant that to giue impediment to his actions, he oppoſed manifeſtly againſt the conuocation of the Councell, and vnder colour of honeſtie he blamed apparently, that with weapon in hand, and in a time when *Italy* burned with an vniuerſall fire of warre, there ſhould be ſuch negociation of a matter, which without the concord and conſent of all Princes, could not bring forth but fruites full of venime and infection: and he was aduertiſed that he prepared an army by ſea, with the which, albeit he publiſhed, that he would paſſe in perſon into *Afrike*, yet it could not be perceiued, whether he leuied that force for other ends. But that which made him more ſuſpicious, was his ſmooth words, wherewith he deſired the King (as it were with a brotherly affection) to make peace with the Pope, forſaking (if otherwiſe it could not be wrought) ſome part of his owne rights, both, not to ſhew himſelfe a perſecuter of the Church, contrary to the ancient pietie of the houſe of *France*, and alſo not to turne him from the warre which he had determined to make vpon the *Mores* in *Afrike* for the exaltation of the name of Chriſt: and hereunto he added, that it had bene a perpetuall cuſtome among Chriſtian Princes, when they prepared armies againſt Infidels, to demand ſuccours of others in a cauſe ſo holy and honorable, but for his part, it ſufficed him not to be hindered, and he required no other aide of him, but that he would conſent that *Italy* might remaine in peace. Theſe words, notwithſtanding they were carried to the *French* King by his Embaſſadour, and pronounced very mildly by his owne mouth to the *French* Embaſſadour reſident with him, and that with great demonſtration of amitie; yet it ſeemed that they contained a ſecret proteſtation to take armes in fauour of the Pope: a matter which ſeemed not very likely to the King that he durſt do, vnleſſe he had hoped to be able to induce *Ceſar* to the ſame opinion. Theſe things troubled much the Kings mind, and filled him full of many ſuſpitions, fearing that to worke the peace by the meanes of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, would be a thing no leſſe vaine then preiudiciall vnto him; and yet, not to ſtirre vp *Ceſar*, he determined to ſend to *Mantua* the Biſhop of *Paris*, a Prelate of great authoritie, and learned in the lawes. At this time the King ſignified to *John Iaques Triuulce*, who remaining at *Sermidi*, for the better commoditie of lodging and victuals, had diſperſed his army into many places thereabout, that it was his will that the warre ſhould be adminiſtred by him, with this limitation, that expecting the coming of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, he ſhould abſtaine from all action againſt the ſtate Eccleſiaſtike, the vnaccuſtomed hardneſſe of the ſeaſon being alſo againſt it, by reaſon whereof it was impoſſible to incampe in the field, notwithſtanding the moneth of March was now begun. Therefore *Triuulce*, by reaſon he had no occaſion to attempt any other enterpriſe, and for that he was in places ſo very neare, determined to deuiſe how he might offend the army of the enemies, who being diſperſed abroad when *Monſieur Chaumont* returned from *Sermidi* to *Carpi*, moſt part of their footmen were lodged at *Bondin*, and the horſemen in *Finale* and the bordering townes. But as ſoone as he had receiued his commiſſion from the King, he marched the day after to *Stellato*, and the day following ſomewhat further, where he beſtowed the army abroad in the villages thereabouts, and raiſed a bridge of boates vpon the riuer of *Po* betweene *Stellato* and *Ficuerolla*, hauing giuen direction to the Duke of *Ferrara* to make another a mile lower, at the place which is called the Point, vpon that branch of *Po* which goeth

to *Ferrara*, and that he ſhould march with the artillery to the Hoſpitall, which is a place of *Poleſina de Ferrara* right ouer againſt *Bondin*. In this meane while *Triuulce* was aduertiſed by his eſpials, that many troupes of light horſemen of that part of the *Venetian* army which lay on the other ſide *Po*, were the next night to approch *Mirandola* to dreſſe there ſome ambuſh: therefore he ſent out ſecretly many horſemen, who being come vp to *Belair*, a plaine houſe in the countrey of *Mirandola*, found within it *Leonard* of *Naples*, a Captaine of the *Venetian* light horſemen, a man of great place and reputation in the armie: who nothing doubting that the enemy would deſcend ſo farre, was withdrawne thither onely with fiftie horſe, and expected there a greater ſtrength that was to follow; but being taken at vnawares, as he ſtood vpon his defence, he was ſlaine with many of his company. *Alphonſo d'Eſte* came to the Hoſpitall according to his direction, and the night following he began to employ his artillery againſt *Bondin*: and at the ſame time, *Triuulce* ſent *Guaſton* Lord of *Foix*, the Kings ſiſters ſon, being very yong, and come to the army the yeare before, to run vp euen to the barres of the enemies campe, with an hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and fiue hundred footmen, with whom he put to flight fiue hundred footmen appointed to guard that front of the campe: by reaſon whereof, all the reſidue leauing *Bondin* vnder good guard, retired into places of ſtrength on the other ſide the Channell. But not one of the plots of *Triuulce* ſucceeded according to his expectation, for the artillery planted againſt *Bondin* (*Po* being betweene) made litle exploit, for the diſtance of the place, but much more for that the riuer being ſwelled, and part of the banke cut off by them of *Bondin*, it ſo drowned the countrey, that there was no poſſibilitie of paſſage from the front of the *French* campe to *Bondin* but vpon barks: in ſo much as deſpairing eſtſoons to vſe the commoditie of that way to diſtreſſe the lodging of the enemies, he called from *Verona* two thouſand Lanceknights, and gaue direction to leuie three thouſand *Griſons*, to the end to draw neare them by the wayes of *Saint Felix*, in caſe the peace proceeded not by the working of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, whoſe coming had bene ſomewhat the more ſlow, for that at *Sale* vpon the lake of *Garde*, he had in vaine expected anſwer from the Pope, whom he had prayed by letters to ſend Embaſſadours to negociate.

At laſt he came to *Mantua*, accompanied with *Dom Peter de Vree*, who was ordinarily reſident with *Ceſar* for the King of *Aragon*: and not many dayes after arriued there the Biſhop of *Paris*; the *French* King (who to be more neare the ſolicitations of peace, and the better to furniſh his prouiſions for the warre, was now come to *Lyon*) perſwading himſelfe that the Pope would likewiſe ſend thither. But the Pope made inſtance to haue the Biſhop of *Gurci* to come to him: not ſo much for that he thought it moſt agreeable to the Pontificall dignitie, as for that he hoped, that in loding him with honors, and winning him with many promiſes, ioyned to the efficacie and authoritie of his preſence, he might range him and make him conformable to his will, now more eſtranged then euer from peace and agreement; wherein to make the labour more eaſie, and the ſucceſſe agreeable to his deſire, he ſolicited *Hierome Vich*, which was of *Valence*, and Embaſſadour reſident for the King Catholicke, to go on his behalfe to the Biſhop of *Gurci*. The Biſhop of *Gurci* refuſed not to go to the Pope, but ſaid, that that was firſt required of him, that was to be done afterwards, affirming that the difficulties would be more eaſily diſſolued and decided, if the negociation were firſt managed at *Mantua*, with intention to go afterwards to the Pope with matters well digeſted, and almoſt reſolued: and that he was bound ſo to do, no leſſe for neceſſitie then in regard of facilitie: for how could it be conuenient for him to leaue the Biſhop of *Paris* alone, whom the *French* King had ſent to *Mantua* at the inſtance of *Ceſar*? and with what hope could he debate the affaires of his King? and how could he require him to go with him to the Pope, ſeeing it was neither anſwerable to his commiſſion, nor correſpondent to the dignitie of his King, to go to the houſe of his enemy, afore their controuerſies were accorded, or at the very point of agreement? Of the contrary, the two Embaſſadours of *Aragon*, declared that the whole hope of peace-making, depended vpon the agreement and compoſing of the affaires of *Ferrara*, foraſmuch as that being done, no more cauſe remaining now to the Pope to ſuſtaine the *Venetians*, they ſhould be conſtrained to yeeld to peace with ſuch laws and conditions as *Ceſar* would: That the Pope pretended that the ſea Apoſtolike had great and ſtrong rights ouer the citie of *Ferrara*, and did alſo eſteeme *Alphonſo* to haue vſed towards him a great ingratitude, and had done him many iniuries: That to qualifie the rigour of his mind, which was now full of diſpleaſure, it was more conuenient that the vaſſall ſhould implore the

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clemencie of his Lord, then to diſpute of his iuſtice: That for this reaſon it was not onely honeſt, but neceſſary, to go to him, in which iuſt humilitie and ſubmiſſion they doubted not but he ſhould diminiſh a great part of his rigour: That they thought it not fit that that diligence, induſtry & authoritie which ought to be employed to diſpoſe the Pope to peace, ſhould be conſumed in perſwading him to ſend any one. They added with very ſweet words, that matters could not be diſputed, nor the controuerſies ended, vnleſſe all the parties were preſent: and that within *Mantua* was but one part onely, for that *Ceſar*, the *French* King, and the King Catholicke, were in ſuch vnitie of leagues, parentages and amities, that in this action they were to be reputed as brethren, and that the intereſts of euery one of them was common to them all. At laſt the Biſhop of *Gurci* conſented, purpoſing that the Biſhop of *Paris* ſhould expect at *Parma* what would be the ſucceſſe of his voyage. In the meane while the Pope notwithſtanding all ſolicitation made appertaining to the peace, had not altered his thoughts from the warre: for he attempted againe to ſurpriſe the baſtillion of *Geminola*, hauing committed the charge of that enterpriſe to *Iohn Vitelli*. But by reaſon of bad paiments, the number of footmen was far inferiour to his appointment, and all the countrey thereabouts being ouerflowed, as well by the plentie of raines that fell, as for that thoſe that were in the baſtillion had broken downe the banks of the riuer of *Po*, there was nothing aduanced. Beſides, *Alphonſo d'Eſte* was the ſtronger by water, who, with an armie of galleys and brigantines, ſo charged the *Venetian* fleete neare *S. Albert*, that what with the fury of that encounter, and with the feare of another fleete of leſſer veſſels which they diſcerned ſailing from *Comacho*, they retired to the port of *Rauenna* with the loſſe of two foiſts, three barbots, and more then fortie ſmaller veſſels: by reaſon whereof the Pope being diſappointed of his hope to be able to take the baſtillion, ſent thoſe companies to the camp which lodged at *Finale*, very much weakned of footmen, for that the pay was ſo ſmall. About this time the Pope cteated eight Cardinals, partly to reconcile vnto him the minds of Princes, and partly to arme him againſt the threatnings of the Councell: and thoſe which he created were Prelates learned and experienced, and ſuch as in the Court of *Rome* were of great authoritie, and of whom he was well aſſured. Of this number was the Archbiſhop of *Yorke* Embaſſadour for the King of *England*, and the Biſhop of *Sion*; the one as a man of importance to ſtirre vp the *Swiſſers*, and the other at the requeſt of his King, whom he had great hope to ſtirre vp againſt the *French*. And to giue to the Biſhop of *Gurci*, an earneſt penie almoſt certaine of the ſame dignitie, and with that hope to make him the more tractable to his deſire, he reſerued to himſelfe, with the conſent of the Conſiſtory, power to name another, ſuch a one as he ſhould thinke fit. But after he vnderſtood that the Biſhop of *Gurci* had conſented to come to him, he determined to do him great honour; and ſuppoſing he could not do him greater credite, then to go meete him in his owne perſon, and to honor him the more, to receiue him in a ſtately Citie, he went from *Rauenna* to *Bologna*, where the Biſhop of *Gurci* arriued three dayes after, where he was receiued with ſo great pompe, as hardly could any more haue bene done to a King: and the Biſhop alſo for his part expreſſed no leſſe ſtate and magnificence, for that deſcending into *Italy* with the title of *Ceſars* Lieutenant, he came accompanied with a very great traine of Citizens, Lords and Gentlemen, all their bands and followers being ſumptuouſly apparelled. The Embaſſadour of *Venice* reſident with the Pope, came to meet him at the gate of the towne, making ſignes of very great ſubmiſſion: but he turning himſelfe towards the Embaſſadour, with wonderfull pride and arrogancie, as well in his geſtures as in his words, ſhewed himſelfe not a litle diſcontented, that he that repreſented the enemies of *Ceſar*, could vſe ſuch boldneſſe as to come in his preſence. With this pompe he went vp to the publike Conſiſtory, where the Pope attended him with all the Cardinals; and there he expreſſed in ſhort, but very proud words, that *Ceſar* had ſent him into *Italy*, in a deſire to obtaine that that appertained to him, more by the way of peace then by warre: yet there could be no peace, if the *Venetians* did not reſtore vnto him all that belonged to him in any ſort whatſoeuer. After he had declared thus much in publike audience, he deliuered no leſſe in priuate to the Pope, with the ſame haughtineſſe: and the day following he accompanied theſe propoſitions and demonſtrations with actions no leſſe proud and arrogant. For the Pope hauing by his conſent appointed three Cardinals to negociate with him, to wit, the Cardinall *S. George*, Cardinall *Regina*, and the Cardinall *de Meditis*, who attended him at the houre aſſigned to meet together: he ſent three of his Gentlemen to negociate with them, excuſing himſelfe to haue other buſineſſe, (holding

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it a matter of great indignitie to debate with any other then the Pope:) which indignitie with many others the Pope ſwallowed ſecretly, the incredible hatred which he bare to the *French*, ſurmounting the diſpoſition of his nature. But in the accord betweene *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, which began firſt to be drawne into diſputation, there were many difficulties. For albeit the Biſhop of *Gurci* who in the beginning had demanded all the townes, conſented in the end that *Padua* and *Treuiſa* ſhould remaine to them with all their countrey and appertenances, yet he ſtucke to haue them giue to *Cæſar* in recompence a very great quantitie of money, and that they ſhould hold them of him in chiefe, and reſigne to him the rights of the other townes. Matters which the Senate of *Venice* would neuer agree vnto; where it was vniuerſally concluded, that it was better for their Commonweale, hauing already ſo fortified *Padua* and *Treuiſa* that they ſerued not to loſe them, to preſerue and keepe their money, for that if euer that tempeſt paſſed ouer, there might fall out ſome occaſion to recouer eaſily all the reſidue of their dominion. On the other ſide, the Pope nouriſhed an importunate deſire to haue them agreed with *Cæſar*, hoping to make that an occaſion to eſtrange him from the *French* King: in which regard he preſſed them partly by requeſts, and partly by threats, to accept the conditions that were offered them. But his authoritie was no more ſo great with them, not onely for that they were not ignorant whence proceeded ſo great a deſire, but alſo knowing how neceſſary their company was for him if he were not reconciled with the *French* King, they aſſured themſelues that he would neuer abandon them. Neuertheleſſe, after they had diſputed many dayes, the Biſhop of *Gurci* abating ſomewhat the hard conditions which he propoſed, and the *Venetians* yeelding more to the vehement inſtance of the Pope then they had determined, and alſo the Embaſſadours of the King of *Aragon* interpoſing in all actions, it ſeemed they came at laſt to accord, the *Venetians* (the better to retaine *Padua* and *Treuiſa* by the conſent of *Cæſar*) paying huge ſummes of money, but referred to long termes. There reſted onely a meanes to reconcile the Pope and the *French* King, betweene whom appeared no other difference then for the quarrels of the Duke of *Ferrara*: and to reſolue them with the reſidue of the controuerſies (for without that *Cæſar* was determined to eſtabliſh nothing) the Biſhop of *Gurci* went to ſpeake with the Pope (to whom he went but ſeldome) being perſwaded by the hopes which the Cardinall of *Pauie* and the Catholicke Kings Embaſſadours had put him in, that it would very eaſily be done: and on the other ſide, he knew that the *French* King hauing leſſe regard to dignitie then to tranquility, was diſpoſed to conſent to many things, which bare no litle preiudice to the Duke of *Ferrara*. But the Pope on the contrary, cutting him off at the firſt, began to exhort him, that agreeing with the *Venetians*, he ſhould leaue at libertie the matters of *Ferrara*, ſeeming to be ſorie that *Cæſar* knew not the occaſion that was offered, to be reuenged with the forces and money of another, of ſo many great iniuries done againſt him by the *French*: and that he tarried to be intreated in a matter wherein reaſonably he ſhould beſeech others with great inſtance. To which things when the Biſhop of *Gurci* had replied with many reaſons, ſeeing he could not turne him from his opinion, he told him he would depart without giuing other perfection to the peace with the *Venetians*: and hauing kiſſed his feete, according to the cuſtome, he departed the ſame day (being the fifteenth after his arriuall at *Bologna*) to *Modena*, the Pope ſending after him in vaine to call him againe, as ſoone as he was departed out of the Citie. From *Modena* he tooke his way towards *Millan*, complaining of the Pope for many things, but ſpecially for that whileſt by his coming into *Italy* there was almoſt a generall ſurceaſſing frõ armes, the Pope had ſent ſecretly the Biſhop of *Vintemille*, ſonne to the late Cardinall *Fregoſa*, to trouble the ſtate of *Genes*: whereof the *French* men being aduertiſed, they tooke him in the countrey of *Montferrat*, all diſguiſed and vnknowne as he was, and from thence caried him to *Millan*, where he fully manifeſted the cauſe of his going, and the whole enterpriſe. When the Biſhop of *Gurci* departed from *Bologna*, he required the Embaſſadours of *Aragon* (ſeeming not a litle diſcontented with the Popes obſtinacie) to ſee returned to the Realme of *Naples* the three hundred *Spaniſh* Lances: whereunto they condeſcended readily: a matter which made men maruell the more, that at the ſame time when the generall Councell was in negociation, with expectation that the armies of *France* and *Germanie* accompanied with the preſence of their Princes, ſhould be moſt mightie in *Italy*; the Pope, beſides the ill will of the *French* King, ſeparated *Cæſar* from him, and ſtood depriued of the ſuccours of the King Catholike. Some doubted that in this action (as almoſt in all others) the counſels of the King of *Aragon* were different from

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his demonſtrations, and that his Embaſſadours had practiſed one thing in publike, and another thing in ſecret with the Pope: for that hauing prouoked the *French* King by new offences, and in the ſame giuen a new memory to ancient wrongs, it ſeemed he feared leſt the peace with all others would be the cauſe of great perils againſt him, the *Venetians* remaining weakned in eſtate, of money and reputation, and *Ceſar* no more mightie in *Italy*, and more variable and prodigall then euer. Others conſidering better of things, conceiued, that it might haply be, that the Pope was confident, what proteſtation ſoeuer the King Catholike made to abandon him, and though he ſhould reuoke his companies, that conſidering how much his embaſing might be preiudiciall to himſelfe, he would alwayes ſupport and defend him in his greateſt neceſſities.

The hopes of peace being troubled by the departing of the Biſhop of *Gurci* (although the Pope had ſent vnto him foure dayes after the Biſhop of *Murrey* the *Scottiſh* Embaſſadour, to debate of peace with the *French* King,) the cauſes that had ſo long hindered *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, ceaſſed, who thirſted, in an honeſt ambition, to do ſomething worthy his vertue and ancient glory, and by the which the King might know, how hurtfull it is to recommend the gouernment of warres (a matter aboue all other humane actions moſt painfull and hard, and moſt requiring diſcretion) not to Captaines able and trained, but to yong men vnexperienced, and of whoſe vertue there is no other thing to giue teſtimonie then fauour. Therefore continuing in his firſt reſolutions, notwithſtanding the footbands of the *Griſons* were not yet arriued (for the Generall of *Normandie*, vpon whom depended the expeditions, had deferred to ſend men to leuie them, both hoping that the peace would go forward, and alſo ſeeking to pleaſe the King by auoiding expences) he brought the campe afore *Concordia* in the beginning of May, containing twelue hundred Lances, and ſeuen thouſand footmen, which he took the ſame day, for as much as the townesmen being terrified with the firſt execution of the artillery, had ſent Embaſſadors to render it, and in that reſpect were leſſe carefull to looke to their guard, the footmen of the army entring the towne, ſacked it. After the taking of *Concordia* (to the end to giue no occaſion to ſuch as enuied him, falſly to accuſe him, and to ſay he reſpected more his own profit then the Kings) he left *Mirandola* behind him, and drew towards *Bonport*, a village vpon the riuer of *Panaro*, to approch ſo neare the enemy, as by cutting off their victuals either to conſtrain them to diſlodge, or to fight out of their campe. As he was entred into the countrey of *Modena* and lodged in the village of *Canneſſe*, he ſent *Gaſton de Foix* with three hundred footmen and fiue hundred horſemen, to do an enterpriſe vpon *Iohn Paul Manfron* that lay at *Maſſa* neare to *Finalo*, with three hundred light horſemen of the *Venetians*, who hearing of their coming, put himſelfe in battell array vpon a bridge: but the valour of his ſouldiers not anſwering his vertue and courage, he was abandoned of them, and taken priſoner with a very ſmall companie. After this the armie drew neare to *Bonport*, and *Triuulce* had an intention to caſt a bridge there where the channell which is drawne from aboue *Modena* out of the riuer of *Panaro*, entreth into the riuer: but the enemie, to giue impediment to his paſſage, was already incamped in a place ſo neare, that they diſtreſſed him with their artilleries, wherewith Captaine *Perault* a *Spaniard* and commander in the Church army, was killed as he walked along the ſhore of the riuer. In that place the banke is very high, and therefore it was eaſie for the enemy to hinder him: by reaſon whereof *Triuulce* taking another courſe, caſt his bridge ſomewhat higher, the ſpace of a mile. Hauing paſſed the channell, he drew towards *Modena*, marching along vpon the banke of *Panaro*, ſeeking out a place where he might moſt eaſily caſt his bridge: but becauſe he ſaw alwayes afore him bands of horſemen and footmen of his enemies, who were incamped neare to *Frankeaſtle* vpon the way of *Romagna* (but in a place enuironed with banks and waters) he came by the ſame way to the bridge of *Foſſalto* within two miles of *Modena*, and there turning on the left hand towards the mountaine, he paſſed without impediment the foord of *Panaro*, which in that place hath his channell and courſe very large, and without banks: and hauing paſſed *Panaro*, he incamped in a place called the Greue of *Panaro*, three miles from the army Eccleſiaſticke. The day after he drew towards *Plumace*, being furniſhed of victuals from them of *Modena* by the conſent of *Vitfruch*: and the ſame day the army Eccleſiaſticke, which durſt not ſhew themſelues in plaine field, ſuppoſing it very neceſſary to draw neare to *Bologna*, the better to preuent all mutinies and ſtirres in that Citie, the rather for that the family of the *Bentiuoleis* followed the *French* army, went and incamped at the bridge of *Caſalecquo*, three miles aboue *Bologna*,

a place very ſtrong and ſure, hauing his ſituation betweene the riuer of *Rene* and the channell, and by the commoditie of the mountaine at his backe, it defends *Bolognia* from all priuation of the reliefe of the channel, which coming from the riuer, paſſeth into that Citie: this is that place where in the dayes of our anceſtors *Iohn Galeas Viſcount* the moſt puiſſant Duke of *Millan*, farre ſtronger then his enemies, obtained a moſt great victory againſt the *Florentines*, the *Bolognians* and other confederates. The day following *Frankeaſtle* was rendred to *Triuulce*, who, after he had remained three dayes in the lodging of *Plumace*, both for the impediment of the raines that fell, and to prouide victuals for his people, whereof they had then but ſmall ſtore, he came to incampe vpon the high way betweene *Samoggia* and *Frankeaſtle*, where he ſtood in great doubt what he were beſt to do for many difficulties that appeared to him in all deliberations. For he knew well enough that it would be to no purpoſe to aſſaile *Bolognia*, if the people made no tumult within: and if he ſhould approch neare to it in hope of popular emotions, he feared he ſhould be conſtrained to retire as *Monſieur Chaumont* had done, with diminution of his reputation. He knew that it would be a matter of greater perill and indiſcretion to go fight with the enemies incamped in places of ſtrength and of aduantage: and to make his approch to *Bolognia* on that ſide below, there was no hope, vnleſſe haply the enemies might remoue for feare leſt he ſhould aſſaile *Romagna*, whereby might be offered ſome occaſion, either to him to fight, or to the people of *Bolognia* to make ſome tumult. Neuertheleſſe, in the end after he had reſolued to make triall, if either the vniuerſall diſpoſition of the Citie, or the particular intelligences of the *Bentiuoleſs*, would ſtand him in any ſtead, he led the army (the vantguard whereof was guided by *Theodore Triuulce*, the maine battell by himſelfe, and the reareguard by *Gaſton de Foix*) to incampe at the bridge of *Laine*, which is a place vpon the high way fiue miles from *Bolognia*, famous for the memory of the enteruiew of *Lepidus*, *Marcus Antonius*, and *Octauius*, who (as hiſtories do witneſſe) vnder the name of *Triumuirat*, eſtabliſhed in that place the tyrannie of *Rome*, together with that proſcription which can neuer be diſcommended and deteſted enough. The Pope was not at this time in *Bolognia*, who, ſince the departure of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, being perplexed in varietie of thoughts and counſels, ſometimes courage and ſometimes feare bearing dominion in him, as ſoone as he heard that *Triuulce* began to march (notwithſtanding the *Spaniſh* Lances were gone) he went from *Bolognia* to the army, to the end by his preſence to encourage the Captaines to giue battel to the enemies; to the which he could neuer diſpoſe them, either by his letters, or labour of his Embaſſadours. He went with intention to lodge the firſt day at *Cento*, but he was compelled to lodge within the towne of *Pieua*; for that a thouſand of his footmen which were entred within *Cento*, refuſed to depart till they were ſatisfied of their payes: wherewith haply being angry, or elſe looking more deeply into the danger, he altered his reſolution, and returned the next day to *Bolognia*, where his feares ſo much increaſed for that *Triuulce* approched, that determining to go to *Rauenna*, he ſent for the Magiſtrates of Fortie, to whom he declared, that by the benefite of the ſea Apoſtolike, and by his meanes and labour, they had ſhaken off a yoke of moſt grieuous tyrannie, and had obtained libertie with many exemptions, beſides many graces both publike and priuate which they had receiued and were to receiue of him in particular: by which meanes, whereas before they were holden oppreſſed with moſt hard ſeruitude, and ſo embaſed and troden downe by tyrants, that in other parts of *Italy* there was no reputation of them, now they were raiſed vnto honour and riches, their Citie repleniſhed with all ſorts of trades and merchandizes, and ſome of them eſtabliſhed in right worthy and high dignities: ſo that now they were generally eſteemed, free of themſelues, abſolute Lords of *Bolognia* and the whole territorie thereof, the offices and honours being in their hands, and the publike reuenues of their Citie in their free diſtribution; the Church hauing almoſt nothing but the name, which keepeth there, onely for ſigne of ſuperioritie, a Legate or Gouernour, who without them cannot deliberate of any matter of importance; and euen thoſe cauſes that are committed to his arbitration, he ordinarily referreth to their aduice and will: That if for theſe benefites and proſperities, there remained in them any deſire to defend their proper libertie, they ſhould be no otherwiſe ſuccoured and defended by him, then the Citie of *Rome*, ſtanding in the like neceſſitie: That though the importance of the preſent affaires conſtrained him to go to *Rome*, yet, he neither did nor would forget to prouide for the ſuretie and ſafetie of *Bolognia*: That for that regard, he had giuen direction, that the *Venetian* bands which lay on the other ſide *Po* with *Andrew Gritti*, and who to that end caſt the bridge at *Sermida*, ſhould

Frankeaſtle taken.

ſhould come to ioyne with his army: That theſe prouiſions were very ſufficient to defend them; but that he could not content himſelfe, nor remaine ſatisfied and in reſt, if withall he deliuered them not from the troubles of the warre: and therefore to driue the *French* men into neceſſitie to returne to defend their owne things, there were already leuied ten thouſand *Swiſſers* to deſcend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: and for their better prouiſion and expedition, he had ſent twentie thouſand duckats to *Venice*, the *Venetians* preparing the like ſumme. Neuertheleſſe, if they had rather returne vnder the ſeruitude of the *Bentiuoleis*, then to enioy the ſweetneſſe of the libertie of the Church, he deſired them to expreſſe frankly what minds they bare, which he himſelfe would alſo follow: onely he told them that if they had any reſolution to defend themſelues, the time was now very conuenient not onely to expreſſe their vertue, but alſo to make the ſeat Apoſtolike bound to them for euer, together with himſelfe, and all the Popes that ſhould ſucceed him. To this forme of perſwaſion, pronounced (according to his cuſtome) with more feruencie then eloquence, after they had debated among themſelues in councell; the Preſident of the gouernment made anſwer in the name of the whole, not forgetting with words of great boaſting, to magnifie their faith, their thankfulneſſe for benefites receiued, and their infinite deuotion to his name: That they were not ignorant of the happie eſtate wherein they ſtood, and how much, ſince the expulſing of Tyrants, their wealth was augmented, together with the glorie of their Citie: That whereas before their liues and goods were miſerably ſubiected to the mercie of others, now being without all feare, they liued in peace and eaſe, participating both in the gouernment and in the reuenues: and that there was not one amongſt them, who had not particularly receiued of him many graces and honours: That they ſaw renewed in their Citie the dignitie of Cardinalſhip, and many of their Citizens furniſhed with Prelatſhips & principal offices in the Court of *Rome*. For which innumerable graces & ſingular benefites, they bare minds diſpoſed to conſume all their goods, to hazard the honor and ſafetie of their wiues and children, and to loſe their owne liues, rather then to forſake him and the ſea Apoſtolike: That he might therfore depart happie and glad, without either feare or iealouſie touching the things of *Bolognia*; for that he ſhould ſooner heare that all the channell ſhould ſwim with the bloud of the people of *Bolognia*, then ỹ Citie ſhould call vpon any other name or obey any other Lord then Pope *Iulio*. Theſe words gaue to ỹ Pope a greater hope then was conuenient; who leauing there the Cardinall of *Pauie*, he went to *Rauenna*, not by the right way, although he was accompanied with the *Spaniſh* Lances which returned to the realme of *Naples*; but for feare of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he tooke the way of *Furly*, which is further about. After *Triuulce* was come to the bridge of *Laine*, the Citie of *Bolognia* began to be in a great tumult, and the minds of men to be full of diuers thoughts: for that ſome being accuſtomed to the libertie of tyrannie, and to be fed and entertained with the goods and moneys of others, and which deſired vehemently the returne of the *Bentiuoleis*, hated the gouernment Eccleſiaſtike: others for the harmes they had already receiued, and which they feared to receiue, ſeeing two ſuch armies vpon their lands, and ready to cut down their harueſt, being for that cauſe brought into great deſpaire, deſired any thing whereby they might be deliuered from ſuch harmes: others, afore whoſe eyes ſtood yet the memory of the *French* inſolencies, executed in their Citie vnder *Monſieur Chaumont*, and fearing now leſt by their well ſpeeding, the Citie drawing into tumult, might come to be ſacked, ſeemed not to care into what gouernment or iuriſdiction they fell, ſo that in it they might be aſſured to be deliuered from ſuch dangers: and a very few, that afore had declared themſelues enemies to the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, fauoured the iuriſdiction of the Church, but more in ſhew then in good meaning. So that all the people being drawne into armes, ſome for deſire of innouation and change, and ſome for their proper ſafetie, all things were full of feare and confuſion: and the Cardinall of *Pauie* and Legate reſident in *Bolognia*, had neither courage nor counſell ſufficient for ſuch a danger: there being in a Citie ſo great and populous, no more but two hundred light horſemen and a thouſand footmen, and being at that time more then euer at variance with the Duke of *Vrbin*, who lay with the army at *Caſalecqua*, he had either at aduenture or by deſtiny entertained fifteene Captaines of the Citizens, to whom, together with their companies and with the people, he had committed the guard of the towne: the moſt part of whom (he hauing vſed no regard in the election of them) being much affected to the *Bentiuoleis*, but principally *Laurence Arioſto*, who, being firſt impriſoned and racked at *Rome* for ſuſpition of conſpiracie with the family of the *Bentiuoleys*,

uoleis, ſuffered afterwards a long impriſonment in the caſtle *S. Ange*. When theſe had gotte̅ their weapons in their hands, they began to aſſemble themſelues, and make ſecret conuenticles, ſpreading through the towne ſcandalous bruites: ſo that the Legate began too late to ſee into his owne indiſcretion; and to auoide the perill whereinto he had brought himſelfe, he appointed that the new Captaines with their bands ſhould go to the army, faining that the Duke of *Vrbin* would haue it ſo. But they anſwering that they would not abandon the guard of the towne, he aſſayed to bring in Captaine *Ramaſſote* with a thouſand footmen, which the people would not ſuffer: by reaſon wherof the Cardinal being quite diſcouraged, & remembring that his gouernment was very hateful to the people, & that he had many enemies among ỹ Nobles, for that not long afore, (by the Popes cōmandement, as he ſaid) proceeding therein with regal power, he had cut off the heads of three honorable Citizens: ſtealing out of the pallace in the night by a ſecret way, in a diſguiſed habit, he retired into the Citadell, and that in ſo great haſte, that he forgot to carry with him his Iewels and money; which he ſent for ſodainly, and hauing receiued them, went out by the gate towards *Imola*, accompanied with an hundred horſe, and *Guido Vaine* who had maried his ſiſter, and was Captain of the horſemen appointed for his guard: and a litle after him went out of the Citadell *Octauian Fregoſa* without any other company then a guide. The flying of the Legat was no ſooner knowne in the towne, then the name of the people was cried and called vpon throughout the whole Citie with great tumult and emotion: which occaſion *Laurence Arioſto* not willing to loſe, together with *Francis Rinuchi* one of the fifteen captains, and affected to the *Bentiuoleis*, being followed by many of the ſame faction, they ranne to the gates of *S. Felix* and *Lama*, moſt conuenient for the campe of the *French* men, which they brake open with barres and hatchets, and being poſſeſſed of them, they ſent immediatly to call the *Bentiuoleis*: who hauing receiued of *Triuulce* many *French* horſemen to ſhun the right way to the bridge of *Rene*, which was guarded by *Raphael de Paſſi* one of the Captaines of the Church, they paſſed the riuer more low, and approching the gate of *Lama* were preſently let in. To the rebellion of *Bologna* was added the flight of the army: for, about the third houre of the night, the Duke of *Vrbin* whoſe bands of ſouldiers ſtretched out from the bridge of *Caſalecqua* vnto the gate of *Saragoſſa*, hearing of the flying of the Legate and mutinies of the people, left the moſt part of his tents and pauilions pitched, and in great haſte went away with the whole army, except thoſe that being appointed for the guard of the campe, were on that ſide the riuer towards the *French* men, to whom he gaue no aduertiſement of his diſcamping. But the *Bentiuoleis* being now entred the towne, hearing of the breaking vp of the campe, gaue preſent notice to *Triuulce*, and ſent out of the towne part of the people to purſue them; by whom and by the paiſants which deſcended from all parts with infinite cries and clamours, their campe that paſſed along the walls was aſſailed, and their artilleries and munitions taken from them, with the moſt part of their baggage, although the *French* that by this time were come to the medley, tooke from the people and paiſants the moſt part of the things they had gotten. By this time alſo *Theodore Triuulce* with the vantguard was arriued at the bridge of *Rene*, where *Raphael de Paſſi* fighting valiantly, made head a long time againſt his enemies, but being ouercharged with multitude, he was at laſt taken priſoner, hauing giuen by the reſiſtance he made, a notable oportunitie to the Church ſouldiers to ſaue themſelues. But the *Venetian* companies and the bands of *Ramaſſote* which lay vpon the hill aboue *S. Luke*, hauing but very late knowledge of the flying of the Duke of *Vrbin*, ſought their ſafetie by the wayes of the mountaines, by the which notwithſtanding receiuing great harmes, they got at laſt into *Romagna*. In this victory, wonne without fighting, were taken fifteene peeces of great artillery, and many of leſſer ſort, belonging as well to the Pope as to the *Venetians*, the Popes owne ſtandard, with many other enſignes, a great part of the baggage Eccleſiaſticke, and almoſt all that of the *Venetians*, certaine men at armes of the Church ſpoiled and ſtripped, together with an hundred and fiftie of the *Venetians*, and almoſt all the footmen of both the one and the other army diſperſed. There remained priſoners *Vrſin de Mugnagno*, *Iulio Manfron*, with many other Captaines of meaner condition. Within *Bologna* there was not a man ſlaine, nor any violence done, either to the Nobles or to the Commons, onely there were made priſoners the Biſhop of *Cluſo* together with many other Prelates, Secretaries, and officers which were about the Cardinall and remained ſtill in his pallace, for that he had made none of them priuie to his departing. The ſame night and the day following, the people fell vpon an image of braſſe, being the Popes picture, which they trailed along

along the market place in great ſcorne and deriſion, which inſolencie was referred either to the guard of the *Bentiuoleis*, or elſe for that the people wearied with the trauels and harmes of the warre (being by nature vnthankfull and deſirous of nouelrie) bare an hatred to the name and memory of him that had bene the cauſe of the libertie and felicitie of their countrey. The day after, which was the two and twentieth of May, *Triuulce* ſtayed at the ſame place, and the day following, leauing *Bolognia* behind him, he drew to the riuer of *Adice*, and afterward ſtayed at the borough of *S. Peter*, which is a frontier of the territories of *Bolognia*, to expect before he marched further, what would be the intention of the *French* King, whether to paſſe further againſt the ſtate of the Pope, or elſe contenting himſelfe to haue aſſured *Ferrara*, and taken from the Church the citie of *Bolognia*, which had bene gotten by his meanes, to ſtay there the courſe of his victory. By reaſon whereof *Iohn Saſſatella* the Popes Captaine, who had chaſed out of *Imola* the *Gibeline* faction, commanded that citie as chiefe of the *Guelfes*, hauing ſecretly made an offer vnto him to put the citie of *Imola* into his hands, he refuſed to accept it till he had the Kings anſwer. There reſted onely the Citadell of *Bolognia*, wherein was the Biſhop *Vitelli*, a Citadell large and ſtrong, but furniſhed after the maner of the fortreſſes of the Church, containing but a very ſlender ſtrength of footmen, very ſmall prouiſion of victuals, and almoſt no munitions: whereinto, whileſt it was holden beſieged, *Vitſruch* being certified of the ſucceſſe of *Bolognia*, was come from *Modena* by night, to perſwade the Biſhop with great promiſes and offers to deliuer it to *Ceſar*. But the Biſhop hauing compounded the firſt day with them of *Bolognia*, that the liues and goods of ſuch as were within ſhould be ſaued, and receiued obligation that within a certaine time they ſhould pay him three thouſand duckats, deliuered it vp into their hands: and they were no ſooner poſſeſſed of it, then they ranne by heapes to diſmantle and reuerſe it, the *Bentiuoleis* ſtirring them to that action, not ſo much to winne fauour with the citizens, as for feare leſt the *French* King would withhold it, ſome of his Captaines hauing already counſelled to demand it: but *Triuulce* would neuer giue his conſent, for that he thought it would be againſt the Kings profite if it ſhould be thought that he had a deſire to make himſelfe Lord of *Bolognia*. By the occaſion of this victory, the Duke of *Ferrara* recouered beſides *Cento* and *Pieua*, *Cotignola*, *Lugo*, and the other townes of *Romagna*, expulſing at the ſame time *Albert Pio*, who poſſeſſed them in common with him.

The Pope (as he had iuſt cauſe) was much diſcontented for the loſſe of *Bolognia*, not onely for that the Citie of moſt importance through the whole ſtate Eccleſiaſticke next to *Rome*, was taken from him, and that he ſuffered priuation of that glory which he had gotten in conquering it, which was great with the world, eſpecially in his owne conceit; but alſo for feare leſt the cõquering army ſhould follow their victory. Againſt the which knowing it was not poſſible for him to make reſiſtance, and ſeeking to remoue all occaſions that might prouoke them to paſſe further, he ſolicited that the remainders of the *Venetian* ſouldiers already reuoked by the Senate, ſhould embarke at the port of *Seſena*, and for the ſame cauſe he ſent to haue reſtored to him the twentie thouſand duckats which remained yet in *Venice*, being ſent thither afore to cauſe the *Swiſſers* to march. Moreouer he gaue order, that the Cardinall of *Nants* a *Britton* by nation, ſhould as it were of himſelfe ſolicite *Triuulce* to peace, perſwading that it was a very fit time to worke it: who made him this anſwer, that it was not meet to proceed in that generalitie, but that it was neceſſary to come expreſly to particularitie: That the King if he deſired peace, had propoſed the conditions, and that the Pope muſt now do the like, the eſtate of the affaires being ſuch, that it appertained to him to require it. The Pope proceeding in this ſort, more to auoid the preſent danger, then for any deſire he had to haue peace, feare, obſtinacie, hatred and diſdaine ſtriuing together in him: and at the ſame time hapned another accident, which redoubled his ſorrowes: There were brought to him many accuſations againſt the Cardinall of *Pauie*, ſome of infidelitie, ſome of cowardiſe, and ſome of ignorance: who being come to *Rauenna* to make his iuſtification, as ſoone as he was arriued, ſent to the Pope to ſignifie his comming, and to demand audience of him: wherewith the Pope, who loued him entirely, reioycing much, made anſwer that he ſhould come to dine with him. But as he was going to the Popes pallace, being accompanied by *Guido Vaine* and with the guard of his horſemen; the Duke of *Vrbin*, for an ancient hatred he bare him, and alſo for deſpite, as he ſaid, that the reuolt of *Bolognia* hapned through his fault, which was the occaſion of the flying of the army, followed him

with a small traine, and thrusting in amongst his guard of horsemen; who for reuerence sake made him way, with a poyniard he slue the Cardinall with his owne hands; who haply for the degree he held, ought not to haue bene so outragiously abused, but in respect of his infinite vices, he deserued most cruell punishment. The report of the death of the Cardinall of *Pauie* being presently brought to the Pope, he began to lament with great cries and lamentable complainings, being moued out of measure for the losse of a Cardinall so deare to him, and much more for that such a dignitie had bene violated, almost afore his eyes, by the hands of his owne Nephew, and with an example not vsuall: a matter so much the more grieuous to him, by how much he made profession to preserue and exalt the authoritie Ecclesiastike. Not able to beare this griefe, and much lesse to temper his furie, he departed the same day from *Ruetina* to retheate to *Raine*: and that he might at one time be enuironed on all parts with infinite calamities, he was no sooner arriued at *Rentiny*, then he had aduertisement that within *Modena*, within *Bologna*, and in many other cities, there were fixed and set vp many placards in publike places, by the which was denounced to him the conuocation of the Councell, citing him to go thither in person. For though the Bishop of *Gurce*, after he was gone from *Modena*, had trauelled certaine dayes by baste iourneys, expecting the answer of the *Scottish* Embassadour, who went from him to *Bolognia* for affaires which the Pope himselfe had propounded: yet he being returned with answers very vncertaine, the Bishop of *Gurce* dispatched immediatly to *Millan* in the name of *Cæsar* three Proctors, who, ioyning with the Cardinals and with the Proctors of the *French* King, published the Councell to be celebrated the first day of September next in the Citie of *Pisa*. The Cardinals made choise of *Pisa*, as a place no lesse conuenient by the oportunitie of the sea, for many that were to be present at the Councell, then of speciall suretie, for the confidence the *French* King had in the *Florentines*: and for that many other places, which though they might haue bene capable of such an assembly, yet were either inconuenient or suspected of them, or at least the Pope might refuse them with iust colour. For there had bene no conueniency to assigne it in *Frabee* or in any other place of the Kings obedience; and *Constance* one of the free townes of *Germany* recommended by *Cæsar*, seemed very vnfit, notwithstanding it had bene made famous by the memory of that worthy Councell; wherein three that called themselues Popes were deposed, and the schisme rooted out that had continued fortie yeares in the Church: and *Thurin* was also suspected to both parties, for the neighborhood of the *Swissers* and the estates of *France*: *Bolognia* afore it was out of the obedience of the Church, was not sure for the Cardinals: and now it stood in the like case in regard of the Pope. Moreouer, the election of the Citie of *Pisa* for the Councell, did in part presage good lucke, for the memory of two Councels which had bene there happily celebrated: the one, when almost all the Cardinals who abandoned *Gregorie* the twelfth and *Benet* the thirteenth, who quarelled together for the Popedome, celebrating the Councell in that Citie, chose Pope *Alexander* the fift: and the other which was a long time before celebrated in the same place, about the yeare 1136 by *Innocent* the second, at such time as *Peter Leon* Antipape of *Rome* was condemned, who causing himselfe to be called *Anacletus* the second, with such a schisme had not onely much troubled *Innocent*, but also all Christendome. The *Florentines* had afore granted *Pisa* to the *French* King, who required it of them, giuing them to vnderstand, that *Cæsar*, no lesse then he, was the author of the conuocation of the Councell, and that the King of *Aragon* had consented thereunto: wherein they deserued to be praised, more perhaps for their silence, then for their wisedome or courage. For, either not hauing the courage to denie the King the thing that was grieuous vnto them, or not considering how many difficulties and dangers might grow vpon them by a Councell which was celebrated against the Popes will, they kept that deliberation so secret that was made in an assembly or Councell of more then an hundred and fiftie citizens, that the Cardinals, to whom the *French* King gaue hope thereof, were not well assured that they had accorded, neither had the Pope any knowledge of it. The Cardinals pretended that the Councell might be iudicially called by them, without the authoritie of the Pope, for the most apparent necessitie (as they said) that the Church had to be reformed, not onely in her members, but also in her head, meaning the person of the Pope: who (as they affirmed) being hardened in Simonie, and manners infamous and damnable, not fit to gouerne the Papacie, and author of so many warres, was notoriously incorrigible, to the vniuersall scandall of all Christendome, for the safetie whereof, there was no other medicine sufficient, then the conuocation

tion of a Councell: whereof seeing the Pope had no care, that the power of conuocation thereof was lawfully diuolued to them, specially the authoritie of the elect Empour being adioyned, and the consent of the right Christian King, together with the Cleargie of *Germanie* and *France* concurring. They added, that often to vse this medicine, was a meanes not onely profitable but necessary for the diseased bodie of the Church, both to roote out the old errors, and to suppresse such as should newly spring; to explane & interpret the doubts which daily happned, and to correct such things, which in the beginning being well ordained, sometimes by experience proued hurtfull: That for these reasons the ancient Fathers in the Councell of *Constance* had wholesomly decreed, that alwayes afterwards the Councell should be celebrated and holden from ten yeares to ten yeares. For what other bridle then this was there to keepe them in the right way? And considering the great frailtie of men, and the many enticements which prouoke vs to do ill during our life, how can we otherwise dwell in safetie, if he that hath all libertie, be well assured that he shall neuer giue a reckoning of his doings? On the other side, many debated these reasons, who adhering more to the doctrine of the Diuines, then of the Canonists, alledged that the authoritie to call Councels rested onely in the person of the Pope, yea though he were infected with all vices, so that he were not suspected of heresie; and that if it were otherwise interpreted, it would be in the power of a few, (which ought neuer to be consented vnto) either for ambition, or for particular hatreds, couering their wicked intentions with false colours, daily to alter and change the peaceable estate of the Church: That all medicines were wholesome; yet if they were not ministred with due proportions, and in times conuenient, they were rather poison then medicine: and therefore condemning all those that had another opinion, they called this assembly not a Councell, but a meanes to deuide the vnitie of the Sea of *Rome*, a seminary of sedition in the Church, and a hellish conuenticle.

The end of the ninth Booke.

THE TENTH BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

After the taking of Bolognia, the French armie returneth to the Duchie of Millan. The Pope falleth ſicke, and is thought to be dead, whereof ariſe ſome ſtirres. He recouereth, and followeth his purpoſe to chaſe the French out of Italy, and to that end maketh a league with the Venetians and with the king of Spaine. Contention betweene the Cardinals that were to go to Piſa, and the Florentines. The opinion that was had of this Councell, which is transferred to Millan, where many ſtirres happen. The Popes armie beſiegeth Bolognia. The French men take Breſſia. The deſcription of the battell of Rauenna, whereof the victorie remained to the French, but dearely bought with the death of their Generall. Rauenna ſacked by the victors. The Cardinals being aſtoniſhed, perſwade the Pope to hearken to peace. The King of Aragon is of a contrary mind. The Pope is in doubt, and Iulio de Medicis doth ſettle his mind, ſo that he reſolueth rather to abandon Rome, then to make peace, for which he is ſought vnto by the King. He publiſheth the Councell of Latran. And afterwards the affaires of the French begin to decline.

THE moſt part of Chriſtendome, but principally all *Italy*, expected (in great doubt of mind) what the *French* King would deliberate after he had gotten the victory. For, euery one ſaw clearly, that it was in his power to make himſelfe Lord of *Rome* and the whole ſtate Eccleſiaſtike, for that almoſt all the Popes regiments were diſperſed and diſſolued, and much more thoſe of the *Venetians*; and for that there remained not in *Italy* any other armies able to make reſiſtance againſt the furie of the victor: and it was likely that the Pope being defended onely with the name and maieſtie of the Papacie, ſtood in all other regards reduced to the diſcretion of fortune. And yet the *French* King, either the reuerence which he bare to religion retaining him, or elſe fearing to ſtirre vp other Princes againſt him if he proceeded any further, when he had determined not to vſe the oportunitie of his victory, (with a counſell perhaps more religious then profitable) he commanded *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* to returne with the armie to the Duchie of *Millan*, leauing *Bolognia* to the *Bentiuoleis*, and making reſtitution of all other peeces which he occupied of the Church. To theſe actions ſo gracious and affable, he added moſt courteous words and demonſtrations. For, he forbad to make any publicke ſignes of gladneſſe in his realme; and proteſted oftentimes in the preſence of many, that notwithſtanding he had committed no fault either againſt the Sea Apoſtolike, or againſt the perſon of the Pope, nor done any thing but by prouocation and conſtraint; yet, for the reuerence he bare to that Sea, he would humble himſelfe and ſue for pardon; perſwading himſelfe that the Pope, knowing by experience the difficulties of his conceits and purpoſes, and being aſſured of the ſuſpition which he had of him without occaſion, would with all his heart come to deſire peace, the negociation whereof had neuer bene altogether giuen ouer, ſeeing the Pope, ſince he parted from afore *Bolognia*, had for that occaſion ſent to the King the Embaſſadour of the King of *Scots*, continuing to ſolicite the ſame points, which by the ſame Biſhop had bene begun to be debated with the Biſhop of *Gurce*. In this diſpoſition to peace ioyned alſo the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, who notwithſtanding they followed the authoritie of the King, yet they ſignified to the Pope, that they would not be diſobedient and rebellious to the Church, but continue in the ſame ſubiection wherein their fathers had continued ſo many yeares: in token whereof they had not onely ſet at libertie the Biſhop of *Cluſe*, but according to the ancient vſage, lodged him in the Pallace as Lieutenant to the Pope. Then *Triuulce* departed with the armie, and drew neare to *Mirandola* to recouer it, notwithſtanding at the requeſt of *Iohn Francis Piqua*, *Vitfruch* was entred,

The French armie returneth to the Duchie of Millan.

tred, vnder colour to hold it in the name of *Cæſar*, and by proteſtation had ſent to require *Triuulce*, that becauſe it was of the iuriſdiction of the Empire, he ſhould abſtaine from all violent action: but in the end finding that his vaine authoritie was not ſufficient, he went his way, *Triuulce* giuing him onely certaine promiſes, more honorable for *Cæſar* in ſhew then in effect: the like did *Iohn Francis*, after he had obtained ſafeconduct for goods and life; and *Triuulce* hauing no other expedition to follow, ſent to the guard of *Verona* fiue hundred Lances, and thirteene hundred Lanceknights vnder Captaine *Iacob*; and reſeruing to himſelfe fiue and twentie hundred *Gaſcons* vnder the regiment of Captaine *Molard* and *Mangiron*, which, with the companies of the men at armes, he ſent diſperſed into the townes of the Duchie of *Millan*, he diſmiſſed all the other bands of footmen. But the will and intention of the Pope was not anſwerable to the deſire and hope of the King, for that riſing into new courage by the reuoking of the armie, and being euery day more and more hard and obſtinate by the things that in all likelihood ſhould haue made him more tractable, chiefly ſith that at *Riminy* where he yet remained, he lay tormented with the gout, in the midſt of ſo many perplexities he propounded more like a Victor, then one that was vanquiſhed, by the working of the ſame *Scottiſh* Embaſſadour, That the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould pay to him hereafter the tributes which he was wont to pay before the diminution which had bene made vnto him by Pope *Alexander*: That the Church ſhould hold a *Vicedomino* in *Ferrara*, as the *Venetians* did before: and that there ſhould be rendred to him *Lugo*, with the other townes which *Alphonſo d'Eſte* poſſeſſed in *Romagna*. Theſe conditions although they were very offenſiue to the King, yet he had ſo great a deſire to be at peace with the Pope, that he made anſwer, that he was cõtent to conſent to the moſt part of thoſe demands, ſo farre forth as the conſent of *Cæſar* might alſo concurre in them. But the Pope being now returned to *Rome*, had altered his mind, the perſwaſions of the King of *Aragon* helping no leſſe then his owne naturall lightneſſe and mutabilitie. For, the King of *Aragon*, whom the late victory of the *French* king had confirmed in a very great ſuſpition, had ſodainly laid aſide all the great preparations which he had made to paſſe in perſon into *Africk*, where he maintained continuall warres with the *Moores*: and hauing called home from thence *Peter* of *Nauarre* with three thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, he ſent him to the realme of *Naples*, to the end at one time both to aſſure his owne eſtates, and to giue courage to the Pope to be ſo much the more eſtranged from peace. The Pope then made anſwer, that he would not heare of peace, vnleſſe the *Venetians* might be accorded with *Cæſar*: vnleſſe *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, ouer and beſides the firſt demands, made him ſatisfaction for all the expences which he had defrayed in the warre: and vnleſſe the King would be bound not to hinder him in the recouery of *Bologna*; which Citie, as a rebell to the Ghurch, he had already excommunicated: and, to make ſpoile of the corne of their countrey, he had ſent into *Romagna Marke Anthonie Colonno* and *Ramaſſote*, who notwithſtanding were eaſily repulſed by the people, being ſcarcely entred into the frontiers. Notwithſtanding this anſwer, the Pope ouercome by the petitions of the Cardinals, as ſoone as he came to *Rome*, conſented to the deliuery of the Cardinall of *Achx*, hauing bene till that day kept priſoner within the caſtle of *S. Ange*: but it was with this condition, that he ſhould not go out of the Pallace of *Vatican* till all the Prelates and officers that were taken within *Bologna* were ſet at libertie, and that afterwards he ſhould not depart from *Rome*, vnder paine of fortie thouſand ducats, for the which he was to giue ſufficient caution: and yet not long after he ſuffered him to returne into *France*, with charge, not to be at the Councell, vpon the like paine. The Popes anſwer moued ſo much the more the mind of the King, by how much he was perſwaded that he would conſent to the conditions which he himſelfe had offered: and therefore determining to withſtand him in the recouerie of *Bologna*, he ſent thither immediatly a new ſtrength of foure hundred Lances, and not long after he tooke into his protection the citie with all the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, without receiuing of them any couenant to miniſter either men or money. And knowing that the alliance of *Cæſar* was now more neceſſarie to him then euer, whereas afore he bare ſome inclination not to giue him thoſe ſupplies of men which he had promiſed him in the capitulation made with the Biſhop of *Gurci*, if he paſſed not in perſon into *Italy* (that being the couenant and condition of his promiſe;) he gaue preſent order that from the Duchie of *Millan* the bands that had bene promiſed ſhould march thither vnder the gouernment of *Monſieur de la Paliſſa*, for that *Triuulce* whom *Cæſar* had required, refuſed the iourney.

The French king takes Bologna into his protection.

By this time *Cæſar* was come to *Inſpruch*, hauing on the one ſide a great deſire to make warre vpon the *Venetians*, and on the other finding himſelfe confuſed with many thoughts. For, conſidering that in the end all that he ſhould do, would be to ſmall purpoſe if he tooke not *Padua*, and that that enterpriſe required ſo great forces and ſo mightie preparations, as was almoſt impoſſible to be gathered together: ſometimes he ſuffered himſelfe to be carried with a deſire to agree with the *Venetians*, whereunto the King Catholike vrged him much: and ſometimes ouer-ruled with his owne conceits, he thought to march to *Rome* in perſon with his armie, to occupie (according to his ancient deſire) all the eſtate of the Church; wherein he laid his plot to leade thither a mightie army of *Almains*, beſides the *French* companies. But by reaſon of his diſabilities and diſorders, the execution of things was not anſwerable to his imagination, ſo that he conſumed the time without putting any thing to action, ſometimes promiſing from day to day to come in perſon, and ſometimes to ſend men: and therefore it ſeemed grieuous to the King to take vpon him alone to ſuſtaine ſuch a burthen: which reaſon, conformable to his nature, which was ſparing, could oftentimes do more with him then the perſwaſions that many made to the contrary, that if *Cæſar* were not mightily ſuccoured by him, he would at laſt ioyne with his enemies; whereby it would happen, that beſides his neceſſitie to be at a greater charge, his eſtates in *Italy* would fall into very great dangers. Amid theſe doubts and difficulties, the tumults of temporall armes began to grow cold: but thoſe of the ſpirituall grew daily more hot, as well on the part of the Cardinals that were authors of the Councell, as on the Popes behalfe, who vſed all his endeuour to ſuppreſſe ſuch an euill afore it became greater.

The Pope makes ouerture of a new Councell to breake the Councel of Piſa.

The Councell, as you haue heard before, was denounced and ſignified vnder the authoritie of the Emperour and the *French* King, the Cardinals of *S. Croſſe*, *S. Malo*, *Baieux*, and *Coſenſo* interpoſing therein, the Cardinall alſo of *S. Seuerin* conſenting manifeſtly, and ſucceſſiuely, the Proctors of both the one & ỹ other King were preſent at the counſels & deliberations that were made: but the fiue Cardinals, authors of this peſtilence, added by way of intimation, to giue it the greater authoritie, the names of other Cardinals, of whom Cardinall *Albert* a *French* man durſt not diſobey the cõmandements of his King, although he conſented thereunto very vnwillingly: and touching the others that were named by them, Cardinall *Adrian* and the Cardinall of *Finalo* proteſted openly that that matter was wrought wholly without their appointment or conſent. So that more then ſixe Cardinals not declaring themſelues for this buſineſſe, the Pope, hoping to draw them to a voluntary renouncing of the matter, dealt with them continually, offering to pardon them the errors that had bene committed, and that with ſuch ſuretie, that they ſhould not need to feare that any trouble would happen vnto them: whereunto the Cardinals gaue a diſſembled eare. But the Pope for all this abſtained not from more powerfull remedies, in ſo much as following the counſell (as was ſaid) of *Anthonie du Mont de ſaint Sanſouin*, one of the Cardinals of his laſt creation at *Rauenna*, ſeeking to purge himſelfe of negligence, he aſſigned an vniuerſall Councell in the towne of *Rome*, within the church of *S. Iohn de Latran*, for the firſt day of May next coming: by which conuocation he pretended that the Councell called by his aduerſaries was broken, and that in that which he had publiſhed was iudicially contained the power and authoritie of all, notwithſtanding the Cardinals alledged, that although it had bene true in the beginning, yet ſeeing they had preuented it, the Councell that had bene inſtituted and called by them ought to take place. The Councell being publiſhed, and the Pope repoſing more then euer in his right, and withall deſpairing to be able to reconcile the Cardinall of *S. Croſſe*, who through ambition to be Pope, had bene a chiefe mouer of this alteration; and likewiſe the Cardinals *S. Malo* and *Coſenſa* (for touching the others, he was not without hope to reduce them to his obediẽce) he publiſhed againſt thoſe three a threatning monition, vnder paine of priuation of the dignitie of Cardinall, and of all their Church rights and benefites, if within threeſcore and fiue dayes they made not their appearance afore him: and the better to diſpoſe them to the Popes will, the Colledge of Cardinals ſent to them an Auditor *de la Rote* to perſwade and pray them, that leauing their priuate contentions, they ſhould returne to the vnion of the Church, offering to giue them ſuch forme of ſecuritie as they deſired. The Pope at the ſame time, either for that he was in doubt and vnreſolued in his mind, or elſe puſhed on by ſome other cauſe, hearkned continually after the practiſe of peace with the *French* King, the which was ſolicited in his owne Court by the Kings Embaſſadours, and in the *French* Court by the Embaſſadour of *Scotland* and the Biſhop of *Tiuoli* the Popes Nuncio:

and

and on the other ſide he laboured to make with the King of *Aragon* and the *Venetians* a new confederation againſt the *French*. About this time alſo, the Pope ſought to render *Montpulcian* to the *Florentines*, not for any good he wiſhed to them, but for feare leſt the truce which they had with *Sienna* being expired, they would call into *Tuſcane* the *French* bands, to the end to be the better able to recouer that towne. And albeit it was grieuous to the Pope that the *Florentines* ſhould recouer *Montpulcian*, and that to hinder them he had already ſent to *Sienna* *Iohn Vitelli* entertained with an hundred men at armes by the *Siennois* and himſelfe, and *Guido Vaine* with an hundred light horſemen: yet afterwards conſidering better, that by how much the difficultie appeared great, by ſo much the more would the *Florentines* be induced to call them, he determined, to the end to take from the King all occaſions to ſend armed bands into a place ſo neare *Rome*, to prouide for this danger by a contrary way; *Pandolfe Petrucci* conſenting to it, whom the *Florentines* nouriſhed artificially in the ſame ſuſpition. The matter was debated many dayes, for that (as ſmall things are oftentimes no leſſe difficult to be reſolued, then ſuch as be farre greater) *Pandolfe* to auoide the hatred of the people of *Sienna*, would the proceeding ſhould be ſuch, that it might ſeeme there was no other remedie to aſſure him from the warre, and not to alienate the Popes mind. Moreouer, the Pope and he would, that at the ſame time there ſhould be made betweene the *Florentines* and the *Siennois* a confederation for the defence of their owne eſtates: and yet they feared on the other ſide, leſt they of *Montpulcian* perceiuing their practiſe, would preuent them, in rendring themſelues voluntarily, winning by that meanes the fauour of the *Florentines*, who atchieuing their intention, might afterwards refuſe to make the confederation. For this cauſe *Iohn Vitelli* was ſent to remaine within *Montpulcian*, and the Pope ſent thither *Iames Simonnet* the Iudge of his Court, called certaine yeares after to be Cardinall, to the end that by his meanes, the affaires of *Montpulcian* might be accommodated: ſo that in the end, there was made at one time a confederation for fiue and twentie yeares, betweene the *Florentines* and the *Siennois*: and *Montpulcian* returned into the hands of the *Florentines*, *Simonnet* interpoſing for the pardon, and confirmation of the ancient exemptions and priuiledges.

The Emperour and the *Venetians* carried themſelues for certaine moneths more peaceably the one towards the other then had wont to be: for that the *Almaines* being neither ſtrong in men, nor prouided of money, thought they did a ſeruice of no ſmall importance, if they kept *Verona*: and the *Venetian* armie wanting ſufficient forces to take that Citie, were retired betweene *Soaue* and *Lonigue*, from whence they made a ſally one night, and burnt both on this ſide and beyond the riuer of *Adice*, a great quantitie of the corne of the inhabitants of *Verona*; notwithſtanding being aſſailed in their returne, they loſt three hundred footmen. But as ſoone as they heard that *Monſieur de Paliſſa* approched *Verona* with twelue hundred Lances and eight thouſand footmen, their armie retired betweene *Vincenſa* and *Legnague*, into a place of ſtrength, bearing almoſt the forme and ſituation of an Iland, by reaſon of certaine waters and trenches that they had cut vp: in which place they tarried not many daies, for that *Monſieur de Paliſſa* arriuing at *Verona* with a great part of his armie, and without expecting the reſidue, taking the field preſently together with the *Almains*, they retired almoſt in maner of flying to *Lonigue*, and afterward with the ſame feare abandoning *Vincenſa* and all the other townes, together with *Poleſins de Rouigna*, which ſometimes was pillaged by the *Venetians*, and ſometimes preyed vpon by the Duke of *Ferrara*, they withdrew themſelues into *Padua* and *Treuiſa*: for the defence of which cities, many yong Gentlemen of *Veniee* came thither, as they had formerly done to *Padua*. The armie of the *French* and *Almaines* ſacked *Lonigue*: and *Vincenſa* which was become a miſerable prey to thoſe that were the ſtrongeſt in the field, yeelded vnto them. But all theſe enterpriſes and conqueſts were of ſmall conſequence for the ſubſtance of the warre, ſo far forth as the *Venetians* held *Padua* and *Treuiſa*: for that by the opportunitie of thoſe Cities, as ſoone as the *French* ſuccours were deuided from the *Almaines*, they recouered without difficultie the peeces they had loſt. By reaſon whereof, after theſe proceedings and aduancements, the armie ſtayed many dayes at the bridge of *Barberano*, expecting there either the arriuall or the reſolution of *Cæſar*, who being come betweene *Trent* and *Rouero*, deuiſing at one time how to follow his pleaſures in hunting wilde beaſts according to his cuſtome, and to ſend bands of footmen to the armie, he promiſed to come to *Montagnana*, ſometimes pretending to vndertake the enterpriſe of *Padua*, ſometimes that of *Treuiſa*, & ſometimes to go take *Rome*. But in all theſe actions he ſhewed him-

himſelfe variable, by reaſon of his inconſtancie, and found difficulties therein by reaſon of his extreme pouertie, and no leſſe in the attempt of *Rome* then in the other enterpriſes: for that to march thither with thoſe forces of the *French*, ſeemed to him an action both againſt his dignitie and ſuretie: and the feare leſt in the abſence of that armie the *Venetians* would aſſaile *Verona*, compelled him to leaue there a ſtrong garriſon. Beſides, the *French* King made difficultie to ſeparate his people from the Duchie of *Millan* by ſo great a diſtance of countreys, for the ſmall hope he had to haue accord with the *Swiſſers:* who beſides the inclinations they expreſſed to the deſires of the Pope, ſpake openly to the Embaſſadour of the *French* King, that the peoples of their Nation were not a litle grieued with the ruines of the *Venetians*, for the communitie that their commonweales had together. At laſt the plots and great diſcourſes of *Cæſar* came, according to his cuſtome, to reſolue into effects vnworthy his reputation: for that on the one ſide, hauing increaſed the armie with three hundred men at armes *Almaines*, and on the other ſide, giuen audience to the *Venetian* Embaſſadours, with whom he debated continually, and had cauſed *Monſieur de Paliſſa* to come firſt to *Longaro* neare *Vincenſa*, and afterwards to *S. Croſſe*, he ſolicited him to go take *Newcaſtle*, which is a paſſage below *Eſcalo* drawing to *Friul*, within twelue miles of *Feltre*, to make his deſcending the more eaſie on that ſide. Therefore *Monſieur de Paliſſa* marched to *Montbellono* ten miles from *Treuiſa*, from whence hauing ſent fiue hundred horſemen and two thouſand footmen to open the paſſage of *Newcaſtle*, they went to *Eſcalo*. About which time the light horſemen of the *Venetians* who ouerran all the countrey without impediment, ouerthrew neare to *Moroſtiquo*, about ſeuen hundred footmen and many horſemen, both *French* and *Italians:* who, to paſſe in ſuretie where the armie was, went from *Verona* to *Soaue*, to ioyne with three hundred *French* Lances, who being come after *Monſieur de Paliſſa*, expected in that place his direction. And albeit in the beginning, things ſucceeded well with the *French* men and *Almaines*, and that Count *Guido Rangon* leader of the *Venetians* was taken, yet many paiſants deſcending in fauour of the *Venetians*, and many occaſions riſing to their aduantage, they remained in the end victorious, about foure hundred of the *French* footmen being left dead, and their Captaines *Mangiron* and *Rochemaro* detained priſoners. But now the reſolutions which before had bene debated and ſet downe, grew more and more to ſlacken and calme, for that the *French* King ſeeing that the preparations of *Cæſar* were not anſwerable to his promiſes and offers, withdrawing himſelfe out of *Italy*, he returned from *Dauphiney* where he had remained many days, to *Bloys*: and *Cæſar* being now retired from *Trent*, with a mind to go no more to the armie, in ſtead of reconquering all that the *Venetians* held in the firme land, or elſe *Rome* with the whole eſtate Eccleſiaſtike, gaue direction that the *Almains* ſhould enter into *Friul*, and vpon the countrey of *Treuiſa*, not ſo much to vexe the *Venetians*, as to conſtraine the townes of the countrey to giue him money to free themſelues from pillage: and to the end his people ſhould not be hindred, he appointed the *French* men to paſſe further, beſtowing two hundred Lances within *Verona*, where the plague was very hote: for that (hauing an intention to aſſaile *Friul*) there could not be aſſigned to that ſeruice other of his bands, then ſuch as were reſerued for the guard of the Caſtles. *Monſieur de Paliſſa* conſented to all theſe things, with whom being ioyned *Monſieur d'Aubigny* Captaine of the three hundred Lances which were at *Soaue*, he went and incamped vpon the riuer of *Piaue*. Beſides this, for a greater ſuretie of *Verona*, the *Almaines* left two hundred horſemen within *Soaue*, who lying very negligently, vſing neither watch nor ward, were one night almoſt all ſlaine or taken, by foure hundred light horſemen and foure hundred footmen of the *Venetians*. During all this yeare the warres, according to the cuſtome, had gone on diuerſly in *Friul*, *Iſtria*, and in the quarters of *Trieſte* and *Fiumo*, both by land, and by ſea with ſmall veſſels, thoſe wretched countreys being now ranſacked by one partie, and then by the other. Afterwards the armie of the *Almains* were entred into *Friul*, and as ſoone as they had made their approach before *Vdina*, the principall place of that prouince, and where the *Venetian* Magiſtrates were reſident, who fled away very cowardly, by reaſon whereof the towne yeelded immediatly, and afterwards by one courſe of victory all the countrey of *Friul* did the like, euery towne being taxed to a proportion of money according to their abilities. There remained onely *Gradiſquo*, ſituated vpon the riuer of *Liſonce*, wherein was *Lewis Moſſeniguo* Treaſurer of *Friul*, with three hundred horſemen, and many bands of footmen: which being beaten vpon by the artillery, when it had made defence againſt the firſt aſſault, was yeelded vp by the importunitie of the ſouldiers, the Treaſurer remaining priſoner.

Friul taken againe by the Almaines.

ſoner. From *Friul* the *Almaines* returned to ioyne with *Monſieur de Paliſſa* encamping within fiue miles of *Treuiſa*, to which Citie they made their approch all together, for that *Cæſar* made great inſtance that they would aſſay to take it: but finding it well fortified on all ſides, and wanting pioners, munitions, and other neceſſary prouiſions, and therefore being out of all hope to be able to take it, they retired. A litle after, *Monſieur de Paliſſa* by the Kings direction, departed to returne to the Duchie of *Millan*, for that the feare of new confederations and the riſing of the *Swiſſers* increaſed continually. In retiring he had alwayes at his backe the *Venetian* eſtradiots, who hoped to diſtreſſe him, at the leaſt at the paſſage of the riuers of *Brent* and *Adice*, neuertheleſſe he paſſed both ſafely, hauing ſtripped (before he paſſed *Brent*) two hundred horſemen of the *Venetians* which were lodged without *Padua*, of whom *Peter de Lungaro* their Captaine remained priſoner. His departing left the *Almaines* not a litle confuſed, for that when they could not obtain ℔ 300. other *French* Lances ſhould remain for the guard of *Verona*, they were conſtrained to retire thither, leauing in prey to the enemie all they had gained that Sommer. By which occaſion the *Venetian* army, whereof *Iohn Paul Baillon* was Gouernour by the death of *Luke Maluezzo*, recouered immediatly *Vincenſa*, and entring afterwards into *Friul*, they razed *Cremonſa*, and tooke in the whole countrey, except *Gradiſqua*, which they could not take, although a few dayes after certaine bands of footmen leuied in the countrey of *Tyrol*, tooke *Codora*, and in like ſort ſacked *Bellona*. *The Venetians recouer Friul.*

In this ſort, with like effects and ſhort, were determined (for this Sommer) the actions and enterpriſes of armes, with leſſe profite then ignominie to the name of *Cæſar*, but with ſpecial reputation to the *Venetians*, who for the ſpace of two yeares inuaded by the armies of *Cæſar* and the *French* King, came at laſt to retaine their owne forces and their owne iuriſdiction: Matters which albeit they were directly againſt *Cæſar*, yet they brought much more harmes to the *French* King. For, whileſt that fearing haply too much the proſperitie and greatneſſe of *Cæſar*, or following ill counſell, and not looking into the dangers that were at hand, or wiſedome being blinded with couetouſneſſe, he gaue not to the Emperour ſuch ſuccors as might enable him to obtaine the victory deſired, he gaue him occaſion, yea brought him almoſt into neceſſitie to open his eares to ſuch as ceaſſed not to perſwade him to ſeparate from him, keeping at one time the *Venetians* in ſuch eſtate, that they were able with greater forces to knit with thoſe that deſired to embaſe the Kings power: ſo that men began now to diſcerne, that in the mind of *Cæſar* new thoughts began to kindle, ſpecially in regard of the Councell, the buſineſſe whereof he embraced very coldly, chiefly ſince the publication of that of *Latran*: for neither did he ſend thither according to his many promiſes, any *Almaine* Prelates in the name of *Germanie*, nor any Proctors to aſſiſt in his name: neither did he once ſtirre for the example of the *French* King, who had ordained that in the common name of the *French* Churches, foure and twentie Biſhops ſhould go to *Piſa*, and that all the other Prelates of his Realme ſhould either go thither in perſon, or elſe ſend their Proctors. And yet either to excuſe theſe delayes, or that ſuch was his deſire indeed, he began at that time to make inſtance, that for the greater commoditie of the Prelates of *Germanie*, and for that he promiſed to be there in perſon, the Councell that had bene denounced at *Piſa*, might be transferred either to *Mantua*, to *Verona*, or to *Trent*: which demand being grieuous to all the other for many cauſes, and pleaſing onely to the Cardinall of *S. Croſſe*, who, burning in ambition to mount vp to the Popedome (to which end he had ſowne theſe diſcords) hoped that by the fauour of the Emperour (in whoſe good affection towards him he truſted much) he might eaſily be raiſed to that ſeate. Notwithſtanding for that the cauſe of the Councell would ſtand much weakned, and almoſt vnperfect without the authoritie of *Cæſar*, they ſent vnto him by common conſent the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*, both to beſeech him that he would ſend away the Prelates and Proctors which he had ſo often promiſed, and alſo to giue him aſſurance on their behalfe, that as ſoone as they had giuen beginning to the Councell at *Piſa*, they would transferre it to the place which he ſhould appoint: declaring vnto him, that if they ſhould do it afore, it could not but be very preiudiciall to the common cauſe, and ſpecially for that it imported much to preuent the Conuocation which the Pope had publiſhed. *Galeas* the brother of the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*, whom with a felicitie far different from the infelicitie of *Lodowike Sforce* his firſt Lord, the King had honored with the office of the Maiſter of his horſe, went with him to make the ſame inſtance to *Cæſar* on the Kings behalfe. But the King ſent him principally of purpoſe to confirme with new offers and plots, the mind of *Cæſar*,

ſar, for whoſe inconſtancie he liued in no litle doubt and ſuſpition, although at the ſame time he was not without hope to conclude the peace with the Pope; the which being diſputed at *Rome* by the Cardinall of *Nants* and the Cardinall of *Strigonia*, and in *France* by the *Scottiſh* Biſhop and the Biſhop of *Tiuoly*, was reduced into ſuch termes, that almoſt all the conditions being accorded, the Pope had ſent to the Biſhop of *Tiuoly* power to giue it perfection: but there were inſerted in this commiſſion, certaine limitations, which gaue no ſmall occaſion to men to thinke that his intention was otherwiſe then were his words, ſpecially for that it was diſcerned, that at the ſame time he had to do with many Potentates in matters altogether contrary to this.

The Pope holden for dead.

In this great doubt, there lacked not much that an accident falling vpon the Popes perſon, had broken all the practiſes & beginnings of euils that were in preparing: for he being fallen ſick the ſeuenteenth day of Auguſt, the fourth day after there tooke him ſuch a qualme, that for certaine houres ſuch as were about him held him for dead: by reaſon whereof the brute being ſpred abroad that he was dead, many Cardinals that were abſent, put themſelues vpon the way to come to *Rome*, and among the reſt thoſe that had conuocated the Councell. And at *Rome* the people made no leſſe ſtirre, then had bene accuſtomed at the death of Popes; yea, there appeared ſignes and tokens of farre greater tumults, for that *Pompey Colonno* Biſhop of *Reato*, and *Antimo Sauelle*, yong men of the Romane Nobilitie, full of ſedition, aſſembling the Commons in the Capitoll, aſſayed with ſeditious words to perſwade them to put themſelues in libertie. But as they laboured with a vehement ambition to ſtirre vp the people of *Rome* to publike rebellion, the Pope reuiued from his dangerous qualme; which being ſomewhat ceaſſed, and yet the feare being greater then the hope of his life, the day following, in the preſence of the Cardinals which were aſſembled in forme of a Conſiſtory, he gaue abſolution to his nephew of the murder he had committed vpon the Cardinall of *Pauie*; not by the courſe of iuſtice, as he had bene aduiſed before, (the ſhortneſſe of the time impugning) but by grace, and Apoſtolike indulgence, as to a perſon penitent: and in the ſame Conſiſtory he ſolicited that the election of his ſucceſſor ſhould be made canonically. And ſeeking to barre others from climing to ſo high a degree by the meanes which raiſed him to it, he cauſed a Bull to be publiſhed, full of horrible paines againſt thoſe that ſhould aſpire to the Popedom, either by mony or by other recompence, declaring all election to be voide that ſhould be made by ſymonie, and giuing an entrie and meanes very eaſie to any Cardinall to impugne it: which conſtitution he had made euen when he was within *Bolognia*, being at that time diſcontented with certaine Cardinals who laboured openly to obtaine the promiſes of other Cardinals, that they might be choſen to the Papacie after his death. Then he began apparently to amend, either by his ſtrong and able complexion, or elſe for that by deſtinie he was reſerued to be the author and principall occaſion of more long and greater calamities in *Italy*. For the recouery of his health could not be attributed either to the skill or remedies of the Phyſitions, to whom he was vtterly diſobedient, eating in the greateſt perill of his malady, raw apples, and things contrary to their preſcription. As ſoone as the Pope was deliuered from the danger of death, he returned to his old deuices and determinations, continuing at one time to ſolicite a peace with the *French* King, and a confederation with the King of *Aragon* and the Senate of *Venice* againſt the *French*: and albeit his will was more inclined to warre then to peace, yet oftentimes he was drawne by many reaſons, now into one opinion, and then into another. That which cauſed him to incline to the warre, beſides his ancient hatred againſt the *French*, and that he was not able to obtaine all the conditions of peace which he deſired, were the perſwaſions of the King of *Aragon*, who feared more then euer, leſt the *French* King being once at peace with the Pope, would aſſaile the realme of *Naples* vpon the firſt occaſion. And to the end his counſels might carry the greater authoritie, beſides the armie at ſea which was afore repaſſed out of *Africa* into *Italy* vnder *Peter* of *Nauarre*, he had ſent newly out of *Spaine* another ſea-armie, containing fiue hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred horſemen mounted vpon Ienners, and three thouſand footmen: which forces ioyned to the others, were of no ſmall regard, as well in reſpect of their number as of their valour. And yet this King proceeding with his accuſtomed ſubtilties, made ſhew that he deſired rather the warre againſt the *Moores*, and that his owne profite or particular intereſt drew him not from it, but onely the deuotion which he had alwayes borne to the Sea of *Rome*: & that being not able of himſelfe to entertaine his ſouldiers, the aid of the Pope and the Senate of *Venice* was neceſſary

ſary for him: whereunto that they might the more eaſily condeſcend, his bands that were all deſcended into the Ile of *Capri* neare to *Naples*, made ſhewes as though they prepared to paſſe into *Africa*. But his immoderate demands much amazed the Pope, and his ſubtilties pleaſing him not at all, he entred into many ſuſpitions: for he knew well that that King ceaſſed not to giue to the *French* king hopes quite contrary. He knew that the *Venetians* would not be drawne from his deuotion: but he was not ignorant, that by reaſon of ſo great a war wherein they were, they were not able to beare out the burthen and charges as before: and that the Senate deſired now rather to looke to the defence of their owne, then to take in hand a new warre, which could not be continued without very great and almoſt intollerable expences. He hoped that the *Swiſſers*, by a common inclination of thoſe countrymen, would declare themſelues againſt the *French* King; but hauing no certaintie thereof, he held it not meet to expoſe himſelfe to ſo great dangers for a hope ſo vncertaine, knowing that as yet they had not altogether left off their practiſes with the *French* King, and that many of the principals of them, to whom reuerted no ſmall profits by the *French* amitie, laboured all they might, that in the aſſembly which was preſently to be holden, their alliance might be renewed with the King. And touching the will and intention of *Ceſar*, although he was much incited by the King Catholike, and of his owne nature a great enemy to the *French* name, yet his hope alſo was leſſe then his feare, knowing the great offers that were now made to him as well againſt the *Venetians*, as againſt him, and that the *French* King was able to performe greater matters then any other could promiſe: and that if *Ceſar* ſhould ioyne with the *French* King, he had great cauſe to feare the Councell, by reaſon of his authoritie: and his owne power being ioyned in good earneſt with the forces and treaſures of the *French* King, and with the oportunitie of the eſtates of them both, the Pope could not haue any hope of the victory, which he found very hard to obtaine againſt the *French* King alone. But that which gaue him the greateſt ſtomacke, was the hope he had that the King of *England* would be won to raiſe warre againſt the *French* King, both by the counſels and perſwaſions of the King Catholike his father in law, and for the authoritie of the ſea of *Rome*, which was then great in the Ile of *England*, and in whoſe name he had with vehement petitions implored his ſuccours againſt the *French* King, as againſt an vſurper and oppreſſor of the Church. But that King was the more prouoked by a naturall hatred, as well of himſelfe, as of the people of *England* againſt the *French* nation, whereunto was much helping the Kings youth, and the great abundance of treaſure left him by his father, which according to the report of perſons worthy of credit, amounted to a quantitie almoſt ineſtimable. Theſe things enflamed the mind of this yong King, who had neuer ſeene in his houſe other then happie fortune: alſo a deſire to renew the glory of his anceſtors, who intituling themſelues Kings of *France*, and at ſundry times hauing tormented that kingdome with great warres, held a long time not onely *Guienne* and *Normandie* (rich and mightie Prouinces) and tooke in a battell neare *Poytiers* King *John* with two of his ſonnes, and many great Lords; but alſo tooke, together with the moſt part of the kingdome, the Citie of *Paris*, the chiefe Citie of *France*, with ſuch ſucceſſe and aſtoniſhment, that if *Henrie* the fift, who was then King of *England*, had not exchanged this life in the flower of his age, and in the glorious courſe of his victories, by a ſickneſſe that came vpon him, it was aſſuredly beleeued that he had made an abſolute conqueſt of the whole realme of *France*: the memory of which victories the yong King reuoluing in his mind, did maruellouſly moue him, notwithſtanding his father vpon his death-bed had expreſly aduiſed him aboue all other things to entertaine peace with the *French* nation, as the onely meanes for the Kings of *England* to reigne both ſafely and happily. Now it was not doubted, but the warre of the *Engliſh* againſt the *French* king (ſpecially being at the ſame time aſſailed in other places) was of right great conſequence, for that in that action there was an entrance made into the very intrailes of his kingdome, and withall the *French* men for the memory of things paſt, redoubted much the name of the *Engliſh*. And yet the Pope for the incertaintie of the faith of ſtrangers, and for the farre diſtance of thoſe countries, could not eſtabliſh his counſels. Theſe were the hopes of the Pope. *The hopes of the Pope.*

On the other ſide the *French* King, to whom nothing was leſſe pleaſing then to be in warre againſt the Church, was greatly deſirous to haue peace, by meanes whereof as he ſhould auoid the ill will of the Pope, ſo ſhould he be deliuered of the importunate demands of *Ceſar* and of the neceſſitie to ſerue him: and he made no difficultie to diſſolue the Councell of *Piſa*, which he had ſet abroach onely to make the Pope condeſcend to peace by that feare, prouided that *The thoughts of the French King.*

the Cardinals and others that had bene partakers in that buſineſſe, might be pardoned. But on the contrary, the demand for the reſtoring of *Bolognia* (which by reaſon of the ſituation thereof was very conuenient to moleſt him) kept him in ſuſpence: for that he feared the peace was not ſincerely accepted by the Pope, nor with a mind diſpoſed to obſerue it if occaſions returned, but onely to deliuer himſelfe preſently from the danger of the Councell, and from the warre. And yet he hoped to confirme the mind of *Ceſar* with the greatneſſe of his offers, and to this end he negociated with him of common occurrents as with a confederate, perſwading him among other things, not to conſent that *Bolognia*, a Citie of ſo great importance, ſhould returne vnder the power of the Pope. And touching the Kings of *Aragon* and of *England*, he was not altogether out of hope, notwithſtanding the maner of proceeding of the one was already manifeſt, and the brute of the intention of the other no leſſe publike and generall: and notwithſtanding their Embaſſadours had firſt ioyntly exhorted him with modeſt words, and vnder pretence that they deſired amitie, and afterwards preſſed him with importunities to cauſe the Cardinals and Prelates of his kingdome to be at the Councell of *Latran*, and to ſuffer and agree that the Church ſhould be repoſſeſſed of the Citie of *Bolognia*: for that the *Engliſh* made ſhew on the one ſide to haue a deſire to perſeuere in the confederation they had with him, and many of his Councell aſſuring him of the ſame, he eſteemed they would attempt nothing againſt him: and on the other ſide, the ſleights and ſubtill apparences of the King of *Aragon* were ſuch, that the King giuing leſſe credite to deeds then to words, whereby he alwayes aſſured him neuer to enter into armes againſt him; he would neuer be perſwaded, that that King would euer ioyne in armes ſo manifeſtly with his enemies, as he did by ſecret counſels. By which vaine opinions he was ſo deceiued, that hope being giuen him by thoſe that were of his faction in *Swiſſerland*, that he might reconcile that nation if he would conſent to their demands for increaſing their penſions, he refuſed it againe moſt obſtinately, alledging that he would not be taxed by them: and further vſing ſharpe remedies, where eaſie meanes had bene more neceſſary, he made reſtraint that they ſhould haue no reliefe of victuals out of the Duchie of *Millan*; whereof when they ſtood in great need by reaſon of the ſterilitie of their countrey, he hoped by that meanes they might eaſily be brought to renew the league with him vpon the old conditions. By this time was come the firſt day of September, which had bin afore ſet downe for the beginning of the Councell of *Piſa*, on which day the Proctors of the Cardinals being come to *Piſa*, celebrated in their names the acts appertaining to the opening of the ſame. By reaſon whereof the Pope being maruellouſly moued againſt the *Florentines*, for that they had conſented that the Conuenticle (for ſo did he alwayes call it) tooke beginning vpon their eſtate, he declared that the Cities of *Florence* and *Piſa* ſtood ſubiect to the interdiction Eccleſiaſtike, by vertue of the Bull of the Councell which he had cauſed to be publiſhed; wherein it was ſet downe, that whoſoeuer ſhould fauour the Conuenticle of *Piſa*, ſtood excommunicated, interdicted, and ſubiect to all the paines ſeuerely ordained by the lawes againſt ſchiſmatikes and heretikes. And threatning to inuade them with armes, he elected the Cardinall of *Medicis* Legate of *Perouſa*: and not long after, the Cardinall of *Regina* Legate of *Bolognia* being dead, he put him in his place, to the end that he who enuied their eſtate, being neare their marches with ſo great authoritie, they might fall into feare and confuſion among themſelues: a thing which he hoped would eaſily ſucceed, by reaſon of the ſtate wherein that Citie then ſtood. For, beſides that many deſired the returne of the *Medices*, diſcords and diuiſions (the ancient maladie of that Citie) reigned among the other citizens of greateſt eminencie, which at that time were cauſed by the greatneſſe and authoritie of the *Gonfalonnier*, which ſome for ambition and enuie could not endure; and others were diſcontented, for that haply taking vpon him more in the deliberation of things then appertained to his place, he left not that part to others which belonged to their degree: and complained, that the ſtate of the Citie conſiſting in two extremities, that is to ſay, the publicke Magiſtrate, and the councell popular, there wanted a well ordered Senate, according to the true inſtitution of Commonweales: by meanes whereof (beſides that it ſhould be a reaſonable temperature betweene the one and the other extremitie) the principall and beſt qualified Citizens might obtaine a more honorable degree in the Commonweale: alledging that the *Gonfalonnier* who was principally choſen for the redreſſe thereof, either by ambition or a vaine ſuſpition, did the contrary. Which deſire, notwithſtanding it was reaſonable, and withall not of ſuch importance as to turne their minds to diuiſions; for that euen without that they were both honorably

Ouerture of the Councell of Piſa.

rably aduanced, and withall there was no forme of diſpoſing of the publike affaires without them, was the very originall and principall cauſe of the great calamities which fell afterwards vpon that Citie. The diuiſions among the citizens, being grounded hereupon, and the enemies of the *Gonfalonnier* ſuſpecting, that both he, and the Cardinall of *Volterra* his brother, were at the deuotion of the *French* King, and that they repoſed altogether in his amitie, they oppoſed as much as they could againſt the deliberations that were to be made in fauour of that King, deſiring that the Pope might be preferred. Hereby alſo it came to paſſe, that the name of the family of *Medicis* began to be leſſe hatefull in that Citie, for as much as thoſe great citizens who deſired not their returne, (for the ill will they bare to the *Gonfalonnier*) did no more conſpire with others to perſecute them, nor (as had bene done at other times) to hinder the commerce of other citizens with them: but to the end to put downe the *Gonfalonnier*, making ſhew that they were not eſtranged from their amitie, they did in a maner giue others occaſion to deſire their greatneſſe. And hereby it came to paſſe, that not onely thoſe that indeed were their aſſured friends (in whom was no great power) entred into hopes of innouation, but alſo many yong Gentlemen, puſhed on either by their too great expences, or particular diſdaines, or at leaſt by an ambitious deſire to ſurpaſſe others in dignitie, deſired a mutation of the State by meanes of their returne; the Cardinall *de Medicis* hauing withall cunningly increaſed that diſpoſition for many yeares before. For euer ſince the death of his brother *Peter*, whoſe name was both feared and hated, making no ſhew to intermeddle in the affaires of *Florence*, nor to haue any deſire to aſpire to the ancient greatneſſe of his family, he entertained all the *Florentines* that came to *Rome*, with very great kindneſſe, willingly employing himſelfe in all their buſineſſe, and no leſſe for ſuch as had ſhewed themſelues manifeſt enemies againſt his brother, then for others; laying all the fault vpon his brother, as though the faults and offences had bene determined with his death. In which forme of proceeding hauing continued many yeares, and the ſame being accompanied with the opinion that went of him in the Court of *Rome*, to be of a diſpoſition liberall, affable, and gracious to all men, brought him in the end to be acceptable to many at *Florence*: and therefore the Pope who deſired the alteration of that gouernment, preferred him with great foreſight to that Legation. The *Florentines* appealed from the Popes interdiction, to an holy Councell of the vniuerſall Church, ſuppreſſing the name of the Councell of *Piſa*, that they might the leſſe offend: and as though by the appellation the effect of the interdiction had bene ſuſpended, the Prieſts of the foure principall Churches were compelled by commandement of the ſupreme Magiſtrate to make publike celebration of diuine Seruice: by meanes whereof the diuiſion of the citizens was the more diſcouered, it being at the diſcretion of euery one either to obſerue or contemne the interdict. And for this cauſe the Embaſſadours of the Kings of *England* and *Aragon* made new inſtance to the *French* King, offering him peace with the Pope, if he would cauſe *Bologna* to be rendred to the Church, and that the Cardinals might be preſent at the Councell of *Latran*, to whom they offered, that the Pope ſhould pardon them. But when the King would not conſent becauſe of *Bologna*, he made anſwer, that he did not defend a citie in contumacie and rebellion againſt the Church, it being now gouerned in the ſame forme and eſtate of policie wherein it had bene ruled many yeares afore the Pontificacie of *Iulius*, who ought not to demand a greater authoritie then had bene practiſed by his predeceſſors: and alſo touching the Councell of *Piſa*, it had bene introduced with a moſt honeſt and holy purpoſe, to reforme the notorious and intollerable diſorders of the Church, whereunto might eaſily be reſtored her ancient ſplendor, without perill of ſchiſme or diuiſion, if the Pope would agree to be preſent in that Councell, as was meet: adding withall, that his vnquietneſſe, together with his inflamed mind, addicted to warres and troubles, had chiefly induced him to bind himſelfe to the protection of *Bologna*; and therefore for his honour he would defend it with no leſſe care and ſtudie, then he would protect his good towne of *Parma*. The Pope then laying aſide all thoughts of peace, no leſſe for his ancient hatreds and couetouſneſſe, then for feare of the Councell and his deſire to *Bologna*, and finally ſuſpecting, that if he deferred any longer to reſolue, he ſhould be left abandoned of euery one, the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers beginning now to embarke at *Carpy*, making as though they would paſſe into *Africa*: he determined to finiſh the confederation negociated with the King Catholike and the Senate of *Venice*, which was ſolemnly publiſhed the fift day of October in the Church of *S. Maria de Popolo*, the Pope and all the Cardinals being preſent. This confederation was principally made to preſerue the

Cardinall Medicis who afterwards was Pope Leo the tenth.

The Pope makes league with the Venetians & the king Catholike.

vnitie of the Church, and the better to defend her from preſent ſchiſme, to reuerſe the aſſembly of *Piſa*: to recouer the citie of *Bolognia*, appertaining by good right to the ſea Apoſtolike, together with all other cities and places which in any ſort belonged to the Church, (*Ferrara* being comprehended vnder that ſence:) and that againſt all ſuch as ſhould oppoſe againſt any of theſe things, or labour to hinder them, (theſe words ſignified the *French* King) they ſhould proceed to chaſe them out of *Italy* with a mightie armie, wherein the Pope was to maintaine foure hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen: the Senate of *Venice* ſhould furniſh eight hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and eight thouſand footmen: and the King of *Aragon* twelue hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and ten thouſand footmen, for the entertainment of whom the Pope ſhould pay during the war eight thouſand duckats euery moneth, and the *Venetians* as much, furniſhing preſently a pay for two moneths, within which time they were bound to march into *Romagna* or ſuch other place where the confederates ſhould be: That the King of *Aragon* ſhould arme twelue light galleys, and the *Venetians* fourteene, which at the ſame time ſhould make warre vpon the *French* King in *Lombardie*: That *Dom Raimond* of *Cardona*, then Viceroy in the realme of *Naples*, ſhould be Captaine generall of the armie: That if in this warre there were conquered any townes in *Lombardie* which had belonged to the *Venetians*, that in that caſe they ſhould obſerue the declaration of the Pope, who forthwith in a writing apart, pronounced that they ſhould be rendred to the *Venetians*. There was reſerued for *Ceſar* libertie to enter into the confederation, and likewiſe to the King of *England*; to the one with an vncertaine hope to be able in the end to ſeparate him from the *French* King; and to the other, by the expreſſe conſent of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who did alwayes communicate in the treatie of the league. When this confederation was fully reſolued and eſtabliſhed, *Ierome Donato* the *Venetian* Embaſſadour died, who for his ſingular wiſedome and dexteritie being very deare to the Pope, had in this action and other affaires during his legation, done many great ſeruices to his countrey.

The opinion that was conceiued of the league.

This confederation made by the Pope vnder colour to deliuer *Italy* from the impery of ſtrangers, drew the minds of men to diuers interpretations, according to the diuerſitie of their iudgements and paſſions. For many, beguiled with the ſplendor and magnificence of the title, extolled euen to heauen with great praiſes ſo high an enterpriſe: ſaying, it was an action right worthy the maieſtie of the Popedome, and that the greatneſſe of *Iulio* his mind could not haue choſen an enterpriſe more generous, and no leſſe full of wiſedome then of magnanimitie, ſtirring vp by his induſtrie one ſtranger againſt another: in ſuch ſort that the bloud of forreiners more then of naturall *Italians* being ſpilt vpon the *French* men, not onely the liues of *Italians* were ſpared and reſerued, but alſo after one of the parties ſhould be expulſed, it would be eaſie with the naturall armies of the countrey to chaſe out the other, being already weakened and out of breath. Others, who perhaps conſidered more deeply the ſubſtance of things, not ſuffering their eyes to be dazeled with a magnificall title, feared that the warres that were begun with intention to deliuer *Italy* from forreine powers, would grow more to hurt the vitall ſpirits of that body, then thoſe that had bene begun with a manifeſt profeſſion and reſolute intention to ſubdue it; and ſaid, it was a thing more raſh then wiſe, to hope that the armies of *Italy*, depriued of vertue, of diſcipline, of reputation, of Captaines of authoritie, there being no conformitie in the very minds of their Princes, ſhould be able to driue the victor out of *Italy*, with whom albeit all other remedies ſhould faile, yet the meanes would neuer faile to reunite himſelfe with the vanquiſhed, to the common ruine of all the ſtates of *Italy*: and that they had more reaſon to feare that theſe new ſtirres would be a meanes to cauſe *Italy* to be ſpoiled by other nations, then to hope that by the vnion of the Pope and the *Venetians*, there ſhould be any abilitie to vanquiſh the *French* men and the *Spaniards*: That *Italy* ought to haue wiſhed that the diſcords and ill digeſted counſels of their Princes, had not opened a way to forrein armies to enter therinto, but ſeeing ſ by her infelicitie, two of her moſt worthy members are occupied by the *French* & *Spaniſh* Kings, it was to be eſteemed a farre leſſe calamitie, that they both continued ſo, vntill either the goodneſſe of God, or the fauour of fortune, ſhould offer ſome greater and better grounded occaſions, for as much as one King making his partie good againſt the other, the libertie of ſuch as were not yet fallen into ſeruitude would be defended: then that they ſhould fall into armes among themſelues, by meanes whereof, whileſt the warre ſhould laſt, the parts that yet remaine ſound, would be torne in peeces by pillages, by firings, by bloud, and other miſe-

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rable accidents. And laſtly, that whoſoeuer among them ſhould remaine victor, would aſſuredly afflict the whole bodie with a more hard and grieuous ſeruitude. But the thoughts of the Pope (in whom was another opinion) being become more violent and kindled by the new confederation: as ſoone as the terme limited in the admonition publiſhed before againſt thoſe Cardinals that were Authors of the Councell, was paſſed, he called together the publike Conſiſtorie of Cardinals with great ſolemnitie, and ſitting in his Pontificall habit in the place named the Hall of the Kings, he declared that the Cardinals of *S. Croſſe*, of *S. Malo*, of *Coſenſa*, and of *Bayeux*, were fallen from the dignitie of Cardinall, and had incurred all thoſe paines, whereunto heretikes and ſchiſmatikes are ſubiect. He publiſhed alſo an admonition of the ſame forme againſt the Cardinall *de S. Seuerin*, whom he had not moleſted till that day: and proceeding in the ſame heate to the deuices for warre, he ſolicited continually the coming of the *Spaniards*, hauing an intention afore all other things to bring warre vpon the *Florentines*, to reduce that Commonweale to the deuotion of the confederates, reſtoring to the gouernment the family of *Medicis*: and no leſſe to ſatisfie the infinite malice which he bare to *Peter Soderin* the *Gonfalonnier*, as though it had bene by his meanes that the *Florentines* could neuer be ſeparated from the *French* King, and alſo for that afterwards they had giuen their conſent that the Councell ſhould be holden at *Piſa*. Of which reſolution many ſignes and relations were brought to *Florence*, where falling into preparations to be able to ſuſtaine the warre, it was propounded amongſt other things, as a thing very reaſonable, to reſiſt with the reuenues and goods of the Church, the warre which the Church went about vniuſtly to make: and therefore it behoued them to conſtraine the Churchmen to contribute a great ſumme of money; but vnder this condition, that it ſhould be beſtowed in a ſure place, and that it ſhould not be ſpent but in the warre; which not hapning, and the feare thereof ceaſſing, it ſhould be reſtored to the parties that lent it: to which aduice many of the Citizens were oppoſite, ſome for feare to incurre the paines impoſed by the canon lawes vpon the infringers of the libertie of the Church: but the greater part of them, to contradict the reaſons of the *Gonfalonnier*, by whoſe authoritie it was manifeſt that this counſell did principally proceed. In ſo much as the new law ordained hereupon, being already debated in the priuie Councels, no leſſe by the diligence of the *Gonfalonnier*, then the inclination of many others, and nothing wanting now but the approbation of the great & publike Councell, which ſtood aſſembled for that purpoſe, the *Gonfalonnier* reaſoned for the law in this maner:

The Pope depriueth the rebell Cardinals of the hat.

None among you (moſt worthy Citizens) can reaſonably doubt what haue bene the perpetuall intentions of the Pope againſt your libertie: not onely by the conſideration of his preſent dealing with you, ſubiecting you vniuſtly to the interdiction, without hearing your iuſtifications, which be no leſſe true then many in number, and without hauing any regard to the hope that was giuen him to remoue the Councell from *Piſa* within a few dayes: but much more in reſpect of his actions euer ſince he came to the Papacie, whereof briefly to recite ſome few (for to recount them all, it would be too tedious,) who knoweth not, that during our warres againſt the *Piſans*, this Commonweale could not obtaine of him any fauour, either publike or ſecret, although the iuſtice of our cauſe deſerued it; and that it was a matter appertaining to the ſuretie of the Church and tranquillitie of all *Italy*, to ſeeke to quench ſuch a fire, which not many yeares before had bene the cauſe of many great troubles? and how on the contrary, as often as they of *Piſa* had recourſe to him (a thing which we could not but ſuſpect, and were alwayes made more certaine after our victory) he did willingly giue eare vnto them, and nouriſhed them in their obſtinacie with diuers hopes? which was no new inclination in him, but tooke beginning from the time that he was made Cardinall. For, as it was well knowne vnto you all, after the *French* men had leuied their campe from before *Piſa*, he wrought what he could with the *French* King and the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, that *Piſa* ſhould be receiued into protection, and we abandoned. And being become Pope, he neuer imparted to our Commonweale any one of thoſe graces which the ſea of *Rome* is wont to miniſter in great liberalitie: for that he would not in ſo many difficulties and neceſſities of ours, once conſent that we might at any time ſo much as relieue our ſelues with the reuenues of the Church, contrary to the example of *Alexander* the ſixt, who gaue vs that libertie many times, notwithſtanding he was a ſetled enemie to this Commonweale; but expreſſing the ſame will in things inferiour, as he did in matters of greater nature, he forbad vs in like ſort to leuie money of the Cleargie for the maintaining of publicke

" like ſchooles, although the ſumme was but litle, and had continued by the permiſſion of
" many Popes, and was conuerted to a pious vſe, to wit, the inſtruction of youth, and aduance-
" ment of learning. Beſides, that which was practiſed in *Rome* by *Bartlemew Aluiano* with Cardinal
" *Aſcanius*, was not debated without his priuitie, whereof at that time appeared many euident
" ſignes; and the effects had alſo ſucceeded, if others of greater power had not withdrawne them-
" ſelues for the ſudden death of the Cardinall: and yet the firſt foundation failing, he would neuer
" (at our iuſt requeſts) conſent, to reſtraine *Aluiano* to make leuies of ſouldiers in the territories of
" *Rome*: onely he forbad the families of *Colonno* and *Sauello*, by whoſe helpes we might haue re-
" moued our dangers with very ſmal charges, to inuade the lands of ſuch as prepared thēſelues to
" offend vs. Touching our buſineſſe with *Sienna*, maintaining alwaies againſt vs *Pandolf Petrucci*,
" he compelled vs with threatnings to prolong the truce: and for no other cauſe did he ioyne with
" vs for the recouering of *Montpultian* (for whoſe defence he had ſent men to *Sienna*) then for
" feare leſt the army of the *French* King ſhould be called by vs into *Tuſcane*. Of the contrary, we
" haue neuer offended him, but euer proceeded in all things with reſpect and due reuerence to the
" Church, and particularly gratified him in all ſuch demands as were in our power, euen to ſend
" our men at armes to aide him in the enterpriſe of *Bolognia*, being not bound to it, yea, againſt
" our owne profite. But no office, nor any obedience, could ſuffice to appeaſe his ill affection,
" whereof, beſides many other apparent teſtimonies and tokens, the greateſt and moſt apparent, is
" that, which, not to ſeeme tranſported with enuie, and for that I know you all remember it, I will
" paſſe ouer with ſilence: to haue giuen eare (to ſpeake modeſtly) to ſuch as offered to kill me, not
" for any hatred he bare to me (for I neuer did him wrong, and when he was Cardinall he alwayes
" entertained me honorably,) but for a burning deſire he hath to depriue you of your libertie. For
" he hauing alwayes ſought to bring this Commonweale to cleaue to his immoderate and vniuſt
" deſires, & to make it partaker of his expences and dangers; and being out of hope that raſh and
" vndiſcreet reſolutions could ſucceed of the moderation and maturitie of your counſels, he hath
" diſpoſed all his deuices to this end, to bring into this Citie a tyrannie, which ſhould depend
" vpon him, and be directed and managed not for your profit, but according the rage of his luſts,
" with the which (being drawne frō ends exceſſiue) he thinketh vpon no other thing, then to raiſe
" diuiſions, to cauſe one warre to bring forth another, and to nouriſh a perpetuall fire in Chriſten-
" dome. And who can doubt, that now when ſuch mightie armies are ioyned with him, when
" he is Lord of *Romagnia*, and the ſtate of *Sienna* ſubiected to his obedience (which is an ouerture
" for him to penetrate into the bowels of vs) that his intention is not to aſſaile vs? and that he will
" not aſſay to obtaine by open force, that whereunto he hath alreadie aſpired by ſecret deuices,
" and which he hath ſo long and ſo ardently thirſted after; yea ſo much the more, by how much
" he hath ſeene vs ill prepared to defend our ſelues? But though no other thing could detect it, are
" not his thoughts ſufficiently diſcouered, in that he hath lately appointed for Legate of *Bolognia*,
" the Cardinall of *Medicis*, in intention to make him ruler of the army? a Cardinall, who had ne-
" uer receiued any honorable place or other benefit of him, and to whom he had neuer ſo much
" as made any ſhew that he repoſed any truſt in him? Doth this ſignifie anie other thing, but onely
" that by giuing authoritie to march vpon your frontiers, yea thruſting vpon you with ſuch a dig-
" nitie & reputation, the only man that aſpireth to be your tyrant, he wold encorage your citizens
" (if there be any ſo depraued that they affect tyrannie more then libertie) & ſtir vp your ſubiects
" to that end? In regard of theſe reaſons it hath bin thought neceſſary by this honorable Councel
" and many other good and wiſe Citizens, that for the defence and protection of this libertie,
" there ſhould be made the ſame prouiſions as if the warre were certaine. And albeit it is verie
" likely that the *French* King, at leaſt for his proper intereſt, will aide vs mightily; yet are we not
" for that hope either to leaue off thoſe remedies which be in our power, nor to forget that ma-
" ny impediments may eaſily chance, which in ſome ſort may depriue vs of his ſuccours. We
" are perſwaded that no man will denie this counſell to be both neceſſary and profitable: but if a-
" ny perhaps will denie it, it may be he is moued by ſome other cauſe then the common benefit.
" But there are ſome who alledge, that being vncertaine whether the Pope haue anie intention
" to make warre vpon vs, it is a reſolution vnprofitable, in offending his authoritie, and ſpending
" the reuenues of the Church, to giue him iuſt occaſion to be angrie, and to prouoke him to
" make warre vpon vs almoſt by neceſſitie: as though by ſo many and ſo euident ſignes and ar-
" guments one could not manifeſtly comprehend what is his intention, or as though it appertai-

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ned to wise Gouernours of Commonweales to deferre preparations till after the beginning of the assault, and first to receiue a deadly blow of the enemie, afore we couer our bodies with armes necessary for our defence. Others say, that not to adde the wrath of God to the anger of the Pope, we must prouide for our safetie by some other meanes, since we are not yet fallen into that necessitie, without the which secular Princes haue bene alwayes forbidden by the canon lawes, and that vnder great paines, to impose any charge vpon the persons or goods of the Church. This reason hath also bene well considered by vs and others, that haue giuen counsell to the publication of this law. But (as you know) the publike reuenues being not sufficient to furnish the expences we must sustaine, and our treasures hauing bene so long time drained, it being a thing certaine, that in the warres we must vpon all occasions haue our hands in our purses, who seeth not that it is reasonable and necessary, that the charges we are to sustaine for the defence of a warre begun by the Church, should be supported with the moneys of the Churchmen? a matter which many times heretofore hath bene practised in our Citie, and much more by all other Princes and Commonweales: but neuer either here or elsewhere, with greater moderation and respect, for that it is not to employ them in any other action, but to lay them vp in places of suretie, to the end to make repaiment to the Cleargie againe, if it so fall out that we find no occasion to feare. If the Pope then bring not warre vpon vs, we shall not disburse the treasures of the Church, and in effect they shall be no way expended. But if he do make warre, who can complaine if by all possible meanes we defend our selues from a warre so vniust? What occasion doth this Commonweale giue him, (which by necessitie and not by will, as he well knoweth, hath suffered the Councell to be assembled at *Pisa*) for which it may be said, we haue prouoked him? Is it to prouoke his anger, when we refuse to lay downe our neckes to him that hath vowed to strike them off? although he doth neither prouoke nor stirre vp, that prepareth to defend himselfe, and to resist his vniust violence. No, we should the rather prouoke him, if we failed to make prouisions; for that the hope of the facilitie of the enterprise would make his furie the greater, together with his burning emulation to destroy your libertie euen to the foundations. Neither let the feare to offend God retaine you: for the danger is so great and so euident, and our necessitie such, (not standing subiect to any thing that may more preiudice vs,) that it is lawfull not onely to serue our turnes with that part of those reuenues which is not conuerted into pious vses, but also to lay our hands vpon sacred things: for that according to the law of nature, defence is common to all men, allowed of God, and by the consent of all nations, being borne together with the world, shall last as long as the world: and is not subiect to derogation by any of the lawes ciuill or canon, grounded vpon the wils of men, which being couched in paper, cannot derogate a law not made by men, but hath bene engrauen and written by nature her selfe in the spirits and hearts of all mankind. And likewise we ought not expect till we be brought into extreme necessitie, for that when we are once in that estate, and enuironed and almost oppressed with enemies, we cannot haue recourse to remedies in due time, but counterpoisons will come too late, when the poison hath already pierced the bones. Besides all this, how can it be denied that this is very needfull for priuate persons, seeing that by the imposts that are laid vpon them, the greatest part of them are constrained to cut off some of those expences without the which they cannot liue but with great incommoditie and much diminution of things necessary to their degree? That is the necessitie which hath bene considered of by such as haue made the lawes, whereby we are forbidden to expect till our Citizens be brought to the danger of famine, and into such termes, that they can no longer sustaine their families. And on the other part, by this taxation, there is no incommoditie imposed vpon the Churchmen, but they are onely disfurnished of that part of their reuenues, which, either they keepe vnprofitably in their coffers, or reserue to expend in superfluous prodigalities, or perhaps some of them (I speake vnder pardon) would lash out in dishonest pleasures. This is a common resolution of all wise men, that the libertie of Cities and Commonweales is acceptable to God, for that in them, more then in any other sort of gouernment, is preserued the publike good, iustice better administred without any respect of persons, the mind of Citizens more stirred vp to workes of vertue and honour, and more reuerence borne to religion. And yet you beleeue that it will be displeasing to God, that to defend a thing so precious, for the which who sheds his proper bloud winneth great merite and praise, you employ a litle part of the fruites and reuenues of temporall things: which notwithstanding they are dedicated

« dicated to Churches, yet are they all deſcended vnto them by the almes, donations, and lega-
« cies of laymen our elders: and which are no leſſe to be employed for the preſeruation and ſafe-
« tie of Churches, ſubiect and expoſed in a time of warre, no leſſe then ſecular things, to the cru-
« eltie and couetouſneſſe of ſouldiers, and whereunto there will be no more regard had in a
« warre made by the Pope, then in a warre made by the greateſt tyrant, or by the *Turkes*. For-
« beare not then whileſt you haue time to prouide for the ſafetie of your countrey; defend your
« libertie, and perſwade your ſelues you cannot do any thing more pleaſing to God: and that to
« chaſe the warre from your houſes, from your temples, from your Monaſteries, and from your
« poſſeſſions, there is no better remedie then to make knowne to him that purpoſeth to offend
« you, that you are determined to forget nothing that may ſerue for your defence.

When they had heard the *Gonſalonnier*, the law propounded was without any difficultie approued by the great Councell. By reaſon whereof, notwithſtanding the diſpleaſure and diſcontentment of the Pope was greatly increaſed, and that he was ſo much the more incited to diſpoſe the confederates to begin warre with the *Florentines*: yet the perſwaſions of *Pandolfe Petrucci* turned from that opinion, as well the Pope as thoſe that ſolicited in *Italy* for the King of *Aragon*. For *Pandolfe* giuing counſell to aſſaile *Bologna*, blamed much the enterpriſe to make warre in *Tuſcane*, alledging that *Bologna* being vnable of her ſelfe to make defence, ſhould be defended onely by the forces of the *French* king; but for the *Florentines*, they wold reſiſt with their owne power, and for his profit the ſame King, wil be no leſſe helping vnto them, then to *Bologna*: That the *Florentines*, albeit they bare ſome inclination to the *French* King, yet neuertheleſſe being wiſe, and iealous of the preſeruation of their eſtate, had neuer at his inſtance offended any with armes during ſo great ſtirres: and had not miniſtred to him in any other ſort, but onely furniſhed him for the defence of the ſtate of *Lombardie* with two hundred men at armes, according to the bonds of the capitulation made in common betweene him and the King Catholike: That there could not be done to the *French* King a thing more pleaſing or more profitable, then to conſtraine the *Florentines* to leaue off neutralitie, and to ioyne their cauſe with his: That it would be a matter of great indiſcretion, if his enemies were the cauſe to make him obtaine that which he could neuer bring to paſſe by his authoritie, the King hauing in vaine ſolicited by many prayers and promiſes to declare themſelues for him: That all men may ſee by many ſignes; and he knoweth wel, ẏ it was grieuous to the *Florentines*, that the Councell ſhould be celebrated at *Piſa*, whereunto they had not conſented for other reſpect, then that they durſt not gainſay the *French* Kings demands, made immediatly after the rebellion of *Bologna*, when there was not ſeene in *Italy* any army to oppoſe againſt him, it being alſo a thing certaine, that the authoritie of *Cæſar* was not concurrant in the Councell, and that it was beleeued that the conſent of the King Catholike was alſo ioyned with them: That he knew likewiſe that the *Florentines* were not to ſuffer the *French* ſouldiers to ſtay vpon their lands: and that it was a matter dangerous to threaten or prouoke them, where, of the contrary it would be very profitable to deale mildly with them, and with demonſtration to admit their excuſes: for that proceeding herein in ſuch maner, there would be obtained of them with time and occaſion, things which now could not be hoped for, or at leaſt, not being conſtrained by feare of new reſolutions, they might be ſo entertained ẏ they ſhould do no hurt in times of danger: and in caſe of victory, it would reſt in the power of the confederates to giue to the *Florentines* ſuch forme of gouernment as they ſhould thinke moſt expedient. The matter that in this action diminiſhed the authoritie of *Pandolfe*, was the knowledge that was had that he deſired for his particular profit, that a warre of that conſequence ſhould not begin in *Tuſcane*, by meanes whereof the whole countrey would ſuffer indifferent deſtruction, either by the armies of friends, or by thoſe of the enemies. But his reaſons ſeemed ſo pregnant, that it was eaſily determined not to aſſaile the *Florentines*: which counſell was the better approued by a contention that a few dayes after began to kindle betweene the *Florentines* and the Cardinals. Now as we haue ſaid before, the Cardinals were not preſent at the firſt acts of the Councell: for they tarried at the borough of *S. Donin*, either to expect the Prelates that were to come out of *France*, or to be accompanied with thoſe which *Cæſar* had promiſed to ſend, or haply for ſome other occaſions: and being departed from thence by ſundry wayes, the bruite ran, that the two *Spaniſh* Cardinals who had taken the way of *Bologna*, would be reconciled to the Pope, being knowne to ſolicite continually with the Embaſſadour of the King of *Aragon* which lay reſident with the Pope: and for that they had

Pandolfe Petrucci counſelleth the Pope.

A contention betweene the Florentines & the Cardinals rebels.

had demanded and obtained of the *Florentines* vnder publike faith and promiſe, that they might remaine in ſuretie within *Florence*, the ſame opinion was increaſed. But when they were come vpon the countrey of *Mugello*, they turned ſuddenly towards *Lucques*, to ioyne with the others, either for ỳ their intention had indeed bin always ſo, or for ỳ touching the Cardinall of *S. Croſſe*, his ancient ambition preuailed in ỳ end more then his new feare; or for ỳ receiuing aduertiſement in that place, that they were depriued of the Cardinals hat, they deſpaired to fall to any accord with the Pope. About this time the three *French* Cardinals, *S. Malo*, *Albert*, and *Bayeux*, paſſed the *Appenin* by the way of *Pontreſmo*, together with the Prelates of *France*: after whom, and at their requeſt, marched out of *Lombardie* three hundred *French* Lances commanded by *Odet de Foix* Lord of *Lautrech*, appointed guard of the Councell by the Cardinals, either for that they thought it was dangerous to ſtay in *Piſa* without ſuch a guard, or to the end that the Councell accompanied with the armes of the *French* King, might continue with more authoritie; or elſe (which was more likely) to haue power to ſuppreſſe whoſoeuer durſt gainſay or diſobey their decrees. But as ſoone as the *Florentines* diſcouered this reſolution, which had bene concealed from them vntill the bands began to march, they determined not to receiue into a citie of ſo great importance, ſuch a number of ſouldiers, conſidering the ill diſpoſition of the *Piſans*, and remembring the rebellion paſt, happening King *Charles* the eight being preſent, and ſuffering it; and alſo the inclination which the *French* ſouldiers bare to the towne of *Piſa*: whereunto was ioyned a feare leſt ſome dangerous accidents might happen by the inſolencie of men of warre, and much more leſt the ſouldiers of the *French* King entring into *Piſa*, it might happen (and perhaps ſuch was the ſecret deſire of the King) that *Tuſcane* ſhould become the ſeate of his warres. Therefore they preſently ſignified to the *French* King, that it was hard to harbour ſo many people, in a country ſo ſtrait and barren, which could hardly prouide for the nouriſhment of ſo many people as came from all parts to the Councell: and that it was not a thing neceſſary, for that *Piſa* was ſo gouerned and guarded by them, that the Cardinals might remaine there very ſafely, without danger to be aſſailed by ſtrangers, or troubled by the inhabitants: and to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, by whoſe direction the *French* men were gouerned in theſe affaires, they ſent word, that they were determined to admit no ſouldiers into *Piſa*: who, in words ſeeming to conſent, gaue order on the other ſide, that the bands ſhould aduance ſeuerally and without making ſhew of any thing, perſwading himſelfe, that being approched neare to *Piſa*, they ſhould enter, either by force, or by ſubtiltie, or for that the *Florentines* durſt not do ſuch an iniury to the *French* King as to let them. But the King hauing plainly anſwered, that he was content they ſhould not come thither, the *Florentines* diſpatched *Francis Vittorio* to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, with an Embaſſage anſwerable to his pride: to certifie him, that if the Cardinals entred vpon their lands with bands of ſouldiers, they would not onely not admit them into *Piſa*, but they would purſue them as enemies, and would do the like, if the men of warre paſſed the *Appenin* towards *Tuſcane*, for that they might preſume that they paſſed for no other purpoſe, then afterwards to ſteale ſecretly into *Piſa*, or for ſome other ſtratageme. This meſſage ſo moued the Cardinall, that he reſolued the bands ſhould eſtſoones returne againe beyond the *Appenin*, the *Florentines* conſenting, that beſides the perſons of *Monſieur Lautrech* and *Monſieur Chaſtillion*, he might retaine with him an hundred and fiftie archers. All the Cardinals were together at *Lucques*, which Citie, for that cauſe, the Pope pronounced to be fallen into the interdiction: and leauing there verie ſicke the Cardinall of *Coſenſa*, who, not long after, ſaw there his laſt day, the other foure went to *Piſa*, where they were receiued by the Magiſtrates with verie ſlight entertainment, and the Commons ſhewed them no great reuerence, for that their coming was diſpleaſing to the *Florentines*, and the cauſe of the Councell not well taken nor approued by the peoples of Chriſtendome. For, notwithſtanding the title of reforming the Church was both verie honeſt and verie profitable, yea no leſſe neceſſarie then plauſible to all the regions of Chriſtendome; yet all men ſaw well enough that the authors thereof were puſhed on with ambitions ends, and entangled with the deſire of temporall things, and vnder the colour of the publike good debated about their particular intereſts, and that which ſoeuer of them ſhould come to the Popedome, would haue no leſſe neceſſitie to be reformed, then thoſe whom they went about to reforme. Moreouer, that beſides the ambition of Prieſts, the quarels of Princes and queſtions of eſtate had ſtirred vp and nouriſhed this Councell: That this reſpect had moued the *French* King to procure it, the Emperour to conſent to it, and

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the King of *Aragon* to deſire it. It being then clearly diſcerned, that vnder the cauſe of the Councell, was chiefly comprehended the quarell of armes and principalities, the people expreſſed an vniuerſall horror, that vnder an holy pretext of ſpirituall things, men ſhould purſue temporall matters with warres and ſcandals. And therefore not onely at the entrie of the Cardinals into *Piſa*, the common diſdaine and hatred of the people was diſcloſed, but alſo more manifeſtly in the acts of the Councell; for that hauing ſummoned the Cleargie to be in the Cathedrall Church at the firſt ſeſſion, not one of them reſpected the ſummons, and the very Prieſts of that Church refuſed to lend their ornaments and veſtures, when the Cardinals (according to the cuſtome of Councels) meant to haue celebrated the Maſſe, whereby they implored the illumination of the holy Spirit: and afterwards becoming more audacious, they ſhut the doores of their Church, and would not ſuffer them to enter. Whereof the Cardinals making their complaint at *Florence*, there was commandement giuen, that the vſe of Churches, and the inſtruments ordained for diuine office, ſhould not be denied them, but that the Clergie ſhould not be compelled to be preſent. Theſe deliberations, almoſt repugnant in themſelues, proceeding of the diuiſion of the citizens, by whoſe meanes on the one ſide the Councell was receiued into their dominion, and on the other ſide followed with contempt, brought at one time offence to the Pope, and diſcontentment to the *French* King. In regard whereof, the Cardinals iudging it to be dangerous to remaine in *Piſa* without armes, and knowing that it would bring diminution to the authoritie of their Councell, to celebrate it in a citie that obeyed not their decrees, they were vpon termes to depart as ſoone as they could accompliſh the affaires of the Councel: but an accident that hapned conſtrained them to make haſte, the which albeit it was caſuall, tooke notwithſtanding his foundation of the ill diſpoſition of men. For, a *French* ſouldier, in a publike place committing ſome inſolencie vpon a ſtrumpet, and ſuch as ſaw it, raiſing a preſent outcrie, many ſouldiers as well *French* as of the traine of the Cardinals and other Prelates, ran armed to the place where the bruite was: and likewiſe many troupes of the people of *Piſa* and of the *Florentine* bands flocked thither to behold the accident: and ſome beginning to crie vpon the name of *France*, and others vpon the title of *Marzocco* (which is the ſigne of the Commonweale of *Florence*) there began amongſt them a dangerous fight: but the *French* Captaines and commanders of the *Florentines* coming thither, the tumult was at laſt appeaſed, many on both parts bearing away no ſmall hurts, and among others the Lord *Chaſtillion*, which at the firſt ran thither without armes to auoide ſcandall, and likewiſe *Monſieur Lautrech*, although neither the one nor the other had any great hurt. This accident brought great aſtoniſhment to the Cardinals, who haply at that houre were aſſembled in the church of *S. Michael* which was neare ioyning, ſo that the day after they made the ſecond ſeſſion, wherein they obtained that the Councell ſhould be transferred to *Millan*: and then before the fifteenth day of their arriuall, they departed in great diligence from *Piſa*, whereof the *Florentines* and the *Piſans* were very glad, and no leſſe the Prelates that followed the Councell, whom it did a litle diſcontent to be come into a place, which, what for the incommoditie of lodging, and what for the inconueniencie of other wants, growne by the long warres that were paſſed, did not miniſter to them the meanes to liue delicately and prodigally, as the Prieſts and *French* men are accuſtomed: but much more for that being come thither by the Kings commandement and againſt their wils, they deſired change of place, and all other accidents that might bring difficultie, prolongation or diſſolution to the Councell. But the hatred and grudging of the people following the Cardinals, they found at *Millan* the ſame or greater difficulties. For the Cleargie of *Millan* euen in the beginning refuſed of themſelues to celebrate the diuine Seruice, as though there were entred into their citie, not Cardinals of the Church of *Rome*, who were wont to be honored, and in a maner adored in euery place, but perſons profane and accurſed: and when they ſhewed themſelues in publike, the commons forbare not to raile at them, ſcorning them as well in words as geſtures: but ſpecially the Cardinall of *S. Croſſe*, who was the more odious to all men, for that in the laſt ſeſſion holden at *Piſa*, he was elected Preſident of the Councell. One might perceiue the people murmuring in the ſtreets, and ſaying, that heretofore Councels were wont to bring benedictions, peace and concord, but that this brought them maledictions, warres and diſcords: That other Councels were aſſembled to reunite the Church that was out of vnitie; but this was aſſembled to breake her vnitie, when ſhe was in good agreement: That the contagion of ſuch a peſtilence infected all ſuch as receiued them, which obeyed them, which fauoured them, and which in any

An accident that made the Cardinal depart from Piſa

The Councel of Piſa transferred to Millan.

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ſort conuerſed with them, or which either heard or ſaw them: and that there could be expected of their coming no other thing then bloud, famine and peſtilence, and in the end perdition both of bodies and ſoules. *Gaſton de Foix*, who not many moneths afore the departing of *Monſieur Longueuille* had bene eſtabliſhed Viceroy in the Duchie of *Millan* and in the armie, ſomewhat ſuppreſſed thoſe murmures, tending now almoſt to a tumult and manifeſt ſedition: for he conſtrained the Cleargie, with moſt ſtrict and expreſſe commandements, to celebrate againe their holy functions, and enioyned the cõmons to ſpeake more modeſtly hereafter. In regard of theſe difficulties the beginnings of the Councell proceeded with ſmall ſucceſſe. But that which moſt troubled the hopes of the Cardinals, was, that *Ceſar* deferring from day to day, ſent neither Prelats nor Proctors, although beſide ſo many promiſes he had formerly made, he had aſſured the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin* as he continually did the *French* King, y he would ſend them thither: but at the ſame time alledging for his excuſe (being haply induced by others) that it was not agreeable to his dignitie to ſend to the Councell of *Piſa* the Prelates of his proper eſtates, if the like were not done in the name of all *Germanie*, he had called the Prelates of *Germanie* together at *Auſburg*, to deliberate how they ſhould proceed in common touching the Councell: affirming notwithſtanding to the *French* men, that by this meanes he would ſo worke, that all ſhold be ſent thither. Moreouer he much troubled the Kings mind with the diuerſitie of his proceedings: for that beſides that he ſhewed himſelfe cold in the affaires of the Councell, he inclined openly to the motion of peace with the *Venetians*, which was ſolicited by the Pope and the King of *Aragon* with many offers: and on the other ſide, complaining of the King Catholicke for that he was not aſhamed apparently to impugne the league of *Cambray*, and that in this new rather treaſon then confederation, he named him as acceſſary; he had propoſed to *Galeas de Saint Seuerin* to go to *Rome* in perſon as enemy to the Pope, ſo that the King would furniſh him with a great part of his armie, and with a very great ſumme of money: and yet he made no declaration of theſe things with any ſuch aſſurance, but that it might be doubted what he would at laſt determine (though he were ſatisfied in all theſe demands.) In this ſort then was the Kings mind trauelled with his accuſtomed ſuſpitions, that if he abandoned *Ceſar*, he would ioyne with his enemies: and if he ſhould ſupport him, his alliance would be bought with an exceſſiue price, and yet doubtfull what fruit would come of it, knowing by the experience of things paſt, that oftentimes his owne diſorders did hurt him more then his forces did aide him: and thus the King could not reſolue with himſelfe, which would moſt hurt him in this action, either the happy ſucceſſe of *Ceſar*, or the contrary. And further, the king Catholik entertained him as much as he could in that doubt, to make him proceed more ſlowly in the prouiſions of the war, giuing him hope that there would be no warres. The King of *England* did the like, and for the ſame cauſes, who had made anſwer to the *French* Embaſſadour, that it was not true, that he had conſented to the league made at *Rome*, but that he was fully determined to keepe the alliance which he had with the *French* King. And at the ſame time the Biſhop of *Tiuoly* propounded peace in the name of the Pope, ſo farre forth as the King would no more fauour the Councell, and withdraw himſelfe from the protection of *Bologna*, offering to giue aſſurance that the Pope ſhould dreſſe no more new enterpriſes againſt him. The King was leſſe diſpleaſed with the peace, notwithſtanding it was with hard conditions, then to vndergo the dangers of the warre and the expences, which ſeemed in a maner infinite, hauing to make reſiſtance againſt his enemies, and to refurniſh the wants of *Ceſar*: neuertheleſſe he was moued with diſdaine, for he was almoſt forced hereunto by the King of *Aragon* for feare of armes; and for that it was a matter of ſome difficultie to aſſure himſelfe that the Pope would obſerue the couenants of peace, after he had recouered *Bologna*, and was freed from the feare of the Councell. He doubted alſo that when he ſhould be ready to conſent to the conditions offered, the Pope would draw backe, as he had done at other times; whereby his dignitie being abuſed, and his reputation diminiſhed, *Ceſar* would hold himſelfe iniured, for that leauing him in warre with the *Venetians*, he ſought of himſelf alone to conclude the peace. Therfore he preciſely anſwered the Biſhop of *Tiuoly*, that he would not conſent that *Bologna* ſhould be any otherwiſe ſubiect to the Church then it had vſually bene in ancient times. And at the ſame time, to eſtabliſh a firme reſolution with *Ceſar* who lay at *Brunech*, a towne neare to *Trent*, he ſent to him in great diligence, and with very large offers, *Andrew Burgo* of *Cremona*, *Ceſars* Embaſſadour reſident with him: at which time certaine of his ſubiects of the countrey of *Tyrol* occupied *Batiſten*, a place of very great ſtrength

The French king ſuſpecteth Maximilian.

in

in the entrie of the valley of *Caldora*.

The practiſes of the peace being wholly broken off, the firſt thoughts and deuices of the King were, that when *Monſieur Paliſſa* (leauing in *Verona* three thouſand footmen to appeaſe *Ceſar* who was diſcontented with his departure) ſhould haue led the reſidue of the bands to the Duchie of *Millan*, there ſhould be made new leuies of footmen: and ſo all the army being reaſſembled, they ſhould march to aſſaile *Romagna*, hoping to win either all or ſome part, before the *Spaniard* ſhould approch: and then either to march further according to occaſions, or at leaſt to entertaine the warre vpon the dominions of others vntill the Spring, at which time the King paſſing into *Italy* in perſon with all the forces of his kingdome, he hoped that euery where he ſhould be maiſter of his enemies. But when he had ſuch a determination, his reſolutions proceeding haply more ſlowly then the occaſions required, by reaſon of his nature eſtranged from expences, which withheld him from making many prouiſions, but ſpecially to wage new ſouldiers, he fell into ſuſpition of the riſing of the *Swiſſers*, of which nation, for that heretofore we haue made mention here and there in ſundry places, it ſeemes to good purpoſe, and almoſt neceſſary, to ſpeake more particularly.

What people the Swiſſers be

The *Swiſſers*, which are thoſe people whō the ancients called *Heluetians*, haue their habitations in the higheſt mountaines of *Iura*, of *Valeſia*, and *S. Godar*: and are naturally valiant, warlike, and rude, and for the ſterilitie of the country, rather ſhepheards then tillers of the ground. They haue bene in times paſt vnder the ſubiection of the Duke of *Auſtria*, whoſe iuriſdiction they haue ſhaken off many yeares ſince. They gouern themſelues, without any dependencie of either Emperours, Kings, or other Princes. They are deuided into thirteene communalties, which they call Cantons, each of them being ſeuerally gouerned by their particular Magiſtrates, lawes and ordinances. They hold their Councell euery yeare, or more often if occaſion require, wherein they diſpute of vniuerſall affaires, their aſſemblies and meetings being not ſubiect to certaintie of places, but referred as beſt pleaſeth the Deputies of euery Canton. They call thoſe aſſemblies dyots or iourneys, according to the cuſtome of the *Germains*: wherein they deliberate of peace, of warre, of confederations, of the demands of ſuch as make inſtance to leuie ſouldiers by publike decree, or that ſuch as are willing may be permitted: and of ſuch things as appertaine to their publike good. When they agree by publike decree to deliuer ſouldiers, the Cantons chuſe among themſelues a Captaine generall, to whom they giue the banner with the Enſigne and name publike. Their vnitie and the glory of their armes, hath made famous the name of this ſo ſauage and barbarous a nation: in ſo much as by their naturall valour ioyned to due diſcipline and order, they haue not onely at all times valiantly defended their owne country, but haue alſo employed themſelues in forreine wars, and performed ſingular feates of armes to their perpetuall praiſe: which had bene without all compariſon farre greater, if they had employed their forces for their owne iuriſdiction, and not bene mercenary for the increaſing of the dominion of ſtrangers, or if they had ſet before their eyes an end more noble then the deſire of money, by the loue whereof ſuffering themſelues to be corrupted, they haue loſt the occaſion to be feared and redoubted in *Italy*. For, coming out of their countrey no otherwiſe but as mercenary ſouldiers, they haue carried backe no publicke fruite of their victories: the deſire of gaine making them to follow armies with huge penſions, and new demands of payes almoſt intollerable: and beſides, to ſuch as wage them, they carry themſelues very frowardly and obſtinately. At home, the chiefe of them forbeare not to receiue gifts and penſions of Princes, to follow and fauour their faction in their dyots. By reaſon whereof, publike things being referred to priuate profite, and fauours and voices being made vendible and corrupted, diſcords by litle and litle haue crept in amongſt themſelues, whereby it came to paſſe, that matters which had bin approued in their dyots by the moſt part of the Cantons, being not embraced and followed of the reſidue, they fell at laſt, and that not long ſince, to manifeſt warres among themſelues, much to the diminution of the authoritie which they bare in the world. Somewhat below theſe,

Valeſians.

be certaine townes and villages inhabited by a people called *Valeſians*, as hauing their dwellings in valleys; they are inferiour to the *Swiſſers* in number, in publike authoritie, and in valour, for that in the iudgement of all men, they are not ſo hardy as the *Swiſſers*. There is alſo yet, more

Griſons.

lowet then theſe, another ſort of people called *Griſons*, which are gouerned by three Cantons, and thereupon are called Lords of the three Leagues. The capitall towne of their country is called *Coire*: they haue ſocietie and confederation with the *Swiſſers*, and with them they go to the

warre:

warre: they haue almoſt the ſame policie, the ſame lawes, the ſame manners, and for warlike matters are preferred afore the *Valeſians*, but they hold no compariſon with the *Swiſſers*, either in numbers or in valour. The *Swiſſers* then, who were not as yet ſo much degenerate and corrupted as they haue bin ſince, being incited by the Pope, prepared themſelues to deſcend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, giuing out that this riſing proceeded not of the cõmon conſent of all the Cantons, but that the Cantons of *Switz* and *Fribourg* were the authors thereof: the firſt complaining that a poſt of theirs paſſing through the Duchie of *Millan*, was murdered by certaine *French* ſouldiers: the other pretending that ſome other particular wrongs had bene done them. The counſels of theſe, and generally of the whole nation, albeit they were afore come to the Kings eare, did for all that nothing moue him to accord with them, as his familiars continually aduiſed him, and his friends which he had amongſt them gaue him hope to be able to obtaine. He was ſtayed alſo by his accuſtomed difficulties to enlarge their ancient penſions with twentie thouſand franks, which is litle more or leſſe then ten thouſand duckats: ſo that he refuſed for a ſmall price, that amitie which afterwards he would gladly haue bought with infinite treaſures, perſwading himſelfe that they would not ſtirre at all, or if they did, that they could not much hurt him, for that being accuſtomed to go to the warre on foote, they had neither horſes nor artilleries: and withall that in that ſeaſon (the moneth of Nouember being now begun) the riuers were ſwelled, they had neither veſſels nor bridges, the victuals of the Duchie of *Millan* were reſtrained into fortreſſes by the commandement of *Gaſton de Foix*, the bordering townes well guarded, and in the plaine the men at armes were able to make head againſt them: ſo that for theſe impediments he preſumed, that if they took y field, they would be conſtrained quickly to retire. But the *Swiſſers* being nothing danted by theſe difficulties, began to deſcẽd at *Vareſa*, at which place their nũbers increaſed continually, hauing with them ſeuen field peeces & many great harquebuzes, caried by horſes, & ſome reaſonable prouiſion of victuals. And their coming ſeemed ſo much the more dangerous, by how much the inhabitants of *Millan* began to be weary of the *French* iuriſdiction: and alſo that the King, reſtrained by couetouſneſſe, had not ſuffered that prouiſion ſhould be made of footmen: and the men at armes that then were in *Italy*, which in true computation exceeded not thirteene hundred Lances, together with the two hundred Gentlemen, were not all able to make reſiſtance to the *Swiſſers*, both for that part of them were gone to the guard of *Verona* and *Breſſia*, and alſo *Monſieur de Foix* had newly ſent two hundred Lances to *Bolognia*, becauſe of the coming of the Cardinall *de Medicis* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno* to *Faenza*: where, albeit they had no footmen as yet leuied, yet becauſe of the diuiſions that were in *Bolognia*, and alſo for that at that time the Caſtle-keeper of the Rocke of *Saſſilon* (a borough of the mountaine of *Bolognia*) had voluntarily put it into the Legats hands, it was thought neceſſary to ſend that garriſon thither. Frõ *Vareſa* the *Swiſſers* ſent a trumpet to defie the Kings lieutenant, who, hauing with him but a ſlender ſtrength of men at arms (for he had not had ſufficient time to aſſemble them) and not aboue two thouſand footmen, whereof he was not yet reſolued to make new leuies for feare to diſpleaſe the King, was come to *Aſſaron*, a place about thirteene miles from *Millan*; not with intention to fight, but to accoaſt them to cut off their victuals; by which action his hope was onely to let and ſtay them, ſeeing there was betweene *Vareſa* and *Millan* neither riuers hard to paſſe, nor any place of defence. From *Vareſa* the *Swiſſers* marched to *Galera*, where they found themſelues increaſed to the number of ten thouſand: and *Monſieur de Foix* who followed *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, put himſelfe within *Legnano*, which is about foure miles from *Galera*: by reaſon whereof the people of *Millan* being greatly terrified, waged bands of footmen at their proper charges for the guard of their towne: and *Theodore Triuulce* cauſed the baſtillions to be fortified, and (as though the army would haue retired to *Millan*) he cauſed the wayes to be made plaine within about the rampiers that enuironed the ſuburbes, the more eaſily to manage the horſemen. Neuertheleſſe, *Monſieur de Foix* accompanied with fiue hundred Lances, and the two hundred Gentlemen of the Kings, preſented himſelfe before *Galera* with great ſtore of artilleries: which as ſoone as the *Swiſſers* perceiued, they iſſued out in order of battell, and ſuddenly retired into the towne againe, refuſing to fight in an open place, vnleſſe their numbers were greater. During theſe actions, their numbers increaſed continually, in which reſpect determining no more to refuſe the fight, they marched to *Buſty*, where was a garriſon of an hundred Lances, who ſaued themſelues with much ado, loſing their baggage and part of their horſes. At laſt the *French* men,

who retired alway by the like meaſure and diſtance that the *Swiſſers* aduanced, were returned and lodged within the ſuburbes of *Millan*: ſo that it was vncertaine whether they would ſtay to defend them or not, for that ſometimes they affirmed and ſometimes denied, furniſhing with great diligence the Caſtle with victuals. The *Swiſſers* afterwards approched within two miles of the ſuburbes, but the feare that was had of them before began now to diminiſh much, for that the bands of men at armes that were reuoked, began to arriue continually at *Millan*, and likewiſe many footmen which they muſtred; and they expected from time to time Captain *Molard* with his regiment of *Gaſcon* footmen, and Captaine *Iacob* with his Lanceknights, the one directed to come from *Verona*, and the other from *Carpy*. About this time alſo were ſurpriſed certain letters written by the *Swiſſers* to their Lords, whom they aduertiſed that the *French* men gaue them no great impediments, and that they maruelled that they had receiued no newes from the Pope, nor intelligence what the *Venetian* army did; and yet that they forbare not to march and aduance continually, according to the orders of the reſolution. They were by this time ſixteene thouſand in number, and turned towards *Moncia*, which they aſſayed not to take, but bearing more towards the riuer of *Adda*, they kept the *French* men in feare that they would aduenture to paſſe ouer: by reaſon whereof they caſt a bridge at *Caſſan* to hinder their paſſage, vſing therein the oportunitie of the towne and the bridge. In this meane while a Captaine of the *Swiſſers* hauing firſt obtained ſafeconduct, came to *Millan*, and demanded a moneths pay for all the footmen which offered to returne into their countrey: but departing without any effect of his meſſage, for that their offers were farre inferiour to his asking, he returned the day following with greater demands: and albeit there was made to him greater offers then the day before, yet as ſoone as he was returned to his army, he ſent backe immediatly a trumpet to ſignifie to them, that they would no more hearken to accord: and the day following, contrary to the expectation of euery one, they retired towards *Coma*, and ſo returned into their countries, leauing to iudge whether they were deſcended to aſſaile the Duchie of *Millan*, or to paſſe into ſome other place; and for what cauſe, being as yet conſtrained by no euident neceſſitie, they were returned: and, if they had afore determined ſo to do, why they did not accept the money that was offered them, ſpecially ſeeing they had demanded it? Whatſoeuer the cauſe was, this is certaine, that as they retired, there came two poſts from the Pope and the *Venetians*, who if they had arriued ſomewhat ſooner, it is likely the army of the *Swiſſers* had not returned: and it is not to be doubted, that if at the ſame time that the *Swiſſers* entred the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Spaniards* had bin neare to *Bolognia*, the affaires of the *French*, who were not able to make reſiſtance in ſo many places, had forthwith fallen into manifeſt ruine and perdition.

The French King demandeth ſuccours of the Florentines.

The *French* King finding now by experience the perill which he had not preuented afore by reaſon, ſent cõmandement to *Monſieur de Foix*, before he knew of the retrait of the *Swiſſers*, that he ſhould make no ſpare of mony to make agreement with them: and making no further doubt, notwithſtanding the *Swiſſers* were compounded withall, that he muſt endure a ſtrong aſſault, he gaue preſent direction to all the men at armes that he had in *France* (except two hundred Lances which he reſerued for *Picardy*) to paſſe the Mounts, and beſides theſe he ſent thither a new ſtrength of *Gaſcon* footmen, and commanded *Monſieur de Foix* to furniſh his army with *Italians* and Lanceknights. And becauſe the ſuccours of the *Florentines* were of great importance to him, both for that the warre was made very neare them, and alſo for the oportunitie of their frontiers to trouble the eſtate Eccleſiaſtike, beſides the cutting off of victuals and other commodities from the army of the enemies if they ſhould approch *Bolognia*, he ſolicited them with great inſtance, to declare themſelues for him, and ioyne with him in the warre with all their forces, for that the preſent neceſſitie required another matter then a ſmall or limited ſuccor, or that they ſhould containe themſelues within the termes of confederations: and that they could neuer expect a more great or faire occaſion to bind him vnto them, or euer do a more ſingular pleaſure, and which his ſucceſſors ſhould more acknowledge from age to age; beſides, that if they conſidered well, in ſuccouring and defending him, they ſuccoured and ſupported their owne cauſe; for that they could not be ignorant what hatred the Pope bare to them, and with what deſire the King Catholike laboured to dreſſe and eſtabliſh in that Citie an eſtate depending wholly vpon him. But at *Florence* the opinions of men were diuers, for many, blinded with the ſweetneſſe of preſent ſparing, conſidered not what the time to come might produce: and with others preuailed the memory that the fidelitie and ſeruices of that Commonweale had neuer

uer bin acknowledged by the King reigning, nor by *Charles* the eight his predeceſſor: and that he had ſold to them with a great price his promiſe not to hinder them in the recouery of *Piſa*, alledging that for theſe examples they could not truſt his promiſes, nor be aſſured by his offers, and that he would neuer acknowledge any benefite they ſhould do to him. In theſe reſpects they held it great raſhneſſe to reſolue to enter into a warre, which ſucceeding not well, they ſhould partake in all the euils, more then was either reaſonable, or in due proportion they ought: and falling out happily, they ſhould in no ſort communicate with the benefites, or at leaſt in a very ſmall proportion. But thoſe were moſt of all to be feared, who either for hatred, or for ambition, or for the deſire of another forme of gouernment, oppoſed againſt the *Gonfalonnier*, extolling the aforeſaid reaſons, and inferring others; and ſpecially leſt remaining neuters, they ſhould incurre the hatred of either partie, and giue to either of the two Kings iuſt occaſion to complaine: for that touching the *French* King, they were no otherwiſe bound to him, then to aide him with two hundred men at armes for the defence of his proper eſtates, which they had already accompliſhed: and the King of *Aragon* could not be diſcontented, but would eſteeme it a great gaine if they intermeddled no otherwiſe in that warre: alſo, that ſuch as kept their faith beſt, were alwayes moſt worthy of praiſe and merite: and that by this example he might hope that when need ſhould require, they would likewiſe obſerue iuſtly to him that which was promiſed in the capitulation made in common with the *French* king and with him: That proceeding in this ſort, if peace were made betweene the Princes, the citie ſhould be named and preſerued of them both: and in caſe the victory ſhould fall to the one of them, not holding himſelfe offended, and hauing no cauſe to beare them any particular hatred, it would be eaſie to buy his friendſhip with the ſame money, and haply with a leſſe quantitie, then they ſhould haue diſburſed vpon the warre; which was a helpe and meanes, whereby, more then by force of armes, their elders had many times ſaued their libertie: whereas if they ſhould proceed otherwiſe, they ſhould defray for another, during the warre, and without any neceſſitie, intollerable expences; and the victory falling to the enemy, the libertie and ſafetie of their countrey ſhould remaine in moſt manifeſt perill. The aduice of the *Gonfalonnier* was contrary to the opinions of theſe men; who iudged it profitable that the Commonweale ſhould take armes for the *French* King, for which reaſon he had afore fauoured the Councell, and giuen the Pope ſufficient matter to be diſcontented, to the end that the Citie being prouoked by him, or at leaſt beginning to enter into ſuſpition, might be as it were conſtrained to make that reſolution: and at that time he perſwaded that it could be no other but a moſt pernicious counſell, to remaine idle, expecting the iſſue of the warre managed ſo neare them, and betweene Princes ſo much more mightie then they: for that in the warres of others, neutralitie is commendable, and a fit meanes to auoid many troubles and expences, when our owne forces are not ſo weake as may cauſe vs to feare the victory of either partie, ſeeing that then it bringeth vs ſuretie, and oftentimes by their long warres, good meanes to increaſe our eſtate. He told them alſo, that it was no ſure foundation, not to haue offended either partie, or not to haue giuen them iuſt cauſe to complaine, for that very rarely it happeneth, that the inſolency of the conquerour is brideled or repreſſed by equitie or other diſcreet conſiderations, and that for theſe reaſons great Princes eſteeme themſelues no leſſe iniuried, when they are refuſed in the things they deſire, but ſtand diſdainful againſt euery one that followeth not their will, and ioyneth not his fortune with theirs: That it was folly to beleeue that the *French* King would not take it for an offence, to ſee himſelfe left abandoned in ſo great perils, and finding the effects nothing anſwering the confidence he had in the *Florentines*, touching matters which he conſtantly promiſed to himſelfe of them, and for things which they themſelues had ſo oftentimes aſſured: That it was yet a greater folly to beleeue that the Pope and the King of *Aragon* being victors, would not vſe the victory outragiouſly againſt that Commonweale, conſidering the inſatiable hate of the one, and the ioynt deſire of them both, to erect there a gouernment to their fancy, leſt that Citie remaining in her libertie, would be alwayes more inclined to the *French* then to them: and that this deſire of theirs might eaſily be diſcerned, in that the Pope (the King Catholike approuing it) had preferred the Cardinall *de Medicis* as Legat to ſ army. To remaine neuter then, were as much as to be willing to become the prey of whoſoeuer ſhould become victor: whereas in ioyning to the one of them, at the leaſt by his victory, they ſhould be aſſured and preſerued: a reward and fruit to be well conſidered vpon, ſeeing the danger whereinto the eſtate of their affaires was reduced:

Soderin for the French King.

and in caſe the peace were made, they ſhould haue better conditions: That it was a ſuperfluous matter to diſpute to whether of the parties they ought rather to ioyne themſelues, for that without all doubt it was fit rather to follow the ancient amitie, (by whoſe meanes, albeit the Commonweale had not bin rewarded and recompenced, yet at leaſt it had bin oftentimes defended and preſerued) then to embrace new friendſhips, which will be euer vnfaithfull and ſuſpitious. The *Gonfalonnier* occupied in vaine theſe diſcourſes, and thoſe that hindered moſt that his aduice was not followed, were thoſe to whom it was diſpleaſing that it ſhould come to the *French* Kings knowledge, that it was by his meanes that the *Florentines* ſhould be ioyned with him. Amid theſe contentions, one faction breaking the aduice of the other, there could be eſtabliſhed no reſolution, whether they ſhould declare, or ſtand abſolutely neuters: ſo that their counſels oftentimes were vncertaine, and their deliberations repugnant in themſelues, without bringing merit or reputation to any: and which more is, proceeding with theſe incertainties, they ſent Embaſſadour to the King of *Aragon*, (to the great diſpleaſure of the *French* King) FRANCIS GVICCIARDIN Doctor of the Law, he who wrote this preſent Hiſtory, who at that time was ſo yong, that in reſpect of his age, according to the lawes of the countrey, he was vncapable to manage any office: and yet they gaue him not ſuch commiſſions as might in any ſort mitigate the angrie minds of the confederates.

But a litle after the *Swiſſers* were returned to their countries, the Eccleſiaſtike and *Spaniſh* ſouldiers began to enter into *Romagna*, at whoſe coming all the townes which the Duke of *Ferrara* held on this ſide *Po*, except the Baſtill of *la Foſſa*, and the foord of *Geniuola*, yeelded themſelues at ỹ ſummons of a ſimple Trumpet. But for that the whole regiments were not yet arriued in *Romagna*, nor the artilleries which the Viceroy expected at *Imola*, it was thought good, to the end the time ſhould not be ſpent without profite, that *Peter* of *Nauarre* Captaine generall of the *Spaniſh* footmen, ſhould go to beſiege the Baſtill: who hauing begun the battery with three peeces of artillery, and finding it more hard to be taken then he looked for, for that it was well fortified and valiantly defended by an hundred and fiftie ſouldiers that were therein, he cauſed to make two bridges of wood, to giue a greater commoditie to the ſouldiers to paſſe the ditches which were full of water: which bridges being made, the third day after his approching
1512. before the Baſtill, which was the laſt day of the yeare 1511, he gaue a furious aſſault, and ſuch, as after a long and braue fight, the footmen winning the walls with the helpe of their ladders, at laſt they tooke it, making ſlaughter of almoſt all the footmen therein, together with *Veſtitello* their Captaine. *Peter* of *Nauarre* left two hundred footmen within the Baſtill, contrary to the opinion of *Iohn Vitelli*, who affirmed that it was ſo much ſhaken with the artillery, that there was no poſſibilitie to defend it without making new fortifications: but he was ſcarcely returned to ioyne himſelfe with the Viceroy, ere the Duke of *Ferrara*, being gone thither with nine great peeces of artillery, aſſaulted it with ſuch fury, that ſo litle a place being layd open and reuerſed in many parts, he entred by force the very ſame day, where were ſlaine, partly in fighting, and partly to reuenge the death of his people, the Captaine with all his footmen, the Duke himſelfe being hurt on the head with a ſtone, which neuertheleſſe by reaſon of his head-peece did him no great harme. In this meane while all the regiments Eccleſiaſtike and *Spaniſh* were aſſembled at *Imola*, mightie in number, braue ſouldiers, and valiant Captaines: for as the bruit went, the King of *Aragon* had there a thouſand men at armes, eight hundred mounted vpon Iennets, eight thouſand footmen *Spaniſh*; and beſides the perſon of the Viceroy, many Barons of the kingdome of *Naples*, of whom the moſt renowmed for experience of armes, was *Fabricio Colonno*, who had the title of Generall, for that *Proſper Colonno* being not willing to be ſubiect in the warre to the commandements of the Viceroy, had refuſed it. On the Popes part there were eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, and eight thouſand *Italian* footmen vnder *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, *Iohn Vitelli*, *Malateſta Baillon* ſonne to *Iohn Paul*, *Raphael de Pazzi*, with other Leaders and Captains, all ſubiect to the obedience of the Cardinall of *Medicis* Legat; but they had no Generall, for that the Duke of *Termini* whom the Pope had choſen, as one in whom the King of *Aragon* repoſed much, died at *Ciuita Caſtellana* coming to the army: and the Duke of *Vrbin*, to whom that place was wont to be transferred, came not at all: either for that ſuch was the Popes pleaſure, or elſe for that he held it a thing vnworthy of his perſon, chiefly vpon the lands of the Church, to obey the Viceroy, bearing authoritie of Captaine generall ouer the whole army of the Confederates. With this army plentifully furniſhed

niſhed with artilleries which were almoſt all come from the realme of *Naples*, they determined to incampe before *Bolognia*: not that they were ignorant that the enterpriſe was very difficult, ſeeing the *French* men might eaſily miniſter ſuccours: but for that there was no other enterpriſe which contained not greater difficulties and impediments: and to remaine idle with ſo great an army, would be too manifeſt an argument of cowardize. Moreouer, the Pope made ſo great inſtance, that who ſo euer would put into conſideration the difficulties, ſeemed to giue him occaſion to beleeue, and cauſe to complaine, that the ſleights and wiles of the *Spaniards* began already to appeare. Therfore the Viceroy cauſeth the army to march, incamping between the riuer of *Adice* and *Bolognia*: where, after he had taken order for things neceſſary to the beſieging of that Citie, and turned the channels which go to *Bolognia* by the riuers of *Rhene* and *Sauanna*, he approched neare the walls, ſtretching out and beſtowing the greateſt part of his army betweene the mountaine and the way that goeth from *Bolognia* to *Romagna*, for the commoditie of victuals which come from that ſide: and *Fabricio Colonno* with the auantguard containing ſeuen hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen, was lodged betweene the bridge of *Rhene*, ſtanding vpon the high way of *Romagna* which leadeth into *Lombardy*, and the gate of *S. Felix*, which is alſo vpon the ſame way, and that to the end the more eaſily to giue impediment that no *French* ſuccours might enter. And becauſe they would command the mountaines, they beſtowed one part of their bands of ſouldiers in the Monaſtery of *S. Michael* of the wood, which is very neare the Citie, but ſeated in a high place, and commanding ouer it: they alſo made themſelues Lord of the Church which is more high, called *S. Marie* on the Mount. Into *Bolognia*, beſides the people that bare armes, haply more by cuſtome then by nature, with certaine troupes of horſemen and footmen waged by the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, *Monſieur de Foix* had ſent two thouſand Lanceknights, and two hundred lances, vnder *Odet de Foix* and *Iues d'Allegre*, very notable Captaines, the one for his long experience in warre, and the other for the nobilitie of his houſe, and for that there appeared in him great tokens of valour and courage: & with them were the Captains of *Faietta*, and *Vincent* called the great diuel. Neuertheles they repoſed more in the ſuccors which *Monſieur de Foix* had promiſed them, then in their owne forces, conſidering the great circuite of the Citie, and the incommodities that were on the mountaine ſide, and alſo that there were no other fortifications, then ſuch as for the preſent danger were made in haſte, and the *Bentiuoleis* diſtruſted many of the Nobilitie and people: and laſtly they had made a late experience about the Baſtill of *Geniuola*, that the valour of the *Spaniſh* footmen was anſwerable to the praiſes that haue gone on them in all times, to be men apt to beſiege townes, by reaſon of their great agilitie and dexteritie. Neuertheles they began to be better reſolued, when they ſaw the enemies aduanced but litle, lying nine dayes about the walls without doing any thing, ſauing that they began with two Sakers and two Culuerins planted in the Monaſtery of *S. Michael* to ſhoot in vaine into the Citie, to terrifie men and to hurt houſes: an execution which they gaue ouer immediatly, knowing by experience that in doing litle domage to the enemy in that ſort, they made alſo an vnprofitable waſte of their munitions. The matter that kept them ſo long from doing any thing, was an aduertiſement they had the ſame day they incamped, that *Monſieur de Foix* who was come to *Finale*, waged ſouldiers from all parts, and the bruite that was ſpread, which ſeemed likely to be true, that knowing how much it would preiudice the affaires of the King, and no leſſe diminiſh his owne reputation, if he ſuffered a Citie of that importance and conueniency to be taken out of his hands, he would expoſe himſelfe to all dangers for the preſeruation of it. This made them draw into counſel to debate better, not onely on which ſide they might moſt eaſily & with moſt hope beſiege it, and there to plant their artilleries, but alſo how they might let the *French* ſuccours for entring. Therefore in the firſt counſell it was agreed, that *Fabricio Colonno*, being firſt prouided of victuals, ſhould paſſe to the other ſide of the towne, and lodge vpon the hill ſide beneath *S. Marie* of the Mount, from whence he might eaſily giue impediments to any that ſhould attempt to enter into *Bolognia*, and not be ſo farre deuided from the reſidue of the army, but that any danger happening, he might be ſuccoured in time: and that at the ſame time they ſhould begin from that part where they were incamped, or very neare thereto, to batter the towne. Such as were the authors of this counſell, alledged, that ſith all that the *French* held in *Italy* depended vpon the preſeruation of the army, it was not to be thought that *Monſieur de Foix* would hazard to do any thing, in the execution whereof he might be conſtrained to fight; and

The enterpriſe of Bolognia by the Pope and king of Aragõ

much leſſe would he be of that iudgement, albeit he knew he might do it with ſuretie, to incloſe himſelfe with all his army within *Bologna*: whereby he might depriue himſelfe of all meanes to ſuccour (in caſes of neceſſitie) the eſtate of *Millan*, which was not as yet wholly aſſured from the mouings of the *Swiſſers*, and where was alſo great doubt to be aſſailed by the *Venetian* army, which being come vpon the marches of *Verona*, ſeemed to threaten the towne of *Breſſia*. But the day following, all ſuch as had approued this counſell, were of a contrary opinion, conſidering it was not a thing certaine that the *French* army would not come, and that if it did come, the vantguard onely would not ſuffice to reſiſt them: and that that deliberation was not to be approued, which was eſtabliſhed vpon ſuch a foundation, that it was in the power of the enemy to change it. For this cauſe the aduice of *Peter* of *Nauarre* was allowed by the Viceroy, to whom onely he communicated his opinion, which was, that making prouiſion of victuals for fiue dayes, and leauing a guard onely in the Church of *S. Michael*, all the army ſhould paſſe to the other ſide of the Citie, where the enemy might be hindred from making entrance, and the towne not being fortified on that ſide (neuer fearing to be there aſſailed) they ſhould without doubt take it within fiue dayes. But as ſoone as this reſolution was diſperſed amongſt the army, there was none which did not openly reproue the direction, to go lodge with the army in a place meerly void of all traffike of victuals that were brought from *Romagna*, which was the onely meanes to nouriſh them, ſo that vndoubtedly it could not ſtand vndiſſolued and broken, if within fiue dayes it enforced not *Bologna*: and what is he (ſaid *Fabricio Colonno*) that can aſſuredly promiſe ſuch a thing within ſo ſhort a time? and what reaſon is there, vnder a hope, which of her proper nature is fallible & ſubiect to many accidents, to put our ſelues in ſo great a danger? and who ſeeth not, that ſet houres failing vs, we haue no poſſibilitie to retire our ſelues and our people, made hungry, diſordered and fearfull, without our loſſe and certaine ouerthrow, hauing *Bologna* in our face, where is a great multitude of people and many ſouldiers, and at our backs the *French* army, and the country our enemy? Some others aduiſed, that beſtowing in the vantguard a greater ſtrength of footmen, it ſhould incampe on the other ſide of *Bologna*, almoſt at the foote of the mountaine, betweene the gate *Saragoſſa* and that of *S. Felix*, fortifying themſelues with trenches and other defences: and that they ſhould batter the towne on that ſide, being there not onely the weakeſt in walls and rampiers, but alſo by planting ſome peeces of artillery vpon the top of the mountaine, they ſhould execute in flanke during the aſſault, ſuch of the defendants as would come to the breach: which counſell was alſo reiected, as not ſufficient to let the coming of the *French*, and as a matter dangerous; for that if they ſhould be charged by the enemy, the army (notwithſtanding it commanded the mountaines) could not deſcend to their ſuccours in leſſe time then three houres. Amid theſe ambiguities, it being farre more eaſie (and that worthily) to reproue the counſels propounded by others, then to propoſe ſuch as deſerued to be approued; at laſt the Captaines grew to a reſolution to aſſaile the towne on that ſide wherein the army was already incamped; a determination which amongſt other reaſons tooke furtherance by an opinion they had that *Monſieur de Foix* would not come at all, ſince he lingred ſo long: therefore they began to leuell the ground to bring the artillery to the walls, and called backe the vantguard to incampe together with the others. But a litle after, many aduertiſements being come that the *French* bands increaſed daily at *Finale*, and ſo the former ſuſpition of their coming reuiuing, there was amongſt them againe diuerſitie of opinions: for euery one being of this mind, that if *Monſieur de Foix* approched, they ſhould haue ſpeciall regard to aſſaile him afore he entred *Bologna*; many perſwaded, that in that caſe, the artillery planted already before the wals, which then ſhould be retired, would giue many impediments and difficulties to the army: a matter in ſuch vrgent termes of affaires, both dangerous and hurtfull: Others ſaid, that it was no leſſe infamous then hurtfull to remaine ſo many dayes about the walls of *Bologna* without doing any thing, confirming at one time the courage of thoſe that were within, and giuing leiſure to ſuch as were without, to prepare to ſuccour them: and therefore it were not beſt to deferre any longer to plant the artillery, but in ſuch place as it might eaſily be withdrawne to oppoſe againe the *French* men, to leuell the ground the better, and ſo largely, that both the artilleries and the armie might be able to moue together. The Legate was fully with them that gaue counſell to begin to batter the towne, both for the diſpleaſure he had of ſo long deferring, and alſo ſomewhat ſuſpecting leſt the matter had bin wrought by the direction and fancy of the King of *Aragon*, according to the ſubtilties and diſſembled ma-

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ner of proceedings of the *Spaniſh*: and he complained, that if from the firſt incamping they had begun to batter the towne, they might haply afore that time haue bin maiſters of it: That they ſhould not ioyne fault vnto fault, and much leſſe remaine as enemies about a towne, and yet expreſſe no ſigne of valour to aſſaile it: That the Pope ſent to him poſts and meſſages daily, but he knew not what to anſwer or alledge, and that he could entertaine and nourish him no longer with promiſes and vaine hopes. Theſe words moued not a litle the Viceroy, who complained much, that he being a man of no training in armes nor exerciſes of warre, would by his importunitie be the cauſe of vnaduiſed deliberations: That in his counſels there was debated the intereſt of all the world, wherein he could not proceed with ſuch abſolute maturitie, as it ſhould not be needfull to looke yet more nearly vnto it: That it was the cuſtome of Popes and Commonweales to enter willingly into warre, and afterwards the expences and perplexities increaſing aboue expectation, to wiſh too ſoone to bring them to an end: He willed him to leaue the deliberation of things to the Captains; who had the ſame intention with him, and had alſo experience of warre. Laſtly *Peter* of *Nauarre*, in whom the Viceroy repoſed moſt, alledged that in an expedition of ſo great importance, men ought not to reſpect ſo much two or three dayes, and therefore that it was neceſſary to continue the counſell and direction for prouiſions neceſſary, as well for the ſiege of *Bolognia*, as for the day of battell, to gouerne things afterwards according to the proceedings of the *French*. Two daies paſſed afore there appeared any light of better reſolution, for that *Monſieur de Foix*, to whom *Cento*, *Pieua*, with many other boroughs of the countrey of *Bolognia* were rendred, remained ſtill at *Finale*, where he lay to reaſſemble his forces, which as well for that they had bin diſtributed in many places, as that his footbands which he had waged were long in coming, could not ſo ſuddenly come together: ſo that no further cauſe of deferring appearing, at laſt the artilleries were planted againſt the walls, about thirtie fadomes neare the gate of *S. Stephen*, which leades to *Florence*, where the wall turning and crooking towards the gate called *Chaſtillon*, that hath his proſpect vpon the mountaine, maketh an angle. And at the ſame time *Peter* of *Nauarre* was about to make a mine, drawing more towards the gate of *Chaſtillon* on that ſide the wall where within is a litle Chappell called *Barcana*, to the end that the aſſault being giuen at the ſame inſtant, they might with more difficultie make reſiſtance being deuided, then if they were vnited and ioyned to defend one onely place. Moreouer, following ſtill their firſt thoughts to oppoſe againſt the *French* men, they gaue order that the vantguard ſhould return to the lodging where it was before. The artilleries brought downe to the earth in foure and twentie houres an hundred fadomes of the wall; and the tower of the gate was battered in ſuch ſort, that being no more able to maintaine defence, it was abandoned, ſo that they might very conueniently giue the aſſault on that ſide: but they expected till the mine were accompliſhed, notwithſtanding by the raſhnes of the ſouldiers there wanted not much, that the aſſault had bin giuen the ſame day in diſorder. For certain *Spaniſh* footmen being climed vp by a ladder to a hole which had bin made in the tower, deſcended from thence into a litle houſe which on the inner ſide ioyned to the walls, wherein was no guard: which being perceiued by the other footmen, they had all runne thither by heapes, if the Captaines hearing the noiſe, had not reſtrained them. But after the defendants, hauing planted a canon againſt the houſe, had ſlaine ſome of them, the others fled from the place whereinto vndiſcreetly they were entred. And whileſt they were buſie about the mine, others laboured in the army to make bridges of wood, and to fill vp the ditches with baskets and earth, the better to be able (marching as it were in a plaine way) to bring the footmen to the breach, and to draw euen vpon the ruines ſome peece of artillery, to the end that in the execution of the aſſault, the defendants ſhould not be able to continue to make reſiſtance. But the *French* Captains ſeeing theſe preparations, & diſcerning withall that the people began already to giue themſelues ouer to feare, ſent immediatly to pray ſuccours of *Monſieur de Foix*, who diſpatched thither the ſame day a thouſand footmen, and the day after an hundred and foureſcore Lances: a matter which made the enemies aſſuredly beleeue that he was determined to paſſe no further, for that it ſeemed not likely that he would ſeparate from himſelfe part of his ſtrength, if he had another intention: and indeed his intention was ſuch, for that he was of opinion that that ſuccour was ſufficient to defend *Bolognia*, & he would not, without neceſſitie, aſſay the fortune of the battel. At laſt the mine being accompliſhed, and the army ſtanding in order of battell to go forthwith to the aſſault, for the execution whereof with greater ſtrength the vantguard was reuoked, *Peter* of *Nauarre* cauſed fire

The wiſedome of Monſieur de Foix.

to be put to the mine, which with an horrible noiſe and fury blew vp the chappell ſo high, that through that ſpace which was left betweene the ground and the wall raiſed vp, thoſe without might plainly ſee into the intrailes of the citie, together with the ſouldiers that were prepared to defend it: but falling ſuddenly downe againe, the whole wall tooke the ſame place from whence the violence of the fire had driuen it, and was ſo reioyned and knit againe, as if it had neuer bin ſtirred: ſo that being impoſſible for the ſouldiers to go to the aſſault on that ſide, the Captains iudged it no leſſe hard to follow it onely on the other part. They of *Bolognia* interpreted this aduenture to a miracle,, ſaying, it was impoſſible without diuine aide, that the wall ſhould fall and reioyne ſo iuſtly vpon his old foundations: for which cauſe the Chappell was afterwards increaſed and frequented of the people in great deuotion. This ſucceſſe (as though there had remained nothing elſe to be feared touching *Bolognia*) was the cauſe that *Monſieur de Foix* thought good to go to *Breſſia*, for an aduertiſement he had that the *Venetian* army drew that way, and alſo for feare leſt there ſhould happen ſome want, for that by reaſon of the perils of *Bolognia*, he had left there a very ſlender garriſon, and no leſſe doubted of ſecret practiſes and intelligences. Neuertheleſſe he changed opinion at the requeſts of the Captaines that were within *Bolognia*, who ſometimes alledged to him, that if he went his way, the dangers of the warre would redouble and become greater then before; and ſometimes they gaue him hope to ouerthrow the campe of the enemies if he would but ioyne his preſence to their valour. Therefore, notwithſtanding in the counſell almoſt all the Captaines were againſt him, he iſſued very late out of *Finale*: and the morning following, being but two houres of day light, he drew towards *Bolognia* with all his army in battell array, laboring againſt the ſnowes and ſharp winds, and entred by the gate of *S. Felix*, hauing with him thirteene hundred Lances, ſixe thouſand Lanceknights, whom he had beſtowed all in the vantguard, and eight thouſand footmen as well *French* as *Italians*. Which being done, *Monſieur de Foix* prepared himſelfe the morning following to aſſaile the campe of the enemies, the ſouldiers making their ſallies at three gates, and the people iſſuing out by the way of the mountaine, whom he had found not doubting of his coming; whereof it is certaine their Captaines had no knowledge, neither that day nor the moſt part of the day following. But *Iues d'Allegre* gaue counſell to let the bands repoſe yet one day, who were made weary with the bitter wayes they had marched, thinking withall (which alſo any wiſe man might haue iudged) that it was not poſſible that ſo great an army, in the broad day, and by the high way of *Rome*, could without their knowledge enter into a Citie, before which they lay incamped. The which ignorance had continued the day after, if by aduenture a *Greeke* eſtradiot had not bene taken, who was iſſued out to the skirmiſh among other horſemen, and being demanded what they did in the towne, he anſwered, that they could know but litle by him, for that he came but the day before with the *French* army. Vpon which words being diligently aſked, with great maruell of the Captaines, and being found conſtant in his anſwers, they beleeued him, and thereupon determined to leuie their camp, holding it dangerous to remaine there, as well for the bitterneſſe of the ſeaſon which greatly afflicted the ſouldiers, as for the neighborhood of the citie, whereinto ſo great an army was entred. The night following, which was the nineteenth day after their incamping, whē they had withdrawn their artilleries with as litle bruit as they could, very early in the morning their army tooke the way towards *Imola*, marching along the plaines by the which they came, in the middeſt whereof was the high way and the artillery: and hauing beſtowed in their reareguard the flower of their army, they went their way in ſuretie, for that there iſſued none out of *Bolognia* ſauing certaine *French* horſemen, who hauing made ſpoile of part of the munitions and victuals, and in ſo doing, begun to fall into diſorder, were to their harmes repulſed euen to *Bolognia* by *Malateſta Baillon*, who gouerned the laſt part of the armie.

The Pope's armie retireth from before Bolognia.

The campe being raiſed, *Monſieur de Foix* leauing three hundred Lances and foure thouſand footmen within *Bolognia*, departed ſuddenly to march in haſte to the ſuccours of the Caſtle of *Breſſia*, the Citie being taken by the *Venetians* the day before he entred into *Bolognia*. For *Andrew Gritti* incited by Count *Lewis Auogato* a gentleman of *Breſſia*, and by the moſt part of the people of the countrey, and hoping that within the towne they would draw to ſome mutinie, had paſſed by the commandement of the Senate with an army of three hundred men at armes, thirteene hundred light horſemen, and three thouſand footmen, the riuer of *Adice* at *Albera*, which is a place neare to *Legnaguo*, and afterwards waded ouer the foord of *Myncia* at the turning

ning mill betweene *Goito* and *Valegge*: and coming at laſt to *Montchiaro*, he incamped by night at *Caſtagnet*, a village within fiue miles of *Breſſia*, from whence he made ſudden incurſions with his horſemen euen to the gates: and at the ſame time the name of *S. Marke* reſounding in all places, Count *Lewis* came hard to the gate with eight hundred men of the *Eutropian* and *Sabian* valleys, whom he had drawne into commotion, and ſent his ſonne on the other ſide of the Citie euen to the gates with other companies of footmen. But *Andrew Gritti*, neither receiuing from within the Citie thoſe intelligences which he expected, nor any ſuch ſignes being made to him as were agreed vpon, but vnderſtanding that the citie was carefully guarded on all ſides, thought it not fit to paſſe any further; and in this ſtirre *Auogaro* the ſonne being aſſailed by thoſe within, was taken priſoner. *Andrew Gritti* retired to *Montagnana*, from whence he departed at firſt, leauing a ſufficient guard vpon the bridge which he had made vpon *Adice*. But being called againe not many daies after, he repaſſed the riuer of *Adice* with two canons and foure falconets, and incamped at *Caſtagnet*, Count *Lewis* being at the ſame time approched within a mile of *Breſſia* with a very great number of the ſaid valley men: and albeit there appeared no tokens of fauour from them within, yet, *Gritti* ſeeing his ſtrength to be greater then it was before, determined to aſſay to take it by force. Then being approched with all the paiſants, he began to giue the aſſault in three places, which albeit it was vnfortunately aſſayed at the gate of the Tower, yet it ſucceeded happily at the gate of the Piles where *Auogaro* fought, and at the gate *la Garzula*, where (as ſome report) the ſouldiers led by *Baltazar Scipion* entred by the iron grates, by the which the riuer, being of the ſame name with the gate, entreth into the citie: and that notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of the *French* men, who both ſeeing the enemies enter the Citie, and the townesmen conſpire in their fauour, they retired into the Caſtle, together with *Monſieur du Lude* their Gouernour, loſing their horſes and baggage. In which tumult, that part of the towne which is called the Citadell, and ſtandeth ſeparate from the reſidue of the Citie, where almoſt all the *Gibelins* inhabited, was ſpoiled and ſacked, except the houſes of the *Guelfs*. After the conqueſt of *Breſſia*, *Bergama* rendred immediatly except the two Caſtles, whereof the one is in the midſt of the Citie, and the other within halfe a mile: which happened by the meanes and working of certaine citizens: and *Orciuecche*, *Orcinouo*, and *Pontuiquo*, with many other places thereabout did the like: and haply they might haue proceeded further, or at leaſt the victory had bin better aſſured, if at *Venice* (where they reioyced exceedingly) they had had as great a care to ſend ſouldiers and artilleries ſufficient for the getting of the Caſtle, which no doubt would haue made no great reſiſtance, as they were to create Magiſtrates for the gouernment of the places already recouered. And this negligence was ſo much the more hurtfull, by how much the diligence and celeritie of *Monſieur de Foix* was greater, who hauing paſſed the riuer of *Po* at *Stellato* (from whence he ſent an hundred and fiftie lances for the guard of *Ferrara*, and fiue hundred *French* footmen) he paſſed alſo the riuer of *Mincia* at the mill bridge, hauing almoſt at the very time of his paſſing, ſent to demand paſſage of the Marquis of *Mantua*; making ſo ſudden a demand, to the end either to giue the Marquis no reſpite to take aduice, or elſe that the *Venetian* bands ſhould be ſo much the later aduertiſed of his coming. From thence he went the day after to *Nogero* vpon the territories of *Verona*, and the day following to *Pontpeſere*, and to *Treuilla* three miles from *Eſcalo*: where being aduertiſed that *Iohn Paul Baillon* who had the leading of certaine ſouldiers and artilleries of the *Venetians* to *Breſſia*, was come from *Frankeaſtle* with three hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and twelue hundred footmen, to incampe in the Ile of *Eſcalo*, he made haſte thither, to charge him with three hundred lances and ſeuen hundred archers, the reſidue of the army coming after, which could not march with ſuch diligence: but finding that he was remoued an houre afore his coming, he followed him without any tarrying. *Iohn Paul Baillon* had receiued aduertiſement that *Bernardin de Montono* to whom was left the guard of the bridge made at *Albero*, had broken it vp, hearing of the coming of the *French*, for feare he ſhould be incloſed by them and the Lanceknights which were within *Verona*, whither *Cæſar* had a litle before ſent three thouſand footmen which he had in *Friul*, being at that time releaſed of all guard at *Friul*, for that all was returned to the power of the *Venetians*, except *Gradiſqua*. For this cauſe *Iohn Paul Baillon* had gotten into *Breſſia*, if he had not bin told that a litle beneath *Verona* the riuer might be paſſed ouer by wading: but as he was going to the paſſage, he diſcouered a far off *Monſieur de Foix*, whoſe incredible celeritie, for that it had ſurmounted the fame that went of him, he thought they could be no other then part of the

the ſouldiers that were within *Verona*; and in that perſwaſion ranging his companies in battell aray, he tarried their coming with great courage at the tower *Magnanino*, which is ſomewhat neare *Adice*, and very litle diſtant from the tower of *Eſtalo*. The encounter of both parties was very furious with their lances, and afterwards falling to other weapons, the battell was hotly continued more then an houre: but the condition of the *Venetians* grew worſe and worſe, for that there ariued continually freſh ſouldiers from the army which was left behind: and although being checked and violently encountred by their enemies they were often put to diſorder, yet they reaſſembled themſelues againe very often. At laſt, being no more able to make reſiſtance againſt the greater number, they were broken and put to flight, and were chaſed by the enemy (the night now beginning) euen to the riuer, which *Iohn Paul* paſſed in ſafetie, but many of his people were drowned. In this conflict there were ſlaine and taken about foure ſcore and ten men at armes of the *Venetians*; amongſt whom were made priſoners *Guido Rangon*, and *Baltazar Signorello* of *Perouſa*: the footmen were diſperſed, and two Faulconets loſt, which was all they had, few of the *French* men falling into the mercy of the enemy. The day after they encountred *Meleager de Furly*, with certain light horſemen of the *Venetians*, whom they eaſily put to flight, *Meleager* remaining priſoner: and not loſing one houre of time, the ninth day after they departed from *Bologna*, *Monſieur de Foix* with the vantguard incamped within the ſuburbes of *Breſſia* about two croſſe-bow ſhoots from the gate of *Tourlongo*, and the reſidue of the army more backward along the way that leades to *Peſquiero*. As ſoone as he was incamped, without giuing himſelfe any leiſure to breathe, he ſent part of his footmen to aſſaile the Monaſtery of *S. Fridian*, which is halfe way to the hill vnder the which he was incamped, which hill was kept by many paiſants of the valley *Tropia*. The footmen which were gotten vp in diuers places, and fauored by a great ſhowre of raine that fell, which hindered the artilleries of the Monaſtery that they could not ſhoot, defeated them, and ſlue ſome of them. The day following, *Monſieur de Foix* ſent a Trumpet to ſummon thoſe of the towne to render, with ſafetie of their liues and goods, except the *Venetians*: and being proudly anſwered in the preſence of *Andrew Gritti*, he turned his army to the other ſide of the towne, to be more neare the Caſtle, and was lodged in the ſuburbes of the gate called *S. Iohns* gate: and the morning following, euen by the peepe of day, hauing choſen out of the maine army more then foure hundred men at armes all armed in white, and ſixe thouſand footmen, part *Gaſcons* and part Lanceknights, he went on foot with them, and aſcending vp on that ſide towards the gate of the Piles, entred without reſiſtance within the firſt circuit of the Caſtle: where cauſing his companies to reſt and refreſh themſelues a litle, he encouraged them with ſhort ſpeeches to deſcend reſolutely into that rich and wealthy citie, where the glory and bootie would be greater without all compariſon then the paine or perill, hauing to fight with ſouldiers of *Venice*, who were manifeſtly inferiour to them in number and valour, for that touching the multitude of people vnexperienced in warre, and who are more apt to flie then to fight, they ſhould make no reckoning of them, but rather hope that through cowardize falling into diſorder, they would be the cauſe that the reſidue would become confuſed: and laſtly he deſired them, that as he had choſen them for the moſt valiant men of ſo flouriſhing an army, ſo they would not bring ſhame to themſelues and to his iudgement, but that they would conſider what infamy and diſhonour it would be to them, if they who made profeſſion to enter cities notwithſtanding the reſiſtance of ſouldiers, of artilleries, of walls, and of rampiers, ſhould not now come to the end of their deſires, hauing ſo faire an entry, and no other impediment then men onely. Hauing ſpoken theſe words, he began to iſſue out of the Caſtle, (the footmen marching before the men at armes) and at his departure he found certaine bands of footmen who with their artillerie aſſayed to ſtop him from paſſing any further: but hauing eaſily made them retire, he deſcended furiouſly by the skirts of the pallace greene of the Captaine *Burletto*, where the *Venetian* regiments well ranged and cloſe together, expected him with great reſolution: and there coming to hand-ſtrokes, the encounter was furious and dreadfull for a long time, the one part fighting for their proper ſafetie, and the other part not onely for their glory, but alſo with a deſire to ſacke a Citie ſo full of riches: and the Captaines carried themſelues no leſſe furiouſly then the meane ſouldiers, amongſt whom the valour of *Monſieur de Foix* was ſingular aboue the reſidue. At laſt the *Venetian* army was driuen from the place, hauing made a wonderfull defence: in ſo much as the conquerours, who now deuided themſelues into bands, made their entry, the one by the Citie, and the other by the Citadell, finding in euery quar-

Monſ. de Foix defeateth Iohn Paul Baillon.

quarter and corner a maruellous reſiſtance by the ſouldiers and by the people: but the *French* men being alwaies victorious in all places, chaſed all their enemies afore them; and gaue not their minds to pillage, vntill they ſaw themſelues abſolute maiſters of the towne, as the Generall had commanded them before they deſcended, which they obſerued in ſuch ſort, that if any one did otherwiſe, he was forthwith ſlaine by his fellowes. In theſe encounters there died of the *French* part many footmen, and a great number of men at armes; but of the enemies were ſlaine eight thouſand men, part of the people, and part of the *Venetian* ſouldiers, which were fiue hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, & eight thouſand footmen, amongſt whom was *Federike Contarin* Commander of the eſtradiots, who fighting vpon the greene was ſlaine with a bullet of an harquebuſe. All the reſidue were taken, except two hundred eſtradiots, who fled by a poſterne neare the gate of *S. Nazareth*, but not with much better fortune, for that being there met withall by the *French* army which remained without the towne, they were almoſt all either taken or killed by them: who after that entred into the towne without any let by the ſame gate, and fell to pillage as well as the reſidue, enioying the trauels and dangers of others. *Andrew Gritti*, and *Anthonie Iuſtinian* whom the Senate had ſent into that Citie as Gouernour, remained priſoners, together with *Iohn Paul Manfron* and his ſonne, the Knight *de la Volpe*, *Baltazar Scipion*, one of the ſonnes of *Anthonie de Pio*, Count *Lewis Anogano*, with one of his ſonnes, and *Dominicke Buſechio* Captaine of the eſtradiots. By the commandement of *Monſieur de Foix*, the honour of the religious women was ſaued, but their goods, together with ſuch others as were conueyed into their couents, were made a prey to the Captains. Count *Lewis* was beheaded in the market place, *Monſieur de Foix* ſatisfying his eyes with that puniſhment: his two ſonnes albeit the matter was a litle deferred, ſuffered ſhortly after the ſame paine. Thus by the hands of the *French*, of whom the *Breſſians* vanted to be deſcended, fell into this extremitie the Citie of *Breſſia*, which for nobilitie and dignitie was nothing inferiour to any other Citie of *Lombardie*, but in riches was farre ſuperiour to them all, except *Millan*: and the ſame Citie for ſeuen daies together was expoſed to the couetouſneſſe, to the luſt, and to the crueltie of ſouldiers; things ſacred as well as prophane being parcell of the prey: and no leſſe the liues then the goods of men. This victory brought great reputation to the name of *Monſieur de Foix* through all the regions of Chriſtendome, to the great praiſe of him, who by his celeritie and valour in the ſpace of fifteene dayes had compelled the armies Eccleſiaſtike and *Spaniſh* to diſcampe from before *Bolognia*, ouerthrowne in the plaine field *Iohn Paul Baillon*, with part of the *Venetian* regiments, and recouered *Breſſia* with ſo great a ſlaughter of ſouldiers and other people: ſo that it was auouched, and confirmed by the iudgement of all men, that touching warlike enterpriſes, *Italy* had ſeene no ſuch thing of a long time.

After the taking in of *Breſſia*, together with the other places that were loſt, of which *Bergamo* drawne into rebellion by the aide of very few of the towne, had by common conſent reuoked the *French* men before *Monſieur de Foix* made his entry into *Breſſia*: and after *Monſieur de Foix* had ſet downe a forme to his affaires, and had ſomewhat refreſhed and reordered his army, made weary with ſo long and great trauels, and no leſſe diſordered, partly by keeping and partly by diſtribution of the ſpoile; he determined according to the Kings commandement, to go ſeeke the army of the Confederates; which, after his departure from before the walls of *Bolognia*, was ſtayed vpon the lands of the *Bolognois*. To this direction the King was conſtrained by many vrgent accidents, which droue him into neceſſitie to take new counſels, for the ſafetie and benefite of his affaires: for, he diſcerned manifeſtly that he ſhould haue warre with the King of *England*, notwithſtanding that King had in franke termes afore aſſured him the contrary, and ſince kept him in ſuſpence with doubtfull words: for the actions which were quite contrary, could be no more couered, for that there came aduertiſement from *Rome*, that he had at laſt approued and ratified the league by writing. And further, the King was not ignorant, that in *England* were made great preparations of men and ſhips, and in *Spaine* was rigged a great naue to paſſe into *England*, where was an vniuerſall diſpoſition in all ſorts of the people of that region to make warre vpon the realme of *France*; whereunto was much furthering the arriuall of a Galeaſſe from the Pope, laden with *Greeke* wines, with cheeſes, and other prouiſions, which being giuen in his name to the King, and to many Barons and Prelates of the realme, were receiued of all with a wonderfull gladneſſe: and all the people who being oftentimes no leſſe carried by vaine and ſmall things, then by matters more graue and weightie, ranne to ſee the Galeaſſe,

and

and tooke therein great pleaſure, glorying in this, that they had neuer ſeene in that Ile any veſſel bearing the Popes banners. At laſt, the Biſhop of *Murrey*, who had negociated peace between the Pope and the *French* King, induced either by his conſcience, or by a deſire he had to be Cardinall, when he had ſpoken very fauourably in an aſſembly of all the States of that Iland, with an ample teſtification of the Popes equitie: it was determined in this Parliament that the Prelates ſhould be ſent to the Councell of *Latran* in the name of the whole realme, and alſo (the importunitie of the Popes Embaſſadour concurring) the King commanded the *French* Kings Embaſſadour to depart out of the realme: for that it was not conuenient to entertaine about the perſon of a King, and in a kingdome ſo deuout to the Church, a man that repreſented a King ſo manifeſtly perſecuting the Sea Apoſtolike. And now began to be diſcouered that it had bin ſecretly reſolued that the King of *England* with his army by ſea ſhould moleſt the ſhoares of *Normandie* and *Brittaine*, and ſend eight thouſand footmen into *Spaine* to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Guyen*, together with the forces of the King of *Aragon*: a ſuſpition which not a litle afflicted the *French* King, for as much as by the memory of warres paſt, he feared much the *Engliſh* people, and for that the danger would be ſo much the greater when the *Spaniſh* forces were ioyned with thoſe of *England*: chiefly for that he had ſent into *Italy* all his companies of men at armes ſauing two hundred lances, which if he ſhould call backe either in part or in all, the Duchie of *Millan*, which he eſteemed much, ſhould remaine in manifeſt perill: and if for his reſupply he ſhould increaſe the ancient band of eight hundred lances, what aſſurance could he haue in ſo great dangers in ſuch new and vnexperienced perſons? He added to this the ſuſpition of the alienation of *Ceſar*, which daily more and more increaſed: for, notwithſtanding *Andrew Burgos* whom he had ſent with ſo great expectation, was returned, and brought tidings that *Ceſar* was diſpoſed to abide in the confederation; yet he made offers of very hard conditions, intermixing many complaints: for, he required of the King, to aſſure him to recouer all that appertained to him by the capitulations of *Cambray*, affirming that he could no more truſt in ſimple promiſes, for that he had alwayes knowne, both from the beginning and ſince, that it was a matter very grieuous to the King that he ſhould conquer *Padua*: and that to conſume and hold him in continuall trauels, he had willingly waſted two hundred thouſand duckats euery yeare, knowing that to him the ſpending of fiftie thouſand was much more: That he had refuſed the laſt yeare to deliuer to him the perſon of *Triuulce*, being a Captaine that had both the will and the experience to put a ſpeedy end to the warre. He required that the Kings ſecond daughter being but two yeares old, might be promiſed to his nephew, induing her for her dowrie with *Burgundy*, and that ſhe might preſently be deliuered to his hands: and that the quarrels of *Ferrara*, of *Bolognia*, and the controuerſie of the Councell, ſhould be referred to him, forbidding the *French* army to march towards *Rome*, and proteſting that he could not endure that the King ſhould any way increaſe his eſtate in *Italy*. Theſe moſt grieuous and of themſelues almoſt intollerable conditions, were yet more heauie by the experience he had, that notwithſtanding he ſhould accord to him ſo many things, yet he could not be aſſured that he would not vary, either according to occaſions, or according to his cuſtome: yea, the iniquitie of the conditions propounded, ſerued almoſt as a certaine argument, that being already determined to alienate himſelfe from the *French* King, he ſought the occaſion to put it to effect vnder ſome colour, ſeeing that as well in words as in works he diſcloſed many ſignes of an ill will. For, the Proctors which he had ſo many times promiſed to ſend to the Councell of *Piſa*, were not come with *Burgos*; and which more is, the Prelates aſſembled at *Auſburg*, had at laſt made anſwer by a publike decree, that the Councel of *Piſa* was ſchiſmaticall and deteſtable; but yet with this moderation, that they were ready to change ſentence, if they might be ſhewed the contrary by more ſtrong and pregnant reaſons. And yet notwithſtanding the King, at a time when he ſtood in moſt need to aſſemble his forces, was conſtrained to maintaine at the requeſt of *Ceſar* two hundred lances, and three thouſand footmen in *Verona*, and a guard of a thouſand footmen in *Legnaguo*. Moreouer, the feare of the *Swiſſers* vexed not a litle the Kings mind. For, albeit he had obtained to ſend to their Diots the Bailiffe of *Amiens*, to whom he had giuen very ample commiſſions, and was now reſolued by diſcreet counſell (if ſuch may be called counſels diſcreet as are taken when the oportunitie of helping is already paſt) to ſpare no money to reduce them to his amitie: yet the great hatred of the commons, and the ſtrong perſwaſions of the Cardinall of *Sion* preuailing aboue the authoritie of thoſe that from Diot

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to Diot had hindered all resolutions that were to be made against him, it was discerned that they inclined to send six thousand footmen to the pay of the Confederates, who made demand of them, to oppose against the firme squadrons of the Lanceknights. Besides all this, the King found himselfe depriued of all hopes of peace and agreement, although during the heate of the warre, there had bin great solicitation made by the Cardinall of *Nants*, and the Cardinall of *Strigonia*, a mightie Prelate of the Realme of *Hungarie*; for that the Pope had at last answered, that if they would be better heard then before, they should so work, that the Conuenticle of *Pisa* might be disanulled, and that the Cities of *Bolognia* and *Ferrara* might be rendred to the Church: and expressing no lesse violence in his actions, he had newly deposed from their dignities many of the *French* Prelates which were present among others at the Councell, together with *Philip Decc*, one of the most excellent Lawyers of that time, for that he had written and disputed for the iustice of their cause, and followed the Cardinals to direct matters when there should be question in points of law. And in all these difficulties & dangers which enuironed the King on all sides, he had no firme or certaine footing in any part of *Italy*; for as much as the estate of *Ferrara* and *Bolognia* serued him (as in times past) rather for vexations and charges, then for any other vse: and touching the *Florentines*, to whom he made a new instance to ioyne with him in the warre against *Romagna*, he could not draw from them other then generall answers: yea, he held them somewhat suspected, by reason of an Embassadour of the Viceroys of *Naples*, who made his ordinary residence at *Florence*, but much more for that they had sent an Embassadour to the King Catholike, and did no more communicate with him of their affaires, as they were wont: but most of all, for that hauing laboured them to prolong the league which was finished within a few moneths, without demanding of them either money or other great obligations, they vsed delayes, to the end they might be at libertie to take what part they liked best. And the Pope to augment this disposition, and for feare withall, left his too great soueritie should induce them to follow with their forces the fortune of the *French* King, gaue them absolution of the censures, the Commonweale not suing for it, and sent as Nuncio to *Florence*, with very easie and gracious commissions, *Iohn Gossadin* a *Bolognian*, one of the Clarks of the Chamber Apostolike, labouring to take away the suspition that they had had of him. The King then seeing himselfe left alone against so many enemies, either declared, or likely to be declared; and knowing no meanes of resistance but with great difficultie, if so many troubles should come vpon him at once, he commanded *Monsieur de Foix* to march with as great diligence as he could against the army of the Confederates; of whom he promised himselfe the victory, for that they were supposed to be the weakest: and hauing ouercome them, he should assaile *Rome* and the Pope without any respect; in the good successe whereof he should stand acquitted of all his great dangers. And to the end that the emulation of the enterprise might be diminished, and his iustifications the more increased, he gaue order that the enterprise should be made in the name of the Councell of *Pisa*, by whom should be assigned a Deputie Legat to go with the army, and vnder that name to receiue the townes that should be conquered.

Thus, *Monsieur de Foix* being departed from *Bressia*, came to *Finale*, where after he had remained certaine daies, to make prouision of victuals that came out of *Lombardy*, and to reassemble all the bands which the King had in *Italy*, (except such as by necessitie remained for the guard of townes;) albeit he was stayed by the great raines that fell, yet he went to *S. Georges*, which is vpon the territories of *Bolognia*, in which place there came to him a new supply of three thousand footmen *Gascons*, a thousand aduenturers, and a thousand *Pictards*, all men of choise, and such as the *French* men made great reputation & reckoning of: so that his whole campe, according to a iust number, contained fiue thousand Lanceknights, fiue thousand *Gascons*, and eight thousand *Italians* and *French*, with sixteene hundred lances, comprehending therein the band of two hundred Gentlemen. The Duke of *Ferrara* was also to ioyne to this army with an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horsemen, and a great traine of good artilleries, for that *Monsieur de Foix* had left his behind him at *Finale*, because of the deepe and foule waies. To this army came also the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*, appointed Legat of *Bolognia* by the Councell, who was a braue and valiant Cardinall, bearing more inclination to armes then to matters of religion. Now when *Monsieur de Foix* had set downe these directions for his affaires, he marched forward to seeke the enemies, burning in desire to fight with them, as well for the conti-

The armie of Monsieur de Foix.

nuall commandements and incitations of the King, as by his naturall hardineſſe and deſire of glory, being the more ſtirred vp by his former happie ſucceſſe: and yet he was not ſo much tranſported with this hote deſire, that he meant to ſet vpon them raſhly, but approching neare their campe, to ſee if he could willingly draw them out to battell in ſome place where the qualitie of the ſituation might giue leaſt impediment to his vertue, or elſe by cutting off their victuals, to conſtraine them to fight. But the intention of the enemies was farre other, in whoſe army (after the regiment of the Duke of *Vrbin* was gone vnder colour of ſome controuerſie) there was (as the report went) 1400 men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, ſeuen thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, and three thouſand *Italians* newly leuied. For being of opinion, that as they were inferior in numbers, ſo the *French* horſemen being more nimble and valorous then theirs, it could not be for their ſuretie to fight in a place of equalitie, at the leaſt afore the ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers* were come, which being newly granted by the Cantons, there was practiſe at *Venice*, (whither the Cardinall of *Sion* with twelue Embaſſadours of that nation were gone for that purpoſe) to leuie them at the common charges of the Pope and the *Venetians*. Hereunto was added the will of the King of *Aragon*, who had giuen commandement both by letters and expreſſe meſſengers, to abſtaine from battell as much as could be. For, he hoped ſpecially (which the *French* King feared moſt) that if the battell were deferred vntill the King of *England* and he began the warre in *France*, the King would be conſtrained to call home either all or the greateſt part of his companies, and by that meanes he ſhould accompliſh the wars of *Italy*, and remaine poſſeſſed of the victory without bloud or danger: for which reaſon he had frō ỹ beginning forbidden the Viceroy to beſiege *Bologna*, had it not bin for the great inſtance and complaints that the Pope made. Then the Viceroy of *Naples* together with the other Captains, determined to incampe alwaies neare to the *French* army, to the end that the townes of *Romagna* ſhould not remaine to them in prey, and alſo to ſtop their way for going to *Rome*: but to keepe them alwaies in places of ſtrength, either for their ſituation, or being backt with ſome great towne, that the *French* men might haue no oportunitie to charge them but to their great diſaduantage: and therefore to make no account nor difficultie to retire as often as need ſhould be, iudging, as men well vnderſtanding the qualitie of warre, that they ought not regard the apparences and bruites that ranne, but principally to obtaine the victory, which was accōpanied with glory and the praiſe of men. According to which reſolution, the ſame day that the army was lodged at *Caſtle-Guelfe* and at *Medecina*, ſuch as were incamped neare thoſe places, retired neare the walls of *Imola*. The day following, the *French* men paſſed within a mile and a halfe of *Imola*, the enemies keeping good order in the place where they were incamped: but they would not aſſaile them with ſo great diſaduantage, but paſſed further. The vantguard lodged in the borough of *Bubana* foure miles from *Imola*, and the other parts of the army at *Dordana* and *Bagnaro*, townes ſomewhat more then a mile one from another, taking vp their lodging beneath the high way, for the oportunitie of victuals which were ſafely brought by the riuer of *Po*: for that *Lugo*, *Bagnacaual*, and the townes thereabout, being abandoned by the *Spaniards*, were eftſoones returned to the deuotion of the Duke of *Ferrara*, when *Monſieur de Foix* entred vpon the territories of *Bolegnia*. The day after, the *Spaniards* leauing ſufficient garriſon in the Caſtle of *Imola*, and threeſcore men at armes in the towne vnder *Iohn Saſſatello*, went to *Caſtle-Bolonnois*, and incamped vpon the high way, their campe ſtretching towards the mountaine. And the ſame day, the *French* men tooke by force the borough of *Solarola*; and *Cotignola* and *Grauarola* rendred to them, where they remained the day following: and the enemies incamped themſelues in a place called the Field of flies. In theſe ſmall remouings from places ſo neare, the two armies marched alwaies in good order, their artillery going foremoſt, with their faces to the enemy, as though the battell were to begin at euery houre: and yet they both marched with very great reſpect; the one not to be conſtrained to come to blowes but in a place where the aduantage of the ſituation ſhould recompence the diſaduantage of their number and forces; and the other to bring the enemies into a neceſſitie to fight, but in ſuch ſort, that at one time, both the weapons and the place might not be contrary to them. In that place *Monſieur de Foix* receiued a new commandement from the King, to haſten the battell, the ſame cauſes and reaſons ſtill increaſing that had induced him to giue the firſt commandement. For the *Venetians* hauing obſtinately refuſed to make peace with *Caſar*, but vpon condition that they might retaine *Vincenſa*, (notwithſtanding they were much weakened by the acci-

The armie of the Confederates.

accident of *Breſſia*, and much preſſed, firſt by requeſts, and after by the proteſtations and threatnings of the Pope and the King of *Aragon*,) there was at laſt made betweene them a truce for eight moneths before the Pope, with couenant, that each of them ſhould retaine the things they poſſeſſed, and to pay to *Ceſar* fiftie thouſand Florins of *Rhein*: ſo that the King doubted no more of his alienation from him: and at the ſame time he was certified that he ſhould haue warre out of *Italy*. For, *Ieronie Cabanillo* the King of *Aragons* Embaſſadour reſident in his Court, hauing made inſtance to be heard in full Councell, had ſignified vnto him, that he had receiued commandement from his King to depart, exhorting him in his name to forbeare to fauour againſt the Church the tyrants of *Bolognia*, and for ſo vniuſt a cauſe, to trouble a peace of ſo great importance, and ſo profitable to the whole cõmonweale of Chriſtendome: offering him, that in caſe he feared to receiue any domage by the reſtitution of *Bolognia*, to aſſure him in any ſort he would deſire; and adding in the end, that he could not faile to defend the Church according to the dutie of euery Chriſtian Prince. Wherefore *Monſieur de Foix* being now very certaine that he could not accompliſh his intention by accoaſting the enemy, for that by reaſon of the commoditie they had of the townes of *Romagna*, he could not eaſily cut off their victuals, nor force them to battell without great diſaduantage; and alſo becauſe his owne army ſuffered no ſmall want of victuals by reaſon of the barrenneſſe of the places where he lay, he determined, by the counſel of his Captains, to go & incampe afore *Rauenna*, hoping that the enemies would not ſo much diminiſh their reputation as to ſuffer a Citie of that importance to be loſt before their eyes: and that by this meanes occaſion wold be offered to fight with the enemy in a place of indifferencie. And to let the enemy (haply ſuſpecting his deuice) to approch to *Rauenna*, he incamped betweene *Contignola* and *Granarolla*, ſeuen miles from them, where he ſtayed foure daies, expecting from *Ferrara* twelue cannons and twelue other leſſer peeces of artillery. The enemies were in doubt of ſuch a reſolution, and for that cauſe ſent to *Rauenna* *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, who before he went thither, tooke the faith and promiſe of the Legat, the Viceroy, *Fabricio*, and *Peter* of *Nauarre*, with all the other Captaines of the army, (for otherwiſe he would not vndertake the enterpriſe) that if the *French* incamped afore it, they ſhould come to his ſuccours with the whole army. There went with him in this expedition, threeſcore men at armes of his owne band, an hundred light horſemen vnder *Peter de Caſtre*, and ſixe hundred *Spaniſh* footmen commanded by *Parades* and *Salezart*: and touching the reſidue of the army, they incamped neare the walls of *Faenza*, along the gate that goeth to *Rauenna*: and whileſt they remained there, they had an hote skirmiſh with the enemy. About that time *Monſieur de Foix* ſent an hundred Lances and fifteene hundred footmen to take the borough of *Ruſſi*, guarded onely by thoſe of the place it ſelfe, who, though in the beginning (according to the maner of the vulgar ſort) they ſhewed themſelues very reſolute & aſſured, yet feare quickly ſurmounting their courage, they began the ſame day to parley of yeelding: during which communings, the *French* men taking the oportunitie of their negligence and diſorder, entred the place with no litle fury, and ſacked it, putting to the ſword more then two hundred men, and reduced all the reſidue to the calamitie of priſoners. From *Ruſſi*, *Monſieur de Foix* drew neare to *Rauenna*, and the day after incamped neare the walls, betweene the two riuers, in the midſt whereof the towne hath her ſituation. The riuer *Ronquo*, called by the ancients *Vitis*, and the riuer *Montono* (not a litle eſteemed, for that next after *Po*, it is the chiefeſt of thoſe riuers that haue their head on the left ſide of the *Appenin*, which enter into the ſea of their owne courſe) do fall from the *Appenin* hils, and where they take their head, they make the ſeparation of *Romagna* from *Tuſcane*. Theſe riuers runne in ſuch ſort, as they incloſe the Citie of *Furly*; *Montono* that runneth on the left hand, almoſt touching the walls; and *Ronquo* which is on the right hand, paſſeth within two miles of it, and afterwards they are reſtrained and drawne narrow neare *Rauenna*, with ſo litle ſpace, that the one on the one ſide, and the other on the other, make their courſe cloſe by the walls: a litle below which walls, their waters meeting together, fall afterwards into the ſea, which is now three miles off, but in old time (as they ſay) did beate vpon the walls of the towne. *Monſieur de Foix* poſſeſſed the diſtance betweene both the riuers, the front of his campe being towards the gate *Adriana*, which is almoſt ioyning to the ſhoare of *Montono*. The day after he was incamped, he cauſed the artillery to be planted, part againſt the Tower called *Roncono*, ſituated betweene the gate *Adriana* and the riuer *Ronquo*, and part on the other ſide of *Montono*, whither a part of the army was paſſed by a

The ſeate of Rauenna.

bridge which was caſt ouer the riuer: and he haſtened the battery as much as he could, to the end to come to the aſſault afore the enemies approched, whom he knew to be marching; and no leſſe for the great difficultie to recouer victuals, ſeeing the *Venetian* bands which lay at *Ficquerõles* with many armed veſſels, gaue impediment to ſuch as were brought out of *Lombardie*: and hauing ſunke certaine barks in the mouth of the channell which entreth into *Po* twelue miles from *Rauenna*, and paſſeth there within two miles, they alſo ſtopped the entry of thoſe that came from *Ferrara* in veſſels of that countrey; a prouiſion which was no leſſe dangerous then vneaſie to be brought by waggon. Beſides this, there was great incommoditie and danger for the forragers, who of neceſſitie were to range ſeuen or eight miles from the campe. For theſe reaſons *Monſieur de Foix* determined to giue the aſſault the ſame day, notwithſtanding he knew it was very hard to make his entry: for that of the battered wall, there was beaten downe but thirtie fadoms, which notwithſtanding was not altogether ruined; for that which remained was yet three fadoms high, ſo that there could no entry be made but by ladders: to ſurmount which difficulties with valour and direction, and to encourage his people by an emulation amongſt themſelues, he deuided into three ſquadrons diſtinct & ſeparate one from another, the regiments of footmen of the *Almaines*, *Italians*, and *French*: and after he had choſen out of euery company of the men at armes, ten of the moſt reſolute, he commanded them, that being couered with the ſame armes wherewith they were wont to fight on horſebacke, they ſhould march afore the footmen: who being come to the wall, gaue a very furious aſſault, thoſe within defending themſelues valiantly, to the great praiſe of *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, who, without fauouring himſelfe, relieued and backed them, now here now there, as he ſaw it was moſt needful. At laſt the *French* men being out of hope to be able to force the towne, & finding themſelues much endomaged by a Culuerin that was planted vpõ a baſtillion, after they had fought three houres, they retired to their lodgings, with the loſſe of three hundred footmen, certaine men at armes, and almoſt as many hurt, amongſt whom was *Monſieur Chaſtillon* and the Captaine of the artillery, who receiuing their wounds by the artillery of the towne, died not many daies after. *Federike de Boſſolo* was alſo hurt, but not much. The day following, the deuices to batter the walls, were turned to fight with the enemies in the field; who when the *French* army remoued, intending to keepe their faith promiſed to *Marke Anthonie*, were entred within *Furly* which is betweene the ſame riuers, and hauing afterwards paſſed the riuer of *Ronquo* a few miles lower, came towards *Rauenna*: at which time the citizens of the towne, being diſmayed by the aſſault of the day before, ſent out one to treate of compoſition without the priuitie of *Marke Anthonie*: but as he was going and returning with anſwers, the army of the enemy was diſcouered, which marched along the riuer: and as ſoone as the *French* men diſcerned it, they drew immediatly into armes with a great noiſe, and ranged themſelues all vnder their enſignes. They retired in great haſte their artilleries from before the walls, and turned them towards their enemies; *Monſieur de Foix* conſulting in the meane time with the other Captaines, whether it were good to paſſe the riuer at the ſame inſtant, to let them for entring into *Rauenna:* a matter which either they had not determined to do, or at leaſt it was impoſſible with order conuenient, and with neceſſary diligence: whereas it was eaſie to the army of the Confederates to enter the ſame day into *Rauenna* by the wood of *Pineta*, which is betweene the ſea and the Citie; which would haue conſtrained the *French* men to retire with ſhame, and to go out of *Romagna*, conſidering the want of victuals. But the Confederates either not knowing the occaſion, and fearing leſt as they marched they ſhould be enforced to fight in the plaine field: or elſe ſuppoſing that by the onely view and ſhewing of their army, *Rauenna* was ſufficiently ſuccoured, for that *Monſieur de Foix* durſt not eſtſoones ſend to the aſſault; they incamped, contrary to all expectation, three miles from *Rauenna*, in a place called *Monlinacco*, ſpending the reſidue of that day and the night following in intrenching their campe with ditches, ſo large and deepe, as the ſhortneſſe of the time would ſuffer. During which time, the *French* Captaines conſulted together, not without diuerſitie of opinions. For they held it an enterpriſe too dangerous to giue a new aſſault to them within *Rauenna*, hauing before them ſo litle a breach in the wall, and the enemies at their backs; and vnprofitable to remaine there without hope to be able to do any thing; yea with impoſſibilitie in regard of the ſcarcitie of victuals: and that by retiring, there would grow to the *Spaniards* a greater reputation then was wonne the day before by aduancing: and beſides, that as it was a matter very dangerous, and againſt all former deliberations, to go charge them in

A notable military conſultation.

The Confederates at the ſuccours of Rauenna.

their

their campe, which they had to thinke was well fortified, and that of all ſorts of dangers, that chiefly was to be eſchued by which might happen greateſt harmes, and that to be ouerthrowne was without compariſon the greateſt ill that might happen. Amid theſe difficulties, it was in the end reſolued, to go ſet vpon the enemy as ſoone as it was day, *Monſieur de Foix* allowing that reſolution as a matter moſt glorious and ſafe: according to which deliberation they ſet vp a bridge vpon the riuer of *Ronco* in the night, leuelling the banks on all ſides, to make the paſſage more eaſie: and in the morning by the breake of day, being the eleuenth of Aprill, a day very ſolemne for the memory of the holy Reſurrection, the Lanceknights marched ouer the bridge; but almoſt all the vantguard and the battell paſſed the riuer by foord, and the reareguard guided by *Iues d'Allegre*, wherein were foure hundred Lances, remained vpon the ſhore of the riuer on *Rauenna* ſide, to the end to be able to ſuccour the army if need required, and to make head if the ſouldiers or people iſſued out of *Rauenna*; and for the guard of the bridge which had bene afore built vpon the riuer of *Montono*, was appointed Captaine *Paris* a *Scottiſh* man with a thouſand footmen. This being done, the *French* men prepared themſelues to the battell in this order: The vantguard with the artillery before, gouerned by the Duke of *Ferrara*, with ſeuen hundred lances and the Lanceknights, was placed vpon the banke of the riuer which was on their right hand, the footmen being on the left hand to the horſemen: On the ſide of the vantguard and in flanke, were beſtowed the footmen of the battell, which were eight thouſand, part *Gaſcons* and part *Piccards*: and after, in enlarging and alwaies bearing further from the bank of the riuer, was the laſt eſquadron of *Italian* footmen led by *Federike de Boſſolo*, wherein was not aboue fiue thouſand bodies. For notwithſtanding *Monſieur de Foix* coming from before *Bologna*, tooke with him ſuch as were there in garriſon, yet many of them were ſhrunke away, by reaſon the pay was ſmall: and on the wing of this ſquadron were all the archers and light horſemen, which exceeded the number of three thouſand. After all theſe ſquadrons, who not ſtretching in a right line, but plying and bowing, bare the forme of a halfe Moone, and vpon the banke of the riuer, were the ſixe hundred Lances of the battel, commanded by *Monſieur de la Paliſſa* together with the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin* Legat of the Councell, who being a big man, and of great courage, and withall armed from top to toe with glittering armes, performed farre better the office of a Captaine then of a Cardinall or Legat. In this diſpoſing of the army *Monſieur de Foix* reſerued to himſelfe no charge or place particular, but hauing made choiſe of thirtie of the moſt valiant Gentlemen of the whole army, would be at libertie to ſuccour and miniſter to all parts, and the ſplendor and beautie of his armes and his coate, made him eaſie to be diſcerned aboue all others, who ſhewing a moſt chearfull countenance, with eyes full of vigor, and almoſt ſparkling for ioy, when the army was ranged, he mounted vpon the banke of the riuer, and ſpake (as the report goeth) with an eloquence more then martiall, to ſtirre vp and inflame the minds of his ſouldiers, in this ſort:

The order of the Frenchmen in the battell of Rauenna.

Monſieur de Foix encouraged his ſouldiers to the battell.

My louing ſouldiers, behold the fortune which offereth vs this day to fight with our enemies in open field, which we haue ſo much deſired: the fortune, I ſay, that hath bene fauourable to vs in ſo many victories, puts into our hands an occaſion to winne to our great glory the moſt faire and honorable victory that euer was got by any army in the memory of man. For not onely *Rauenna*, and all the townes of *Romagna* ſhall be expoſed to your diſcretion, but they ſhall » be the leaſt part of the reward of your valour: for as much as no Prince or Potentate remaining » now in *Italy* able to make head againſt your forces, what ſhall let you to runne vp euen to » *Rome*, where the infinite treaſures of that wicked Court, drawne in ſo many ages out of the very » bowels of Chriſtians, ſhall be by you ranſacked, ſo many ſtately ornaments, ſo much ſil- » uer, ſo much gold, ſo many precious ſtones, and ſo many rich priſoners, that the whole world » will enuie your condition? From *Rome*, euen with the ſame facilitie, we may runne euen to *Na-* » *ples*, reuenging our ſelues of ſo many iniuries done to vs: which felicities I ſee not ſubiect to » any impediment, when I conſider your vertue, your fortune, and the honorable victories you » haue gotten in a few dayes: when I behold your countenances, and when I call to mind that » there are few amongſt you, who in my preſence haue not giuē ſome notable teſtimonie of their » valour. Our enemies are the ſame *Spaniards*, whom our arriuall forced with ſhame to flie by » night from before *Bologna*, they be the very ſame, who not many dayes ſince, ſaued themſelues » from vs no otherwiſe then by hiding themſelues vnder the walls of *Imola* and *Faenza*, and after- » wards in places mountainous and impaſſable. This nation neuer fought againſt our forces in »

« the kingdome of *Naples* in the plaine field, or places diſcouered, but alwayes with aduantage,
« either of rampiers, of riuers, or of ditches, neuer truſting in their valour, but in ſleights and am-
« buſhes. And yet theſe are not thoſe *Spaniards* which haue bene nouriſhed and become old in
« the warres of *Naples*, but a people new and vnexperienced, who neuer fought againſt other
« armes then bowes and arrowes, and lances pointed after the maner of the *Mores*: and who not-
« withſtanding the laſt yeare were ouerthrowne with ſo great infamy by that people, being weake
« of body, without heart, without armour, and altogether ignorant in the art of warre, in the Ile
« of *Gerbes*: frō which place fled this *Peter* of *Nauarre*, a Captain of ſo great reputation with them,
« ſeruing as a notable example to all the world touching the difference to make walls fall with the
« fury of powder, and ſubtiltie of vaults ſecret and vnder earth, and to fight in the field with true
« reſolution and magnanimitie of courage. They are now incloſed with a trench, which feare hath
« driuen them to make this night in great haſte, the footmen being couered with the riſing of the
« banke; and they put confidence in their armed wagons, as if the battell were to be performed
« by thoſe childiſh inſtruments, and not with the reſolution of mind, and force of hands & armes.
« But, beleeue me, that with our artilleries we ſhall hunt them out of their caues, and compell
« them to come into the plaine and open field, where it will appeare what difference there is
« betweene the fury of the *French*, the reſolution of the *Almaines*, the valour of the *Italians*, and
« the ſubtilties, wiles and ambuſhes of the *Spaniards*. Nothing can diminiſh our glory, but onely
« this, that we are the more in number, and almoſt twiſe ſo many as they: and yet to vſe this ad-
« uantage (ſith fortune hath giuen vs the meanes) is not to be referred to our cowardize, but to
« their raſhneſſe, for that their valour and courage is not the cauſe of their appearing, but the
« authoritie of *Fabricio Colonno*, in reſpect of his promiſes vndiſcreetly made to *Marke Anthonie*;
« or rather Gods iuſtice, for the iuſt puniſhment of the pride and enormous vices of that falſe
« Pope *Iulius*, and of ſo many treaſons and deceits as that diſloyall King of *Aragon* hath wrought
« againſt vs, abuſing the goodneſſe of our King. But why do I ſpend ſo much time in words?
« wherefore in vſing ſuperfluous perſwaſions to ſouldiers of your vertue, do I ſo much deferre
« and hinder our victory? March on then boldly according to the direction ſet downe, aſſuring
« your ſelues that this day will giue vnto our King the impery and iuriſdiction, and to you the
« wealth and riches of all *Italy*. For my part, who am your Captain, I will be with you at all times,
« and in all places, and will expoſe my life to all dangers (according to my cuſtome,) eſteeming
« my ſelfe more happie then all other Captaines, ſeeing that by the meanes of this dayes worke, I
« ſhall make my ſouldiers more glorious and more rich, then euer were any ſouldiers for the ſpace
« of theſe three hundred yeares.

After theſe words, the aire reſounding with the noiſe of trumpets and drums, and with the ioyfull acclamations of the whole army, they began to march towards the enemies campe, not two miles diſtant from the place where they paſſed the riuer, who were lodged all along the ſhore of the riuer, which was on their left hand, where they had caſt afore them a trench ſo deep as the ſhortneſſe of the time would ſuffer, which turning vpon the right hand, enuironed all the place where they were incamped, onely they had left at the entry of the trench an opening of twentie paces for the horſemen to iſſue out to the skirmiſh. In this campe, as ſoone as they ſaw the *French* begin to paſſe the riuer, they were ranged in battell in this ſort: The vantguard of eight hundred men at armes commanded by *Fabricio Colonno*, was beſtowed along the ſhore of the riuer, and cloſe to them on the right hand a ſquadron of ſixe thouſand footmen. After the vantguard occupying the place along the riuer, was the battell of ſixe hundred Lances, and on the wing a ſquadron of foure thouſand footmen, all gouerned by the Viceroy, accompanied by the Marquis of *Paluda*. The Cardinall *de Medicis*, who by nature had no cleare ſight, and was of a mild nature, marched in the battell in the habite of peace, ſhewing himſelfe as well in demonſtrations as in effects, very vnlike to the Cardinall *de S. Seuerin*. After the battell, and likewiſe along the brinke of the riuer, followed the reareguard of foure hundred men at armes, led by *Caruagial* a *Spaniſh* Captaine, with a ſquadron for his wing of foure thouſand footmen, and with the bands of light horſemen, of whom was Captaine generall *Ferdinand d'Aualo* Marquis of *Peſquiero*, who was yet very yong, but of ſingular expectation: who were on the right hand, at the backs of the footmen, to ſuccour ſuch as ſhould be in diſtreſſe. The artilleries were beſtowed afront the men at armes: and *Peter* of *Nauarre* who with fiue hundred choſen footmen had tied himſelfe to no place, had beſtowed vpon the trench afore the footmen thirtie waggons

The Confederates army.

like

like to them of old, armed with ſithes, euery waggon being full of ſmall ſhot, with a very long boare-ſpeare vpon them, the more eaſily to ſuſtaine the aſſault of the *French* men: and in this order they kept themſelues cloſe within the body of their trench, expecting the army of the enemy to come and charge them: which reſolution as it proued in the end litle to their profit, ſo from the beginning it appeared very preiudiciall. For *Fabricio Colonno* had giuen aduice to charge the enemy when they began to paſſe the riuer, iudging it a greater aduantage to fight againſt one part onely, then to ſtand to the defence of a ſlender trench which they caſt afore them. But *Peter* of *Nauarre* contradicting this aduice, whoſe counſels were receiued of the Viceroy as Oracles, it was very vnwiſely reſolued, to ſuffer them to paſſe. Therefore the *French* men marching on, were by this time come within two hundred paces of the trench: and ſeeing their enemies ſhew no diſpoſition to come out of their place, they ſtayed, to the end not to giue them the aduantage which they ſought for: and in that ſort both the armies ſtood without ſtirring more then two houres, the artilleries ſhooting continually on both parts, by which the *French* footmen were not a litle endomaged, for that *Peter* of *Nauarre* had planted the artilleries in a place of great oportunitie to diſtreſſe them. But the Duke of *Ferrara* drawing behind the army part of the artillery, brought it in great haſte to the other wing of the *French* men, in the very place where the archers had bene beſtowed; the which wing, for that the army bare the forme of a halfe Moone, was almoſt vpon the backs of the enemies, who were now furiouſly battered in flanke, to their great harmes, but ſpecially the horſemen, for that the *Spaniſh* footmen whom *Peter* of *Nauarre* had withdrawne into a low place on the ſide of the banke of the riuer, being in no perill to be hurt, for that according to his commandement they threw themſelues flat vpon the earth, *Fabricio Colonno* cried aloud, and with redoubled meſſengers vrged the Viceroy to iſſue out to the battell, and not to tarry till they were conſumed with the ſhot of the artilleries. But *Peter* of *Nauarre* was againſt it, moued thereto by a peruerſe ambition. For he imagining that by the valour of the *Spaniſh* footmen (though all the reſidue periſhed) he ſhould remaine victorious, eſteemed that his glory would by ſo much the more be augmented, by how much the danger of the army ſhould be increaſed. But the artillery had already giuen the men at armes and the light horſemen ſuch an ouerthrow, that they could no longer hold out, and there might be ſeene with a miſerable ſpectacle mingled with lamentable cries, many times both men and horſes falling dead to the ground, and ſometimes many heads and armes ſundred from the reſt of the bodie, flying vp into the aire: by reaſon whereof *Fabricio Colonno* crying out, Shall we all die here ſhamefully through the obſtinacie and leudneſſe of one hard hearted fellow? Shall this army be deſtroyed, without the death of any one of our enemies? Where are all the victories obtained by vs againſt the *French*? Shall the honour of *Spaine* and *Italy* be loſt for the pleaſure of one particular man of *Nauarre*? He cauſed his companies to iſſue out on the other ſide of the trench, without tarrying for licence or direction from the Viceroy: and being followed with all the horſemen, *Peter* of *Nauarre* was compelled to giue the ſigne to his footmen, who being riſen from the ground, charged with incredible fury the footmen of the Lanceknights which were already come vpon them. By this meanes all the ſquadrons being ioyned pelmell, there began a moſt furious battell, and out of doubt one of the greateſt that had bene fought in *Italy* of long time: for the battell of *Taro* was ſcarcely any other thing then a gallant encounter of Lances; and the deeds of armes in the kingdome of *Naples*, were rather actions of diſorder and raſhneſſe, then battels pitched and performed: and in *Guiaradadda* the leſſer part onely of the *Venetians* was brought to the fight: but here where euery one was mingled in the battell, the fight being in the plaine field, without impediments of waters or rampiers, both the armies fought with a wonderfull reſolution and courage, determining either to ouercome or to die; and they were not onely inflamed with glory, with hope, and with danger, but alſo with hatred of nation againſt nation. And this was a memorable ſpectacle, that in the encounter of the Lanceknights with the *Spaniards*, two Captaines of great reputation marching afore their ſquadrons, whereof the one was named *Iaques Empſer* a Lanceknight, and the other *Zamudo* a *Spaniard*, fought hand to hand as it were by defiance, where the Lanceknight being ſlaine, the *Spaniard* remained victor. The horſemen of the league, which ordinarily were not equall to the *French*, ſuffered that day much hurt by the artillery, which made them farre more inferiour, bing not able to make further reſiſtance; who hauing long borne out the fury of the fight, more with courage then with ſtrength, and alſo *Iues d'Allegre* whom *Monſieur de la Paliſſa*

had called, comming with the reareguard to charge them in flanke, and with the thouſand footmen that had bene left at *Montono*, *Fabricio Colonno* who fought valiantly, being now taken priſoner by the ſouldiers of the Duke of *Ferrara*; being no longer able to make reſiſtance, they turned their backs. Whereunto was much furthering the example of the Captains, for that the Viceroy and *Caruagial*, without making a laſt proofe of the vertue of their men, began to flie, carrying with them the third ſquadron almoſt entire: with whom fled *Anthonie de Leua*, a man at that time of very baſe condition, but afterwards riſing by continuall exerciſe of armes to all degrees of warre, he became a Captaine of ſingular reputation. All the light horſemen were likewiſe ouerthrowne, and their Captaine the Marquis of *Peſquiero* taken priſoner, being all couered with bloud, and his body full of wounds. There was taken alſo the Marquis of *Paluda*, who in great diſorder had led the ſecond ſquadron to the battell through a field full of pits and buſhes: and the place was all couered with bodies of dead men and carcaſſes of horſes; yet neuertheleſſe the footmen of the *Spaniards* abandoned of their horſemen, continued to fight with an incredible valour and aſſurance. For, albeit in the beginning, and at the firſt encounter with the Lanceknights, they were ſomewhat ſhaken by the firme and cloſe order of the pikes, yet coming afterwards to the ſwords point, many of the *Spaniards* couered with their targets, running with their daggers and ſhort weapons betweene the legs of the Lanceknights, they came with a wonderfull ſlaughter almoſt to the very middeſt of their ſquadron: and neare vnto them the *Gaſcon* footmen hauing occupied the way betweene the riuer and the riſing, had charged the *Italian* footmen; who albeit they had ſuffered much by the artilleries, yet they had repulſed them to their great praiſe, if, with a guidon of horſemen *Iues d'Allegre* had not thruſt in amongſt them with greater valour then fortune: for that *Monſieur Vinarais* his ſon being ſuddenly ſlaine afore his eies, vnwilling to liue after ſo great a griefe, he thruſt in with his horſe into the thickeſt preaſſe of enemies, where he was ſlaine (after he had killed a great nũber) fighting as appertained to a valiant Captaine. The *Italian* footmen gaue backe, being no more able to reſiſt ſo great a multitude: but part of the *Spaniſh* footmen running to their ſuccours, ſuſtained them for a time: and likewiſe the Lanceknights being oppreſſed by the other part of the *Spaniards*, could hardly make any more reſiſtance. But all the horſemen being already fled, *Monſieur de Foix* turned him to charge them with a great troupe of horſemen, by reaſon whereof the *Spaniards* rather retiring then chaſed out of the battell, and winning the way which is betweene the riuer and the riſing, without any kind of diſorder, began to get further off, not giuing faſter backe then by foote paces, keeping the front of their ſquadron very cloſe, by whoſe force they repulſed the *French* men. At which time *Peter* of *Nauarre*, who deſired rather to die then to ſaue himſelfe, and for that cauſe would not go out of the battell, was taken priſoner. But *Monſieur de Foix* being not able to endure that the *Spaniſh* footmen ſhould go their way as it were victorious, and in ſo good order, and knowing that the victory was not perfect, if they were not ouerthrowne as well as the reſidue, he went furiouſly to aſſaile them with a ſquadron of horſemen, and charged vpon thoſe that were laſt, by whom being ſuddenly enuironed and caſt from his horſe, or as ſome ſay, his horſe falling vpon him whiles he fought, he was ſlaine with the thruſt of a pike giuen him in the flank. And if (as the opinion is) death is to be deſired, when men are come to the height of felicitie, then ſurely he died happily, ending his life after he had gotten ſo glorious a victory. He died very yong, but with a ſingular reputation throughout the whole world, hauing in leſſe then three moneths, and being a Captaine almoſt before he was a ſouldier, obtained ſo many victories with incredible celeritie and valour. Neare vnto him *Monſieur Lautrech* was left for dead, hauing vpon him twentie wounds, but being afterwards carried to *Ferrara*, his life was ſaued by the diligent cure of Phyſitions. *Monſieur de Foix* being dead, the *Spaniards* went away without receiuing afterwards any trouble or impediment, the reſidue of the army being already diſperſed and put to flight, the baggage ſacked, the Enſignes and artilleries ſpoiled & taken, together with the Popes Legate, who frõ the hands of the eſtradiots being come into the power of *Federike de Boſſolo*, was by him preſented to the Legate of the Councel. There were likewiſe taken *Fabricio Colonno*, *Peter* of *Nauarre*, the Marquis of *Paluda*, the Marquis of *Bitonto*, the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, with many other Lords, Barons and honorable Gentlemen, as well *Spaniards* as of the kingdome of *Naples*. Touching the number of the dead, then which in battels there is nothing more vncertaine, the common bruite was, that of the one and the other army, there was left on the ground at the leaſt ten thouſand bodies,

The death of Iues d'Allegre

The death of Monſieur de Foix.

The number of the dead.

one

one third part being of the *French*, and the other two thirds of the Confederates: ſome publiſh a greater number, onely this is certaine, that the calamitie fell vpon the moſt valiant and braueſt ſort, of which number on the Eccleſiaſtike ſide was *Raphael de Paſſi*, a Captaine of great renowne: and of ſuch as were hurt, the number was infinite. But in this reſpect the loſſe of the conquerours was without controuerſie farre greater, by reaſon of the death of *Monſieur de Foix*, *Iues d'Allegre*, and many of the Gentlemen of *France*: as alſo of Captaine *Iacob*, with many other reſolute *Almaine* Leaders, to whoſe valour (but with a great price of their bloud) the victory in the greateſt part was attributed; and alſo for the death of many *Gaſcon* and *Piccard* Captaines, who were left there with Captaine *Molard*. But that which ſurmounted all other loſſes, was the death of *Monſieur de Foix*, with whom vtterly periſhed the very ſinew & ſtrength of that army. Of ſuch as were vanquiſhed and ſaued themſelues from the battell, the moſt part drew towards *Ceſena*, and from thence fled further off: and the Viceroy made no ſtay till he came into the countrey of *Ancona*, where he arriued with a very ſlender troupe of horſemen. Many were ſlaine and ſtripped as they fled, for that the paiſants on all parts by troupes beſet the wayes. And the Duke of *Vrbin* (who for that many dayes afore he had ſent *Baltazar Chaſtillon* to the *French* King, and entertained alſo certaine bands of men with *Monſieur de Foix*, was ſuſpected to haue ſecretly conſpired againſt his Vnkle,) did not onely ſtirre vp the countrimen againſt ſuch as fled, but alſo ſent bands of ſouldiers into the territory of *Peſera* to do the like. Onely ſuch as fled by the dominions of the *Florentines*, paſſed without any harme, according to the commandement of the officers of that Commonweale.

The vanquiſhed weepe, and the victors mourn: Theſe are the fruits of warre

The victorious army being returned to their tents, the people of *Rauenna* ſent preſently vnto them to render themſelues: but whileſt they were in debating of the couenants, or haply hauing already agreed, as they prepared to ſend victuals to the campe, the *Almain* footmen and *Gaſcons* perceiuing their walls to be ill guarded, entred the towne at the breach which *Monſieur de Foix* had made, and ſacked it moſt cruelly, the deſpite of the harmes they receiued in the battell, added to their naturall hatred againſt the *Italians*, inciting them, and making them the more cruel. The fourth day after *Marke Anthonie Colonno* forſooke the Citadell, into the which he was retired, yeelding it vpon promiſe of life and goods ſaued, but with promiſe as well for himſelfe as the other Captaines, not to beare armes, neither againſt the *French* King, nor againſt the Councell of *Piſa*, vntill *Magdalens* day next: and certaine dayes after, the Biſhop *Vitelli* who had the charge of the Rocke, with an hundred and fiftie footmen, conſented to giue it vp vpon the ſame conditions. The Cities of *Imola*, *Furly*, *Ceſena*, and *Rimini*, together with all the Caſtles of *Romagna*, except thoſe of *Furly* and *Imola*, followed the fortune of the victory, which were all receiued by the Legate in the name of the Councell of *Piſa*. But the *French* army, for the death of *Monſieur de Foix*, and other loſſes, being danted, and as it were aſtonied, remained foure miles from *Rauenna*, without doing any thing: and the Legate and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* to whom was diuolued the gouernment of the army (for *Alphonſo d'Eſte* was now returned to *Ferrara*,) being vncertaine what would be the Kings will, expected his further direction, their authoritie with the ſouldiers being not yet ſufficient to cauſe the army to ſtirre, being troubled in parting and ſending to places of ſuretie the things they had ſacked, and ſo much weakened in force and courage for ſo bloudy a victory, that they ſeemed rather vanquiſhed then victorious. By reareaſon whereof all the ſouldiers with plaints and teares bemoned *Monſieur de Foix*, whoſe preſence onely had ſufficed to remoue all impediments that might let them to haue followed him. And it was not to be doubted, that being puſhed on with the fury of his valour, and by the promiſes that the King had made to him, that the kingdome of *Naples* ſhould be conquered to his vſe, but he had with his accuſtomed diligence preſently after the victory, run euen to *Rome*, and that the Pope and all his dependants hauing no other hope, would haue betaken themſelues to flight. The thirteenth day of Aprill the newes of the battell came to *Rome*, by the relation of *Octauian Fregoſo*, who went thither in poſt from *Foſſambrun*, and were entertained with great feare and tumult of the whole Court; ſo that the Cardinals running in haſte to the Pope, preſſed him with vehement petitions, that accepting peace, which they diſtruſted not to obtaine of the *French* King vnder honeſt conditions, he would at laſt diſpoſe himſelfe to deliuer the ſea Apoſtolike and his perſon from ſo many perils, ſaying that he had taken paines enough for the aduancement of the Church, and the libertie of *Italy*, and gotten great glory by his intention: and that in ſo holy an enterpriſe, the will of God ſtriuing againſt him, which he might know by many

Rauenna ſacked.

The Cardinals counſell the Pope to hearken to peace.

many ſignes and tokens to oppoſe againſt it, were nothing elſe then to bring the whole Church to vtter ruine: That to God more appertained the care of his ſpouſe then to him. Therefore that he ſhould referre himſelfe to his will; and embracing peace, according to the commandement of the Goſpell, to free from ſo many perplexities and trauels, his old age, the ſtate of the Church, and all his Court, which demanded and cried out for nothing elſe but peace: That it was very credible that the victors were already on the way to come to *Rome*, with whom his nephew would ioyne, and likewiſe *Robert Vrſin*, *Pompey Colonno*, *Anthonie Sauello*, *Peter Margano*, and *Rance Mancin*, bearing the ſame inclination, (for it was knowne that all theſe had receiued money of the *French* King, and were prepared euen afore the battell to diſtreſſe *Rome*:) for which dangers, what other remedy was there then peace? On the other ſide, the Embaſſadours of the King of *Aragon* and the Senate of *Venice*, ſolicited vehemently to the contrary, endeuoring to perſwade him, that matters were not reduced to ſuch extremitie, nor the army ſo extremely diſperſed, but that without any great charge, and in a litle time it might be redreſſed: That it was well knowne that the Viceroy was eſcaped with the greateſt part of the horſemen, and that the *Spaniſh* footmen, vnited together, were retired from the battell in good order, who if they were in ſafetie (as it was very likely) all the other loſſes were of ſmall conſequence: That it was not to be feared that the *French* men could march ſo ſpeedily to *Rome*, but that there would be reſpite enough to prouide againſt them; for that it could not be, but the death of their Captaine would be followed with many diſorders and inſolencies, and alſo that they would be holden in ſuſpence for feare of the *Swiſſers*, of whom it was now no more to be doubted, that they would openly profeſſe themſelues for the league and deſcend into *Lombardie*. Likewiſe that there was no hope to obtaine peace of the *French* King, but vnder conditions vnequall and full of infamy, and that he muſt alſo receiue lawes from the pride of *Bernardin Carnagial* and the inſolencie of *Federike de S. Seuerin*. And therefore, that nothing could be worſe, then vnder the colour of peace, to bring himſelfe into ſuch intollerable and vnfaithfull ſeruitude, with ſo great indignitie and infamy: for that thoſe ſchiſmatikes would neuer ceaſſe to perſecute his dignitie and his life: That it were a much leſſe euill (if there were no other remedy) to abandon *Rome*, and to withdraw himſelfe and all his Court either to the kingdome of *Naples* or to *Venice*, where he might remaine with the ſame ſuretie, the ſame honour, and the ſame greatneſſe, that he had there: for that with the loſſe of *Rome*, the Pontificacie was not loſt, being alwayes tied to the perſon of the Pope, in what place ſoeuer he were. Laſtly, that if he retained his accuſtomed conſtancie and magnanimitie, God, who is the ſearcher of the hearts of men, would neuer faile to aide him in ſo holy a purpoſe, and much leſſe abandon the litle ſhip of *Saint Peter*, which hath bene wont to be tormented with the waues of the ſea, but neuer to be drowned: And that the Princes of Chriſtendome moued with the zeale of religion, & with the feare of the too great power of the *French* King, would vndertake his quarrell, and defend him with all their forces, and with their proper perſons. Theſe things were heard of the Pope with great doubt and ambiguitie of mind, and in ſuch ſort, that it was eaſily diſcerned how on the one ſide did worke in him hate, diſdaine, and his obſtinacie, not being accuſtomed to bend or ſubmit: and on the other ſide, feare and danger: and it might be perceiued by the anſwers he made to the Embaſſadours, that it was not ſo grieuous to him to abandon *Rome*, as that he could not reſort to any place where he might not be in the power of another. Therefore he anſwered the Cardinals, that he would haue peace, conſenting that the *Florentines* might be ſolicited to interpoſe to that end with the *French* King: and yet he anſwered not with that reſolution, nor ſo plainly, as there might be any aſſurance what was his intention. He cauſed to come from *Ciuitauecchia*, *Baſcia* a *Genoway* and Captaine of his galleys, which was a manifeſt coniecture that he would go from *Rome*: and a litle after ſent him backe againe. He ſpake of leuying thoſe Barons of *Rome* which were not of the conſpiracie with the others. He heard willingly the diſcourſe of the two Embaſſadours, but ſo, as oftentimes he anſwered them with words full of reproch and diſdaine. About this time came *Iulio de Medicis* Knight of the *Rhodes*, and afterwards Pope, whom the Cardinall *de Medicis*, with the leaue of the Cardinall *S. Seuerin*, ſent from the army vnder colour to recommend himſelfe to him in ſo great a calamitie, but indeed to relate vnto him in what eſtate things ſtood: and the Pope vnderſtanding by him at large how much the *French* men were weakened, of how many Captaines they were depriued, and how many valiant men they had loſt, how many hurt, who for many dayes would be vnprofitable, what ſpoile of horſes they had

ſuffered,

ſuffered, and how part of the army was diſperſed abroad by reaſon of the ſacke of *Rauenna*, the Captaines vncertaine of the Kings will, and not at good agreement amongſt themſelues, becauſe *Monſieur de Paliſſa* refuſed to endure the inſolencie of the Cardinall *de S. Seuerin* vſurping the office of a Legate and a Captaine: that there were ſecret murmures of the deſcending of the *Swiſſers*, and no apparent token ſeene that the army could ſtirre ſo ſoone. This diſcourſe recomforted much the Pope, who hauing brought him into the Conſiſtory, cauſed him to relate the ſame things in the preſence of the Cardinals; whereunto he added, that the Duke of *Vrbin* (whatſoeuer moued him) changing counſell, ſent to offer him two hundred men at armes and foure thouſand footmen. The Cardinals notwithſtanding continued to aduiſe him to peace, whereunto albeit in words he ſeemed not eſtranged, yet he was reſolued not to accept it but as a laſt remedy; and vntill ſuch time as when there appeared no ready helpe for the preſent euill, he ſhould the rather chuſe to go from *Rome*, with this hope, that his cauſe might be ſupported by the armes of Princes, and principally that the *Swiſſers* would ſtirre, who ſhewing themſelues inclinable to his deſires, had many dayes before forbidden the *French* Kings Embaſſadours to be preſent in the place where the Deputies of all the Cantons were aſſembled to determine vpon the Popes demands. In this eſtate of affaires there appeared ſome hope of peace, for that before the battell of *Rauenna*, the *French* King what with the conſideration of the dangers that threatned him on all ſides, and being diſpleaſed with the inconſtancie of the Emperour, and the hard conditions he propounded vnto him, and therfore reſoluing in the end rather to yeeld to the Popes wil in many things, had ſecretly ſent *Fabricio Carretto*, brother to the Cardinall of *Finale*, to the Cardinals of *Nants* and *Strigonia*, who had not yet altogether abandoned the negociations of peace: and bad them declare to the Pope, that he was content that *Bologna* ſhould be rendred to him: That *Alphonſo d'Eſte* ſhould giue vp to him *Lugo*, with all the other townes he held in *Romagna*: That he ſhould be bound to pay him the ancient tributes, and to make no more ſalt vpon his grounds: and that the Councell ſhould be extinct: demanding no other thing of the Pope then to haue peace with him onely, and that *Alphonſo d'Eſte* might be abſolued of the cenſures, and reſtored to his ancient rights and priuiledges: That to the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, who ſhould remaine in exile, their proper goods might be reſerued, and the dignities reſtored to the Cardinals and Prelates which had followed the Councell. Which conditions albeit the two Cardinals feared that the King would not now conſent vnto, by reaſon of the victory that had ſucceeded ſince, yet they durſt not propound them in other maner: and the Pope ſeeing them ſo honorable for him, and yet being vnwilling to manifeſt that which he had ſecretly determined in himſelfe, iudged that the King could not refuſe them, yea peraduenture that it was more profitable with theſe conferences to ſtay the Kings armie, to haue the better leiſure to ſee what would be done by thoſe in whom he had repoſed the reſidue of his hopes. Wherefore all the Cardinals importuning him to that effect, he ſubſigned theſe articles the ninth day after the battell of *Rauenna*, giuing to the Cardinals his faith and promiſe to accept them if the King did confirme them: and ſent commandement by letters to the Cardinall of *Finale*, who remained in *France*, but abſented himſelfe from the Court for feare to offend the Pope; and to the Biſhop of *Tiuoli*, who kept the place of Legate in *Auignon*, that they ſhould go to the King to debate of theſe things; but he ſent them no authoritie nor power to conclude them.

Vntill this time the affaires of the Pope went but ill, and vntill this day the full meaſure of his calamities and dangers continued: but afterwards his hopes began to appeare greater, and the wheele of fortune without any ſtay to turne to his greatneſſe. The thing that gaue beginning to ſo great a mutation, was the ſudden departing of *Monſieur de Paliſſa* out of *Romagna*: who being reuoked by the Generall of *Normandie* for feare of the bruite of the coming of the *Swiſſers* which daily increaſed, he drew with his army towards the Duchie of *Millan*, leauing in *Romagna* vnder the Legate of the Councell three hundred Lances, three hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen, with eight peeces of great artilleries. And the feare which was had of the *Swiſſers* was become greater, for that the ſame Generall ſeeking rather to pleaſe the King, then to do him good ſeruice, had vndiſcreetly diſmiſſed the *Italian* footmen and part of the *French* immediatly after the battell of *Rauenna*, contrary to that which the preſent affaires required. The departure of *Monſieur de Paliſſa* deliuered the Pope of the feare that troubled him moſt, confirmed him in his obſtinacie, and helped him much to aſſure the affaires of *Rome*:

for

for which cauſe he had hired certain *Romane* Barons with three hundred men at armes, and debated to make *Proſper Colonno* Captaine general, becauſe (the courages of ſuch as deſired new things being abated) *Pompey Colonno* that prepared himſelfe at *Montfortin*, conſented (at the requeſt of *Proſper*) to deliuer *Montfortin* into the hands of *Marke Anthonie Colonno* for the Popes ſuretie, retaining diſhoneſtly in his hands the money he had receiued of the *French* King. By which example alſo *Robert Vrſin*, who was come afore from *Petillano* vpon the lands of the *Colonnois* to raiſe armes, keeping likewiſe in his hands the money he had receiued of the *French* King, was brought in afterwards by the meanes of *Iulio Vrſin*, receiuing of the Pope in recompence of his diſloyaltie, the Archbiſhopricke of *Regge* in *Calabria*. Onely *Peter de Margana* was aſhamed to keepe the money he had receiued, and that with a counſell more honorable and happie, for that not long after being take priſoner by the ſucceſſor of this King, he had otherwiſe bene conſtrained to beare (and that iuſtly) the puniſhment of his trechery. Now the Popes mind being greatly confirmed by reaſon of theſe things, and hauing no more to feare either forreine or domeſticall enemies, the third day of May he gaue beginning to the Councell with great ſolemnitie in the Church of *Saint Iohn de Latran*, being now aſſured that not onely the moſt regions of *Italy* would come thither, but alſo the realmes of *Spaine*, *England*, and *Hungaria*: and in the beginning thereof he was preſent in perſon in habite Pontificall, accompanied with the Colledge of Cardinals and a great number of Biſhops, where the Maſſe of the holy Ghoſt (beſides many other prayers) being celebrated according to ancient cuſtome, and the Fathers exhorted with a publike oration to incline with all their hearts to the publike benefite and dignitie of Chriſtian religion: it was declared, to lay the better foundation for other matters that afterwards ſhould be ordained, that the Councell aſſembled was a true, lawful, and holy Councell, and that in the ſame remained vndoubtedly all the authoritie and power of the vniuerſall Church: Ceremonies ſurely both goodly and holy, and able to pierce euen into the hearts of men, if it might haue bene beleeued that the thoughts and intentions of the authors of theſe things had bene ſuch as were their words. In this ſort did the Pope gouerne himſelf after the battel of *Rauenna*. But the *French* King, although preſently after the death of *M. de Foix* whō he loued dearly, which did ſomwhat impeach ỹ ioy of the victory, he had cōmanded *M. de Paliſſa* and the Legate to leade the army to *Rome* as ſoone as they could, yet his former heate being ſomewhat abated, he began to returne with all his heart to the deſire of peace, fearing leſt at one time and from many places great ſtormes would thunder vpon him and trouble his affaires. For, notwithſtanding *Cæſar* promiſed him ſtill, that he would remaine firme with him, affirming that the truce made with the *Venetians* in his name, was concluded without his conſent, and that he would not ratifie it: yet it ſeemed to the King (beſides the feare of the inconſtancie of *Cæſar*, and doubt leſt his promiſes were diſſembled) that for the conditions which he demanded, he ſhould haue a companion that in time of warre would be very chargeable to him, and for peace very preiudiciall, for that he feared leſt by his interpoſing, he ſhould be conſtrained to conſent to more diſhonorable conditions. Beſides this, he now nothing doubted that the *Swiſſers* would ioyne with his enemies: and was alſo certaine he ſhould haue warre with the King of *England*, who had ſent an Herald to ſignifie vnto him that all couenants betweene them were broken, for that in them all was comprehended this exception, that he ſhould make no warre either againſt the Church, or againſt the King Catholike his father in law. Therefore the King vnderſtanding with great pleaſure that the *Florentines* were ſolicited to worke the peace, he diſpatched ſpeedily to *Florence* the Preſident of *Grenoble* with a very large commiſſion, to the end matters might be debated more at hand, and that (if the matter ſo required) he might go to *Rome*: and knowing afterwards by the ſubſcription of the articles that the Popes inclination was more ready then he ſeemed, he inclined for his part wholly to the peace; although fearing leſt for the retiring of his army, the Pope would eſtſoones returne to his accuſtomed obſtinacie, he commanded *Monſieur de Paliſſa* lying then at *Parma*, to march againe immediatly into *Romagna* with part of his regiments, and that he ſhould ſpread a bruite, that he would paſſe further. It ſeemed to him a matter grieuous to deliuer vp *Bolognia*, not ſo much for the inſtance that *Cæſar* made to the contrary, as for the feare he had, that notwithſtanding the peace, the Pope would continue his euill mind towards him: in which caſe it could not but be an action preiudiciall to him to depriue himſelfe of the towne of *Bolognia*, which was as the fort and bulwarke of the Duchie of *Millan*. And beſides this, the Cardinall of *Finale* and the Biſhop

of

of *Tiuoly* being come without expreſſe authoritie to conclude, he tooke that for an apparent ſigne that he had not with an honeſt heart giuen his conſent, but for the dangers wherewith he ſtood enuironed. Neuertheleſſe at laſt he determined to accept thoſe articles vnder certaine limitations, and yet not ſuch as by them the ſubſtance of things ſhould be troubled or altered. With which anſwer the Secretarie of the Biſhop of *Tiuoly* went to *Rome*, demanding in the Kings name, that the Pope would ſend authoritie to the Cardinall and the Biſhop to conclude, or elſe, that he would call afore him the Preſident of *Grenoble*, who was at *Florence* and had ſufficient power to do the like: but the hopes of the Pope increaſed daily, and by conſequent, if he euer had any inclination to peace, it was now diminiſhed. About this time arriued the commiſſion of the King of *England*, by the which (being diſpatched in the moneth of Nouember) he gaue power to the Cardinall of *Yorke* to enter into the league: who had ſo long deferred his coming, by reaſon of the long courſe by ſea, hauing bene afore in *Spaine*: and the Emperour after very long doubts, had newly ratified the league made with the *Venetians*, being principally moued to that action by the hopes which the Kings Catholike and of *England* gaue to him of the Duchies of *Millan* and of *Burgundie*. In like ſort that which much helped to confirme the Pope, was the very great hopes which the King of *Aragon* put him in: who, hauing the firſt knowledge of the ouerthrow by letters from the *French* King written to the Queene, expreſſing that *Gaſton de Foix* her brother was dead with great glorie, in a victory which he obtained againſt his enemies: and afterwards more particularly by aduertiſements of his owne people, coming ſomewhat later for the impediments of the ſea: and therefore iudging the kingdome of *Naples* to ſtand in great perill, he had determined to ſend into *Italy* the Great Captaine with a ſupply of new men; to which remedy he had recourſe, hauing almoſt no other choiſe. For notwithſtanding in outward ſhew he ſeemed to reſpect much the Great Captaine, yet by reaſon of that which had paſſed in the kingdome of *Naples*, he loued him but litle, and likewiſe ſuſpected him for his greatneſſe and authoritie. The Pope then being confirmed by theſe occaſions, at ſuch time as the Secretary of the Biſhop of *Tiuoly* arriued with the articles that had bene debated, putting him alſo in hope that the limitations added by the King to moderate the infamie that might grow to him by abandoning the protection of *Bologna*, ſhould be referred to his will; he determined abſolutely not to accept them: but making ſemblance of the contrary, in regard of the ſubſcription and faith he had giuen to the Colledge of Cardinals, as ſometimes he vſed to do, contrary to the opinion that went of his ſinceritie; he cauſed the articles to be read in the Conſiſtory, and asked aduice of all the Cardinals: and thereupon the Cardinall *Arborenſo* a *Spaniard*, and the Cardinall of *Yorke* (as they had before ſecretly compacted with him) the one ſpeaking in the name of the King of *Aragon*, and the other in the name of the King of *England*, counſelled and exhorted him to perſeuer in his conſtancie, and not to leaue abandoned the cauſe of the Church, which he had embraced with ſo great honour: chiefly for that all the neceſſities that had induced him to hearken to theſe offers were ceaſſed, and that it was manifeſtly ſeene, that God who for ſome cauſe to vs vnknowne, had ſuffered his litle ſhip to be toſſed by the waues of the ſea, would not ſuffer it to periſh; and that it was neither honeſt nor reaſonable that he ſhould make peace onely for himſelf, or debate of it without the participation of the other Confederates, for as much as the action ought to be common: admoniſhing him to conſider well at laſt what preiudice it might bring to the Sea Apoſtolike and to him, to ſeparate himſelfe from true and faithfull friends, to embrace the amitie of reconciled enemies. By which counſels the Pope ſeeming to be moued, refuſed the peace openly; and within a few dayes after, proceeding in his ancient furie, he pronounced in the Conſiſtory an admonition to the *French* King, to releaſe the Cardinall *de Medicis*, vpon the penalties ordained in the holy Canons: and yet he forbore to publiſh it, for that the Colledge of Cardinals beſeeching him to deferre as much as he could ſuch rigorous remedies, offered to worke the ſame by letters written in the name of them all, by the which they would intreate him, that as a moſt Chriſtian Prince he would ſet him at libertie. The Cardinall *de Medicis* was brought to *Millan*, where he was kept vnder reaſonable and eaſie guard: and yet albeit he was in the power of others, the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolike and the reuerence of religion ſhined in him. And at this time there appeared a contempt of the Councell of *Piſa*, the cauſe whereof was not onely abandoned of faith and deuotion by all others, but alſo of ſuch as afore had followed and ſupported it with armes: for that the Pope hauing ſent vnto him power both to abſolue from all paines and cenſures

the ſouldiers that would promiſe to beare no more armes againſt the Church, and alſo to giue libertie of holy buriall to all the dead bodies, for whom it ſhould be demanded, the concourſe of people was wonderfull, and no leſſe maruellous the deuotion of them that came to demand and promiſe ſuch matters, the officers of the King not ſpeaking againſt it; but to the manifeſt indignation of the Cardinals, who ſaw euen before their eyes, and in the place where was the ſeate of the Councell, the ſouldiers and ſubiects of the King, contrary to his honour and profit, and vpon the lands of his iuriſdiction, without reſpecting any thing the authoritie of the Councell, to adhere to the *Romane* Church, acknowledging with great reuerence the Cardinal *de Medicis* as Legate Apoſtolike, being a priſoner. Now becauſe of the truce ratified by *Cæſar*, notwithſtanding his agents that were within *Verona* maintained that it was vntrue, the *French* King withdrew part of the companies he had in garriſon in that Citie, as ſeruing to ſmall purpoſe: and hauing reuoked alſo the band of two hundred Gentlemen, the archers of his guard, and two hundred other Lances, becauſe of the threats of the King of *England*, he knew by the ſuſpition he had of the *Swiſſers*, which was redoubled in him, that he ſhould need greater forces in the Duchie of *Millan*. And for the ſame cauſe he had preſſed the *Florentines* to ſend him into *Lombardie* three hundred men at armes, as they were bound by the couenants of confederation betweene them, for the defence of his eſtates in *Italy*; the which being finiſhed within two moneths, he compelled them (the reputation of the victory being yet freſh) to confederate with him againe for fiue yeares, binding himſelfe to defend their eſtates with ſixe hundred lances, and the *Florentines* promiſing for their part to furniſh him with foure hundred men at armes for the defence of all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*: and yet, to auoid all occaſions to enter warre with the Pope, they excepted in the generall obligation of defence, the towne of *Cotignola*, as if the Church might pretend right to it.

The Swiſſers riſe for the Pope againſt the Frenchmen

But now were apparently diſcloſed right great dangers to the affaires of the King, for that the *Swiſſers* at laſt were determined to ſend ſixe thouſand men to the pay of the Pope, who had demanded them vnder colour to employ them againſt *Ferrara*; thoſe that ſtood for the King being able to preuaile no further, then to protract the deliberation vntill that time; againſt whom the common people made vniuerſall exclamations in their aſſemblies, for the wonderfull hatred they bare to the name of the *French* King, affirming that the King could not content himſelfe with this ingratitude, to refuſe to increaſe a litle the penſions of thoſe by whoſe bloud and valour he had wonne ſo much reputation and ſo great an eſtate, but that with words full of reproch he had deſpiſed them as ſlaues; as though all men at the firſt had not had one and the ſame originall, and as though any mortall man were now noble or great, whoſe anceſtors were not ſometime poore, vnknowne, and baſely deſcended: That he had begun to entertaine the Lanceknights, to ſhew that he had no more need of their helpe in his warres, perſwading himſelfe, that being depriued of his pay, he ſhould ſuffer them idlely to die of hunger in their mountaines; and therefore they had reaſon to make knowne to all the world, how much he was deceiued in his vaine thoughts and perſwaſions: That his ingratitude was onely hurtfull to himſelfe: That nothing could ſtay men of warre from ſhewing their valour: And briefly, that gold and ſiluer was ſubiect to them who had weapons and armour: and that it was neceſſary once to ſhew to the world, how indiſcreet were the reſolutions of him, who in warre would preferre the Lanceknights afore the nation of the *Swiſſers*. This paſſion carried them ſo farre, that embracing the Popes cauſe, as if it had bene their owne, they departed from their houſes, hauing receiued in preſt onely one Florin of *Rhein* for a man, where afore they were not wont to march for the ſeruice of the King without promiſe of many payes, and great diſtribution of preſents to their Captaines. Their muſter was at *Coire*, the capitall towne of the *Griſons*, who hauing confederation with the *French* King, of whom they receiued ordinary penſions, had ſent to excuſe themſelues, that for the ancient alliances they had with the higheſt Cantons of *Swiſſers*, they could not refuſe to ſend with them certaine bands of footmen. This mouing troubled much the minds of the *French* men, whoſe forces were much diminiſhed. For, after the Generall of *Normandie* had diſmiſſed the regiments of *Italian* footmen, they had not in all aboue ten thouſand footmen; and the companies of men at armes which the King had reuoked, being returned ouer the mounts, there were left in *Italy* but thirteene hundred lances, whereof three hundred were at *Parma*: and yet the Generall of *Normandie* doing rather the office of a Treaſurer then of a man of warre, would in no wiſe conſent to the leuying of new ſuccours of footmen without

out the Kings commiſſion: onely he had cauſed to returne to *Millan* the bands that ſhould haue marched into *Romagna* vnder *Monſieur de Paliſſa*, which were already arriued at *Finale*; and appointed that the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin* ſhould likewiſe bring thoſe that were with him in *Romagna*: for the departing of whom, *Rimini* and *Ceſena* with their Caſtles, and alſo *Rauenna*, reuerted without difficultie to the obedience of the Pope. And becauſe the *French* men wold not diſfurniſh the Duchie of *Millan*, *Bologna* for the defending whereof they had receiued ſo many afflictions, ſtood in great danger, being in a maner abandoned. After the *Swiſſers* were aſſembled at *Coire*, they marched from thence to *Trent*, hauing permiſſion of *Ceſar* to paſſe through his lands, who ſtudying to hide from the *French* King as much as he could, the things he had determined, excuſed himſelfe that he could not withſtand their paſſage, in reſpect of the confederation he had with them. From *Trent* they entred vpon the territories of *Verona*, where the army of the *Venetians* expected them, who together with the Pope contributed to their pay. And albeit there was not in the campe ſufficient money to pay them, for that their number was farre greater then ſixe thouſand, which was the number demanded: yet, ſuch was the hatred that the Commons bare to the *French* King, that contrary to their cuſtome, they brooked with patience all difficulties. On the other ſide, *Monſieur de Paliſſa*, who was come afore them with his army to *Pontoille*, to the end to hinder their paſſage, thinking they would deſcend into *Italy* on that ſide, finding afterwards their intention to be otherwiſe, incamped at *Chaſtillon d'Eſtriuero*, a place ſixe miles from *Peſquiero*, being vncertaine whether they would take towards *Ferrara* according to the bruite, or elſe do ſome enterpriſe vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: and it may be that this vncertaintie haſtened the harmes that happened. For, it is not to be doubted but they had taken the way to *Ferrara*, if a letter which by miſhap fell into the hands of the *Venetian* eſtradiots, had not changed their minds, by the which *Monſieur de Paliſſa* ſignified to the Generall of *Normandie* being at *Millan*, the eſtate wherein ſtood their affaires, aſſuring him it would be hard to reſiſt them if they turned towards the Duchie of *Millan*. By the direction of which letter the Cardinall of *Sion* who was now come from *Venice*, and the other Captaines, after they had taken counſell together, determined with reaſon (which ſeldome beguileth men) to follow that enterpriſe which they perceiued by the letters to be moſt troubleſome to the enemies. Therefore they went from *Verona* to *Villefranche*, where they ioyned with the *Venetian* army, wherein (vnder the gouernment of *John Paul Baillon*) were foure hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen, with diuers peeces of artillery, as wel for battery as for the field. This was the cauſe why *Monſieur de Paliſſa* abandoning *Valegge*, the place not being defencible, retired to *Gambara*, with intention to incampe at *Pontuiquo*. He had not aboue ſixe or ſeuen thouſand footmen with him, the reſidue being diſtributed into *Breſſia*, *Peſquiero*, and *Legnaguo*, and no more then a thouſand Lances. For, notwithſtanding he was reſolued to call backe the three hundred that were at *Parma*, the apparent danger of *Bolognia* conſtrained him, after the great importunities of the *Bentiuoleis*, to giue order that they ſhould be beſtowed in that Citie, which remained almoſt without garriſon. But perceiuing too late in that place the danger wherein they were, and the vanitie of the hopes wherewith they had bene beguiled, and blaming aboue all, the couetouſneſſe and corrupt counſels of the Generall of *Normandie*, they conſtrained him to ſuffer *Federike de Boſſolo* with certaine other *Italian* Captaines, to leuie as faſt as they could, ſixe thouſand footmen: a remedy which they could not apply to any purpoſe, till at leaſt the ſpace of ten dayes were paſt. And likewiſe beſides the ſmall number of ſouldiers, the diſagreement amongſt the Captaines weakened much the *French* army: for the other Captaines were hardly brought to obey *Monſieur de Paliſſa*, and the ſouldiers and men at armes, made weary with ſo long troubles and trauels of warre, wiſhed rather the Duchie of *Millan* were loſt, to the end they might returne into *France*, then to continue the defence of it with ſo many diſaduantages and dangers. As ſoone as *Monſieur de Paliſſa* was gone from *Valegge*, the *Venetians* and the *Swiſſers* entred into it, and afterwards paſſing ouer the riuer of *Mincia*, they lodged vpon the territories of *Mantua*, where the Marquis gaue them libertie of paſſage, excuſing himſelfe by his diſabilitie. Amid theſe difficulties the reſolution of the Captaines was wholly to abandon the field, and to looke to the defence of the places of moſt importance, hoping (and not without cauſe) that by temporiſing, ſo great a multitude and number of *Swiſſers*, would at laſt diſperſe and breake; for that the Pope, no leſſe cold to furniſh the expences, then hote to further the warre, was very ſlow in ſending their payes.

The *French* men thē beſtowed within *Breſſia* two thouſand footmen, an hundred & fifty lances, and an hundred men at armes of the *Florentines*: to *Crema* they ſent fiftie lances and a thouſand footmen: and in *Bergama* they put a thouſand footmen and an hundred men at armes of the *Florentines*. The reſidue of the army which contained ſixe hundred lances, two thouſand footmen *French*, and foure thouſand Lanceknights, withdrew themſelues to *Pontuiquo*, a place of ſtrong ſituation, and very conuenient to ſuccour *Millan*, *Cremona*, *Breſſia* and *Bergama*, and there they hoped they might eaſily be able to abide the enemie. But the day after came letters and commandements from *Ceſar* to the *Almaine* footmen, to depart immediatly from the pay of the *French* King: who, for that they were all of the countrey of *Tyrol*, and would not be diſobedient to their proper Lord, departed the ſame day. By reaſon of their departure *Monſieur de Paliſſa* and his Captaines loſt all hope to be able any longer to defend the Duchie of *Millan*; ſo that they retired ſuddenly and in great haſte from *Pontuiquo* to *Piſqueton*: by reaſon whereof they of *Cremona* being left abandoned, yeelded themſelues to the army of the Confederates which was at hand, binding themſelues to pay to the *Swiſſers* fortie thouſand duckats: and when they had diſputed in whoſe name it ſhould be taken, the *Venetians* making great inſtance that it might be deliuered to them, it was at laſt receiued (the *French* men notwithſtanding holding as yet the Caſtle) in the name of the League and of *Maximilian* the ſonne of *Lodowike Sforce*, for whom the Pope and the *Swiſſers* pretended the conqueſt of the Duchie of *Millan*. At the ſame time the Citie of *Bergama* fell into the power of the Confederates, by reaſon that *Monſieur de Paliſſa* hauing called backe the companies that were there to ioyne them to the armie, certaine of the baniſhed crewes who entred as ſoone as the other companies were departed, procured them to reuolt. From *Piſqueton* *Monſieur de Paliſſa* paſſed the riuer of *Adda*, where the three hundred lances appointed for the defence of *Bologna* ioyned with him, whom he had reuoked for the greatneſſe of the perill: and there he hoped to be able to hinder the enemie for paſſing the riuer, if the footmen that were appointed to be leuied, had come: but it was in vaine for him to thinke of ſuch things, for that he had not money to pay the footmen, and the Generall of *Normandie*, who had none in ſtore, (all credit being wholy loſt in ſo great dangers) could take vp none at intereſt, as he was wont, binding ẏ kings demain for ſecuritie. Therfore hauing remained there 4. days, as ſoon as the enemies approched the riuer three miles below *Piſqueton*, he retired to *S. Ange*, to go the day following to *Pauie*: by reaſon wherof there being no hope to be able to defend *Millan*, and the countrey already drawing faſt into tumult, *John Iaques Triuulce*, the Generall of *Normandie*, *Anthonie Maria Paluoiſin*, *Galeas Viſcounte*, with many other Gentlemen, and all the officers, went from *Millan* to ſaue themſelues in *Piemont*. And not many dayes afore the Cardinals fearing the people no leſſe then the enemies, were fled, notwithſtanding (being more hardy in decrees, then in other actions) they had at that time almoſt ſuſpended the Pope from all adminiſtration ſpirituall and temporall of the Church; which was a degree to depriue him of the place which he held. Theſe tumults were much helping to the ſafetie of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, whom God reſerued to a greater happineſſe. For, as they were leading him into *France*, and the morning that he entred the barke at the paſſage of *Po*, which is right ouer againſt *Baſſignana*, called by the ancients *Auguſta Bacienorum*, certaine paiſants of the village called *la Pieua de Caire*, beginning to riſe in tumult, of whom *Reignold de Zallo* was the chiefe, and with whom certaine of the Cardinals fauourites lodging there all night had conſpired, he was taken from the *French* men that guarded him, who being amazed and fearing euery accident, hearing the noiſe, were more carefull to flie then to reſiſt. But *Monſieur de Paliſſa* being entred into *Pauie*, determined to ſtay there, and therefore ſent for *Triuulce* and the Generall to come to him thither: whereupon *Triuulce* by the aduice of the Generall and the principall men, layed afore him the vanitie of his counſell, and how vnpoſſible it was to ſtop ſo great a ruine, ſeeing there were no footmen in the army: that the ſhortneſſe of the time ſuffered not to wage new companies, and much leſſe to draw any but from places farre remoued, and with great difficulties: and though theſe impediments were not, yet there was no money to pay them, their reputation being loſt, their friends full of aſtoniſhment, and the people full of hatred, for the immoderate inſolencies which the ſoldiers had vſed for ẏ ſpace of ſo long a time. When *Triuulce* had declared theſe things, he went and cauſed a bridge to be caſt, farre from *Valence*, drawing towards *Aſt*, where the riuer is ſtraighteſt, by the commoditie of which he meant to paſſe his companies ouer *Po*. But by this time the army of the Confederates (to the which after the *French* men were retired

The Cardinall de Medicis eſcapeth from the French.

tired from *Adda*, the Citie of *Lody* was rendred together with the Caſtle) diſcamping from *S. Ange*, was come neare to *Pauie*, where the *Venetian* Captaines vpon their arriuall began to batter the Caſtle, and part of the *Swiſſers* vpon barks to paſſe the riuer that ioyneth to the Citie. Now the *French* men fearing they ſhould find impediments to paſſe the ſtone bridge which is vpon the riuer *Theſin*, by the which onely they might ſaue themſelues, wonne the bridge, to be able to iſſue out of *Pauie*: but afore the reareguard was come forth, wherein, to ſuſtaine the horſemen, certaine footmen of the Lanceknights which were not iſſued out with the others, were beſtowed the laſt of all, the *Swiſſers* iſſuing out of the new gate and of the Caſtle which was now abandoned, went skirmiſhing with them all along *Pauie* and the bridge, the Lanceknights making reſolute defence aboue all others: but paſſing ouer the bridge of *Graualona* which was of wood, the plankes breaking with the weight of the horſes, all the *French* men and Lanceknights that were not yet paſſed ouer, were either ſlaine on the place, or taken priſoners. The towne of *Pauie* bound it ſelfe to pay a great quantitie of money, and *Millan* had already done as much, compounding for a greater ſumme; and all the other townes except *Breſſia* and *Cremona* did willingly runne the ſame courſe. All the countrey cried now vpon the name of the Empire; and all was receiued and gouerned in the name of the holy League (ſo was it called vniuerſally,) and all affaires were diſpoſed of by the authoritie of the Cardinall of *Sion*, aſſigned Legate for the Pope: but all the treaſure and taxes of money was giuen to the *Swiſſers*, to whom was transferred all things that concerned gaine or profite: which was the cauſe that many other troupes of them deſcended into *Lombardie* to ioyne with the reſidue after the Diot of *Zurich* was ended, which was aſſembled for that cauſe. In this mutation, the cities of *Plaiſance* and *Parma* gaue themſelues willingly to the Pope, who pretended they appertained to him as members of the Exarchat of *Rauenna*. The *Swiſſers* made themſelues Lords of *Lucarno*, and the *Griſons* of *Valtolino* and *Chiauenna*, places very commodious for them. And *Ianus Fregoſa* a Captaine in the *Venetian* army, going to *Genes* with ſuch bands of horſemen and footmen as he had obtained of the army, was the cauſe that that Citie reuolted (the *French* Gouernour being fled,) whereof he was created Duke, which dignitie his father had ſometime had. With the ſame violence of fortune, all the townes and Caſtles of *Romagna* returned to the Popes obedience: and the Duke of *Vrbin* approching neare to *Bologna* with the ſouldiers of the Church, the family of the *Bentiuoleis*, being depriued of all hope, left it abandoned; whom the Pope purſuing very ſharply, excommunicated all the places that ſhould afterwards receiue them, and expreſſed no leſſe hatred againſt the Citie, being much moued for that forgetting ſo many benefits receiued from him, it was reuolted with ſuch ingratitude, that they had done many villanies to his ſtatue, and ſpoken infinite reprochfull words againſt him: and for this cauſe he would no more conſent that they ſhould create new Magiſtrates, nor communicate any way in the gouernment of the towne; exacting by the meane of ſeuere officers, huge ſummes of mony of ſundry citizens, as partakers with the *Bentiuoleis*: for which things, the bruite ran, whether true or falſe, that if his deuices had not bene cut off by death, he had a meaning to deſtroy that Citie, and to tranſlate the inhabitants to *Cento*.

The end of the tenth Booke.

THE ELEVENTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THe Duke of Ferrara is in great trouble. The Medices returne to Florence. The Emperour makes alliance with the Pope. Maximilian Sforce is put in poſſeſſion of the Duchie of Millan. The French King makes his preparations to recouer Millan. Pope Iulio dieth. Leo the tenth is created Pope. The Frenchmen are ouerthrowne neare to Nouaro: and the Venetians neare to Vincenſa.

NOtwithſtanding the Pope, amidſt his greateſt aduerſities and dangers, had contrary to all hope obtained the victory of his enemies, and recouered and amplified the iuriſdiction of the Church: yet he was ſtill poſſeſſed with an earneſt deſire of the Citie of *Ferrara*, which had bin the firſt cauſe of all theſe broiles. But albeit he earneſtly deſired to turne his forces againſt *Ferrara*, yet, the way of peace ſeeming to him more eaſie then that of warre, or rather hoping more in ſecret practiſes then in open actions, he gaue eare firſt of all to the Marquis of *Mantua*, who deſired him to be pleaſed that *Alphonſo d'Eſte* might come to him to *Rome* to demand pardon, and be receiued into his grace vnder ſome honeſt conditions: and then to the Embaſſadour of the King of *Aragon*, who intreated for him as the kinſman of his King (for *Alphonſo* came of a daughter of the old *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*,) and for that it was more commodious for the affaires of his King, to bind the Duke to him by ſo great a benefite, then to ſuffer that his eſtate ſhould be adioyned to the greatneſſe of the Church. The family of the *Colonnois* likewiſe being become great friends to *Alphonſo*, vſed their beſt endeuours; by reaſon that after the battell of *Rauenna*, the *French* King ſending for *Fabricio Colonno*, who was *Alphonſoes* priſoner, he had firſt in refuſing, and then in interpoſing many excuſes, ſo long deferred to deliuer him, that by the mutation that happened, it was in his owne power moſt courteouſly to ſet him at libertie without any charge or ranſome. Safeconduct then being obtained of the Pope, *Alphonſo* went to *Rome*, when for his better ſuretie he had obtained the faith of the Embaſſadour of *Aragon* in the name of his King, that he might go and returne in ſafetie, which was done with the conſent of the Pope. Being come to *Rome*, the Pope admitted him into the Conſiſtory, ſuſpending the cenſures; and there, with great humilitie he demanded pardon, and with the ſame ſubmiſſion beſought him, that he might be receiued into his grace, and reſtored to the fauour of the ſea Apoſtolike, offering to do hereafter all thoſe offices and duties which might appertaine to a moſt deuout and faithfull vaſſall of the Church. The Pope heard him very graciouſly, and appointed ſixe Cardinals to debate with him touching the conditions of agreement: who, after certaine dayes diſpute, declared vnto him, that the Pope meant not to depriue the Church of the Citie of *Ferrara*, ſince it was lawfully reuerted to him: but that in recompence, there ſhould be giuen to him the Citie of *Aſt*, which being receiued into the power of the league by the departing of the *French* men, the Pope had vainly ſent thither the Biſhop of *Agrigenta* to take poſſeſſion of it, pretending that whatſoeuer was on this ſide *Po*, appertained to the Church. This offer being conſtantly refuſed of *Alphonſo*; for that it comprehended a demand contrary to all the hopes that had bene giuen him, and no leſſe for the late accident at *Regge*, he began to feare leſt the Pope ſought to entertaine him cunningly within *Rome*, that he might aſſaile *Ferrara* in the meane while. The Pope had ſummoned thoſe of *Regge* (who in ſo great confuſion of things feared much) to giue

The Duke of Ferrara goeth to Rome to demand pardon of the Pope.

giue themſelues vp to the Church, following the example of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*; and to giue greater force to his perſwaſions, he had giuen direction to the Duke of *Vrbin* to march with his companies vpon the territories of *Modena*. And on the other ſide, *Vitfruch* who was gone to *Regge*, aſſayed to do the like for the profite of *Ceſar*, and the Cardinall of *Eſte*, who in the abſence of his brother had the charge of his eſtate, ſeeing that Citie could not be kept, and iudging the danger would be leſſe if it fell into the hands of *Ceſar*, who pretended nothing againſt *Ferrara*, and in whoſe affaires there was hope of a greater alteration, aduiſed the people of *Regge* rather to acknowledge the Empire. But they anſwering, that they would follow the example of the Duke, who was gone to the Pope and not to *Ceſar*, receiued into their towne the ſouldiers of the Church, who alſo found meanes to make themſelues maiſters of the Citadell, notwithſtanding *Vitfruch* had furniſhed it with a garriſon of footmen. Laſtly, *Garfagnana* was rendred to the Duke of *Vrbin*, who returning afterwards to *Bologna*, diſmiſſed all his bands of footmen: for that the Confederates being very angry that the Pope occupied *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, the Cardinall of *Sion* ſignified to the Duke, that it was not neceſſary that he ſhould paſſe any further, ſince the victory was already obtained againſt the common enemies.

The Duke of Ferrara in danger to be priſoner at Rome.

But the Duke of *Ferrara* being entred into great doubt, for the hard conditions that the Pope offered him, and for the taking of *Regge*, made meanes to the Pope by the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour and *Fabricio Colonno* who neuer left to accompanie him, to haue leaue to returne to *Ferrara*. Which requeſt the Pope ſhewing no diſpoſition to agree vnto, and maintaining that the ſafeconduct which he had giuen for the controuerſie with the Church could not let him to do iuſtice to his particular creditors, many of whom demanded inſtantly that he wold do thē iuſtice; the Embaſſador and *Fabricio* anſwered him roundly, ỹ he ſhould not perſwade hmſelf ỹ his faith was to be violated to the Duke & to them; and therefore to preuent the Pope to do any further matter againſt him, ỹ next morning *Fabricio* being well mounted, went towards the portall of *S. Iohn de Latran*, the Duke and *Marke Anthonie Colonno* following him a ſmall diſtance off: and finding the portall guarded with a greater ſtrength then it was wont to be, who ſought to hinder his paſſage; he hauing a force aboue theirs, brought the Duke through the gate, and conducted him in ſuretie to the waters ſide, in recompence (as moſt men thought) of the benefite of the libertie which he had receiued of him: for no man doubted, but the Pope would ſtill haue retained him priſoner, had it not bene for the impediment of the *Colonnois*; ſo that the way being dangerous for him to go by land, he returned afterwards by ſea to *Ferrara*. Furthermore, whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Pope, in whom was yet no diminution of hatred againſt the libertie of the *Florentines*, had ſo wrought with the Cardinall of *Sion*, that the bands of ſoldiers which they had ſent to the King were ſtripped: of whom, ſuch as were vnder *Luke Sauella*, being ſixſcore men at armes and threeſcore light horſemen (for the reſidue were left for the guard of *Breſſia* vnder *Francis Torelle*) had, afore the *French* army paſſed ouer the riuer of *Po*, obtained ſafeconduct of the Cardinall of *Sion*, confirmed by the oath and faith of *Iohn Paul Baillon*, and of almoſt all the *Venetian* Captaines, that they might returne into *Tuſcane*. But as they were lodged neare to *Cremona*, according to their direction, they were ſpoiled by the *Venetian* ſouldiers, by the conſent of the Cardinall of *Sion*: who to the end the violence might be executed with more ſuretie, had ſent thither (as ſome ſuppoſe) two thouſand footmen, for that the companies of *Triuulce* and of the Maiſter of the great horſe were lodged with them, who for that they were almoſt all *Italian* ſouldiers, had likewiſe obtained ſafeconduct to paſſe. Immediatly vpon the ſpoile of theſe ſouldiers, the Biſhop of *Sion* ſent to *Chriſtopher More* and *Paul Capello* agents for the Senate, to demand the bootie that had bene made, as appertaining to the *Swiſſers*: but they refuſing it, and coming the next day to the campe of the *Swiſſers* to ſpeake with the Cardinall of *Sion*, they were led almoſt as priſoners to *Iaques Staffler* their Captaine, and by him to the Cardinal, who conſtrained them to pay ſixe thouſand duckets in recompence of the prey, not holding it conuenient that his diſloyaltie ſhould turne to the profite of any other: according to which fidelitie he demanded of the Marquis of *Montferrat* to deliuer him as priſoner *Nicholas Capponi* Embaſſadour of the *Florentines*, to whom he had giuen ſafeconduct, being retired to *Caſal Caruas*. In this meane while the Senate deſiring to recouer *Breſſia* and *Crema*, laboured the Cardinall of *Sion*, that their companies might be returned; whom the Cardinal entertained vnder colour to march together with the *Swiſſers* into *Piemont* againſt the Duke of *Sauoy* and the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, who had followed the faction of the *French* King. But that

reaſon ceaſſing afterwards, both for the wonderfull augmentation of the number of the *Swiſſers*, and alſo for that it was well ſeene that the *French* ſouldiers returned ouer the Mounts, he neither refuſed nor agreed that they ſhould go: a matter ſuppoſed to proceed of the inſtance of *Cæſar*, to the end they ſhould not recouer thoſe townes. At laſt, the *Swiſſers* being in *Alexandria*, the *Venetians* departed from *Boſco* vpon the ſodaine, and paſſed the riuer of *Po* without any impediment, at *Caua* vpon the territories of *Cremona*, which the Cardinall who might haue ſtayed them, diſſembled (as was beleeued) at the Popes requeſt. When they were ouer the riuer, ſome marched againſt *Breſſia*, and others againſt *Crema*, both which were kept as yet for the *French* King: and the *French* men that were within *Breſſia*, hauing aſſailed them at the village of *Paterna*, were conſtrained to retire into the towne, with the loſſe of more then three hundred men. The *Swiſſers* remaining alone in the Duchie of *Millan* and in *Piemont*, deuiſed how to get money, being on all ſides wholly aſſured of the *French*. For albeit the *French* King, for the great affection he bare to the Duchie of *Millan*, was hardly brought altogether to abandon the affaires of *Italy*; yet neceſſitie compelled him to hearken to the counſels of ſuch as aduiſed him to deferre thoſe deuices to another time, and to diſpoſe his wits for that Sommer to defend the realme of *France*, ſeeing that the King of *England*, according to the contract made with the King Catholike, had ſent by ſea an armie of ſixe thouſand footmen to *Fontarabie*, a towne of the kingdome of *Spaine*, ſtanding vpon the Ocean ſea; to the end that ioyning with the companies of the King Catholike, they might aſſaile the Duchie of *Guyen*: and further, he began with his nauie to ſcoure all along the coaſts of *Normandie* and *Brittaine*, to the great aſtoniſhment of the peoples of thoſe Prouinces. Moreouer, the *French* King had no hope to draw againe *Cæſar* into amitie with him, for that he vnderſtood by the Biſhop of *Marſeilles* his laſt Embaſſadour reſident in his Court, that he wiſhed him no good: and that he had entertained him with ſo many hopes, and debated with him of ſo many matters with a faire apparence, to no other end then to winne occaſion to oppreſſe him when he thought leaſt of it, or at leaſt to giue him (as it were) ſome deadly blow, as he boaſted he had done, at ſuch time as he reuoked the Lance-knights.

Thus *Italy* being deliuered for this yeare from the feare of the *French* King, whoſe ſouldiers held as yet *Breſſia*, *Crema*, *Legnaguo*, the Caſtle and Lanterne of *Genes*, the Caſtle of *Millan*, the Caſtle of *Cremona*, with certaine other fortreſſes of that eſtate; there was diſcerned amongſt the Confederates, ſignes of variance and diſunion, for the diuerſitie of their wils and their ends. For the *Venetians* deſired to recouer *Breſſia* and *Crema*, as due to them by the articles of capitulation, and for that they had ſo long borne out the dangers and troubles of the warre, a matter which the Pope deſired likewiſe for them: but *Cæſar* on the other ſide (from whoſe will the King of *Aragon* could in no wiſe diſagree) thought to appropriate them to himſelfe, and alſo to ſpoile the *Venetians* of all that had bene iudged to them by the league of *Cambray*: and likewiſe *Cæſar* and the King of *Aragon* practiſed (but very ſecretly) to make the Duchie of *Millan* diuolue to one of their Nephewes: a working quite contrary to the Pope and the *Swiſſers* who laboured apparently as much as they could, that according to the vniuerſall reſolution and conſent from the beginning, *Maximilian*, ſonne to *Lodowike Sforce*, might be reſtored to the place of his father, after whoſe fall he had remained alwayes in *Germanie*. That which moued the Pope, was a feare he had, leſt *Italy* ſhould wholly fall into the ſeruitude of the *Almaines* and *Spaniards*: and that which induced the *Swiſſers*, was a deſire for their owne profite, that that eſtate ſhould not be brought into the power of ſo mightie Princes, but rather of ſuch as could not maintaine themſelues without their aide and ſuccours. Which thing depending almoſt wholly vpon them, in whoſe power that eſtate was, and for the feare that all men had of their armes, the Pope to the end to confirme them in that will, and vpon all occaſions to haue this bridle ready wherwith he might moderate the ambition of *Cæſar* and the King Catholike, did all that he could to winne their amitie: and for that cauſe, beſides the great account he made publikely of the nation of the *Swiſſers*, raiſing to the ſtarres the actions they had done for the ſafetie of the Sea Apoſtolike, he gaue them for their greater honour the Banners of the Church, with this glorious title, to be the champions and defenders of the Eccleſiaſtike libertie. Beſides theſe diuerſities, the Viceroy hauing readdreſſed the *Spaniſh* companies which after the ouerthrow were all retired with him into the kingdome of *Naples*, and preparing himſelfe to paſſe with them into *Lombardie*, the Pope and the *Venetians* refuſed to recontinue the payes

of

of forty thouſand duckets a moneth, which had bin diſcontinued ſince the ouerthrow, and ſaid, that ſeeing the *French* army was gone, they ſtood no more ſubiect to ſuch a bond, for that it was to ceaſſe by the articles of the confederation whenſoeuer the *French* were expulſed out of *Italy*. Whereunto was replied on the behalfe of the King of *Aragon*, that it could not be ſaid that the *French* King was driuen out of *Italy*, ſo long as *Breſſia*, *Crema*, and other ſtrong places were at his deuotion. Moreouer, the King of *Aragon* together with *Ceſar* complained, that the Pope had appropriated to himſelfe the profits of the victory that was common to them; and vſurped that which manifeſtly appertained to others, making himſelfe Lord (vnder colour of certaine feigned reaſons, or at leaſt ſo old that they were of no force) of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, Cities which the Lords of *Millan* had holden ſo long a time as freeholders of the Empire. The diuerſitie of minds was alſo expreſſed for matters that concerned the Duke of *Ferrara*. For the Pope was ſtill inflamed with his ancient couetouſneſſe; and on the other ſide, the King of *Aragon*, who deſired to protect him, was alſo angrie (as was beleeued) for ỳ it had bin aſſayed to ſtay him at *Rome*, contrary to the faith giuen: for which cauſe the Pope deferred to vex *Ferrara*, haply expecting firſt the iſſue of affaires of greater importance: whereof *Ceſar* not thinking good that any reſolution were made without him, diſpatched into *Italy* the Biſhop of *Gurci*, whom he had appointed to that expedition, euer ſince after the battell of *Rauenna* there was negociation of peace betweene the Pope and the *French* King. He ſent him then for feare leſt they ſhould compound amongſt themſelues without reſpecting his intereſts: but the ſtate of affaires being afterwards altered, he ſtill continued his purpoſe to ſend him. In like ſort fell into conſideration the affaires of the *Florentines*, who being full of ſuſpition, began now to feele the fruites of the neutralitie which they had vndiſcreetly vſed, and to know that it was not ſufficient to ſtand vpon the iuſtice of their cauſe, when there was want of diſcretion. For in the warre preſent, they had not offended the Confederates, nor miniſtred any ſuccours to the *French* King, other then ſuch as they were bound vnto for the defence of the Duchy of *Millan*, according to the confederatiõ which they had made in common with the King Catholike and with him: they had not ſuffered within their iuriſdiction any violence to be done vpon thoſe *Spaniſh* ſouldiers which fled from the battell of *Rauenna*, for the which the King of *Aragon* himſelfe gaue thanks to the Embaſſadour of *Florence*: and which more is, they had fully ſatisfied all his demands, ſo that when the Councell was broken vp from *Piſa*, not onely his Agents in *Italy*, but the King himſelfe had offered to their Embaſſadour to be bound to defend their Commonweale againſt all men, ſo far forth as they promiſed him they would not defend *Bolognia*, nor take armes againſt the Church, nor fauour the Conuenticle of *Piſa*: but they being let by ciuill diſcords to make the better election, gaue themſelues neither to follow the *French* nor any other, and obſeruing neutralitie from time to time, and with counſels doubtfull and interrupted, neuer conſulting all together, nor declaring whether they would continue in that mind they offended much the *French* king, who in the beginning promiſed himſelfe much of thẽ; they remoued not the hatred of the Pope, and without any recompence left the King of *Aragon* to enioy the fruite of their neutralitie: a matter which to haue obtained, he would gladly haue couenanted with them. The Pope then puſhed on with his ancient hatred againſt the *Gonfalonnier*, and by an ancient deſire of all Popes to haue authoritie in that Commonweale, ſolicited earneſtly the reſtitution of the family of the *Medices* to their ancient greatneſſe: whereunto the King of *Aragon* (notwithſtanding he vſed to the Embaſſadour of *Florence* words contrary to his deeds) was likewiſe inclined, but not with ſo great vehemencie, for feare leſt in any ſtirre or alteration they might be brought to fauour the *French* King by the authoritie of the *Gonfalonnier*. And which more is, it was diſtruſted that though the *Gonfalonnier* were taken away, the Commonweale being freely gouerned, would haue the ſame affection, in reſpect of new and ancient dependances. But the reſolution of this matter, together with others, was reſerued till the coming of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, with whom it was agreed that the Viceroy, and ſuch as were for the Confederates, ſhould meet at *Mantua*. Now whileſt he was coming, the Pope ſent to *Florence* his *Datario*, *Laurence Pucci* a *Florentine* (it was he who afterwards being choſen Cardinall, was called the Cardinall of foure Saints) to ſolicite them, together with the Embaſſadour which the Viceroy had there, that they would ſticke to the League, and contribute to the charges againſt the *French* men. This was the colour of his going, but in true meaning he was ſent to ſound the wils of the Citizens: and that demand was debated many dayes without any concluſion, the *Florentines* offering to pay to the Confederates

federates certaine proportions of money, but answering doubtfully to the demand to enter the league,& to declare themselues against the *French* king: which doubtfulnesse was caused partly by an opinion they had (which was true) that those matters were propounded artificially, but much more by the answer which the Bishop of *Gurci* had made to their Embassadour at *Trent*, whom they sent to meet him: for that he seeming to make no reckoning of the report made to him that *Cæsar* by the capitulation of *Vincensa*, subsigned with his owne hand, was bound to defend thē, he affirmed to them that the Pope had determined to trouble them, and that paying to *Cæsar* fortie thousand duckats, he would deliuer them of that danger: and added hereunto, that the confederation betweene *Cæsar* and the *French* King continued as yet, and therefore he counselled them not to enter into the league, if first *Cæsar* gaue them not example. The *Florentines* would haue made no difficultie to buy their quiet with money, but they feared that the onely name of *Cæsar* (notwithstanding the Bishop of *Gurci* assured them that his will should be followed by the *Spaniards*) would not suffice to remoue and make ceasse the ill intention of others; a matter which held them in doubt, and kept them so restrained, that with a counsell well ordered, they ministred not salue to such as could helpe their infirmitie. This matter perhaps was wisely considered, but that they made not prouision of trained souldiers, by whom they might the better haue defended a sudden assault, or at least haue made their couenants more easie with the Confederates, knowing how hard a matter it was to force them, proceeded either of indiscretion, or of their discords, or for that they attributed more then was meete to the leuies of their owne footmen. Whilest these things were in debating, the Viceroy with his *Spanish* footmen was alreadie entred vpon the countrey of the *Bolognois*, where hauing no meanes to satisfie the payes which he had promised to the footmen, they ranne with such a tumult to his tent, threatning to kill him, that he had scarce leisure to steale away, and to flie towards *Modena*. One part of the army tooke their way towards the countrey of the *Florentines*, the residue changed not place, but kept there, without law, without order, and without commandement: and then three or foure dayes after, being somewhat pacified with part of the money that was due to them, and the Viceroy and all the footmen being returned to the army, they promised to tarry for him in that place till he returned from *Mantua*, where the Bishop of *Gurci* was now arriued: to whom, as he passed by the territories of *Verona*, the *French* men that lay in garrison in *Legnaguo*, hauing refused many offers of the *Venetians*, gaue vp that towne, which they could no longer hold: and that (as was beleeued) according to a former commandement of *Monsieur de Palissa*, as well to them, as to all the residue that had in charge the other townes, to the end to nourish the discord betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*: and yet it was an action of ill successe for the souldiers, who when they issued out, were (without any respect to their safeconduct obtained from the Bishop of *Gurci*) miserably robbed and stripped by the *Venetian* army which was in the confines of *Bressia*, where they had incamped themselues in their returne from *Bosco*, after they had recouered *Bergama* without any difficultie: onely they forbare to batter the towne, for that (as was said) the Cardinall of *Sion* had forbidden them.

The resolution of the treatie of Mantua by the Confederates.

It was decreed in the assembly of *Mantua*, that *Maximilian Sforce* who was much desired of the people, should come to the gouernment of the Duchie of *Millan*: whereunto *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon* agreed, to satisfie the great instance of the Pope and the *Swissers*: but it was resolued ỳ the Bishop of *Gurci* should determine of the time & maner with the Pope, to whō he was to go to conclude the alliance between *Cæsar* & his Holinesse, and to solicite peace with the *Venetians*, & so by the meane of cōmon vniō to confirm *Italy* in her ancient suretie, ỳ the *French* King might no more trouble it. In that assembly it was also debated to assaile the *Florentines*, *Julio de Medicis* following the matter, as well in his owne name, as for the Cardinall: alledging that the alteration of that State would be easie by reason of the diuisions amongst the Citizens: for the affection of many that desired their returne: for the secret intelligences they had (as they affirmed) with sundry Gentlemen and mightie families: and for that part of the men at armes of that Commonweale being dispersed in *Lombardie*, and others inclosed within *Bressia*, they had not sufficient forces to make defence against so sudden an assault. Lastly, besides the mony he offered, he shewed the fruite that would come by restoring them to their former dignitie. For the power of that Citie being taken out of the hands of one that depended wholly vpon the *French* King, it would fall into the hands of persons, who being wronged by that King, would acknowledge no other dependance or alliance then of the Confederates. *Bernard de Bibiena*

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(afterwards Cardinall) vrged this matter much in the name of the Pope, who for that occaſion had ſent him to *Mantua*, the ſaid *Bernard* and his brethren hauing bene trained vp euen from their youth in the houſe of the *Medices*. *Iohn Vittorio Soderin*, a Lawyer, and brother to the *Gonfalonnier*, was at this time Embaſſadour for the *Florentines* with the Biſhop of *Gurci*, to whom nothing was either ſaid or demanded, either by the Viceroy or in the name of the league: onely the Biſhop of *Gurci* declared to him the danger, and how conuenient it was that they accorded with *Caſar* according to the demands made before, offering that *Caſar* and the King of *Aragon* ſhould receiue them into protectiõ. But the Embaſſador hauing no power to conclude, could do no other thing then aduertiſe the Commonweale and expect anſwers: neither did he ſolicite the Viceroy by himſelfe or by others, nor vſed any diligence to hinder the purpoſes of the *Medices*. And yet the matter of it ſelfe was not without many difficulties, for that the Viceroy had not ſo puiſſant an armie, as to hazard his forces without neceſſitie: and the Biſhop of *Gurci*, to let the *Venetians* for recouering *Breſſia*, or to make any greater proceedings, deſired that the *Spaniards* might paſſe into *Lombardie* with all poſſible ſpeed. Therefore it was beleeued, that if the *Florentines* without hauing regard to their aduantage and to ſparing, as the preſent perils required, had conſented to contribute to *Caſar* the money he demanded, and relieued the Viceroy with ſome ſmall ſumme, whereof he had great neceſſitie, they had eaſily turned away the ſtorme: and that the Biſhop of *Gurci* and the Viceroy might perhaps with a better will haue entred into couenant with their Commonweale, of whom they were certaine to receiue the things that ſhould be promiſed, then with the *Medices*, who had no abilitie to giue them any thing, if firſt they returned not to *Florence* with armes. But the cauſe of that Citie being almoſt vtterly abandoned, either by the negligence or by the malice of men, it was determined that the *Spaniſh* army, together with the Cardinall and *Iulian de Medicis*, ſhould march towards *Florence:* and that the Cardinall, whom in that expedition the Pope had declared Legate of *Tuſcane*, ſhould command the ſouldiers of the Church, and wage ſuch others of the townes adioyning, as he ſhould thinke conuenient for that ſeruice. But as ſoone as the aſſembly of *Mantua* was broken vp, the Viceroy returning to the territories of *Bolognia*, cauſed his army preſently to march againſt the *Florentines*, who had very ſmall reſpite to make neceſſary prouiſions, for that they were not aforehand aduertiſed of the reſolutions at *Mantua*. The Cardinall ioyned with the Viceroy as he drew neare the frontiers, hauing cauſed to be drawne from *Bolognia* two cannons to ſupply the wants of the *Spaniards*, who had no peeces of battery: and *Francis Vrſin* and the *Vitelbies* (Captaines for the Church) came to meet him, but without their companies, for that the Duke of *Vrbin* had forbidden it, as well to them as to the other bands of the Church: who, notwithſtanding *Iulian de Medicis* had had ſome bringing vp in his Court, and that he had alwayes profeſſed to deſire the greatneſſe of the *Medices*, had refuſed (whatſoeuer the cauſe was) to furniſh them with artilleries, or any ſuccours either of his ſouldiers or of his ſubiects, though the Pope had commanded the contrary by large letters, as wel to him as to other neighboring townes ſubiect to the Church. As ſoone as the Viceroy was entred vpon the lands of the *Florentines*, there came to him an Embaſſadour, ſent in the name of the whole Commonweale, who declaring the reſpect they had alwayes borne to the King of *Aragon*, what were their actions in the laſt warres, and what that King might hope for of ſuch a Citie receiuing it to his amitie, beſought him, afore he paſſed further, to ſignifie what it was he demanded of the *Florentines:* for that in demands reaſonable, and ſuch as were in their power, they would willingly ſatisfie him. Whereunto the Viceroy anſwered, that his coming had not bene determined by the King Catholike onely, but by all the Confederates, for the common ſuretie of *Italy*, ſeeing that ſo long as the *Gonfalonnier* remained in that adminiſtration, there was no aſſurance that they would not follow the *French* King vpon all occaſions: and therefore he demanded in the name of the whole League, that the *Gonfalonnier* might be depriued of the gouernment, and that there might be inſtituted a forme of policie not ſuſpected to the Confederates; which could not be done, vnleſſe the Cardinall and *Iulian de Medicis* were reſtored to their countrey: That if they wold conſent to theſe things, they ſhould find agreement in the reſidue more eaſily: That he ſhould go therfore & make report hereof, or otherwiſe ſignifie his intentiõ at *Florence*, and yet that he would not ſtay his armie till anſwer were returned. When the marching of the *Spaniards* was vnderſtood at *Florence*, there might be diſcerned an vniuerſall aſtoniſhment in the minds of men, for the opinion they had that the Popes forces would inuade them on ſome other

other ſide, and for feare of the diuiſion of the Citizens, and the inclination of many to innouation. They had very few men at armes, and no other footmen, then ſuch as were leuied in haſte, or at leaſt drawne out of their garriſons, the moſt part of whom were vnexperienced in warre: and alſo they had no excellent Captaine, vpon whoſe vertue and authoritie they might repoſe the guiding of an armie; and their other Leaders were ſuch as in the memory of man they had not in their pay men of leſſe expectation. Neuertheleſſe making ſuch prouiſion as they could, according to the ſhortneſſe of time, they reaſſembled their men at armes diſtributed into many places; waged footmen, but ſuch as they could get, making choiſe of the beſt bands of their garriſons, and drew to *Florence* all their principall forces, for the ſafetie of their Citie, and to furniſh from thence all other places whither the enemie ſhould turne himſelfe. And not forgetting (though very late) to proue the meanes of accord, beſides the continuall ſolicitation of their Embaſſadour with the Viceroy, they wrote to the Cardinall of *Volterra* lying at *Gradoli* neare to *Rome*, to go to the Pope, and labour to appeaſe him with offers, petitions, and all other meanes. But the Pope hauing a heart hardened, anſwered, although with words contrary to his doings, that the enterpriſe came not of him, and that it was followed without his forces: but not to ſtirre vp the league againſt him, he was conſtrained to conſent to it, and to ſuffer the Cardinall *de Medicis* to draw artilleries from *Bologna*: That he was not able to ſtay the expedition afore it was begun, and much leſſe could he breake it now it was in action. By this time the Viceroy who had paſſed the mountaines to *Barberina*, a towne within fifteene miles of *Florence*, ſent to ſignifie to the *Florentines*, That it was not the intention of the league either to alter the iuriſdiction, or to change the libertie, ſo farre forth as for the ſuretie of *Italy*, they would depoſe the *Gonfalonnier* from his eſtate: That he deſired that the *Medices* might be reſtored to their countrey, not as chieftaines of the gouernment, but as perſons priuate, ſubiect to the lawes, and to the magiſtrates, and in all things like vnto other Citizens. This propoſition being knowne throughout the Citie, the opinions of men were diuers, according to the diuerſitie of iudgements, paſſions, and feare. Some complained, that for the regard of one onely, the generalitie of Citizens, and the whole Seigniory ſhould be expoſed to ſo great a danger: ſeeing that by the depoſition of the Magiſtrate, they loſt neither the councell popular, nor the publike libertie: a thing which could not be hard to keepe, though the *Medices*, depriued of reputation and power, ſhould ſtriue to exceed their priuate degree: That it was to be conſidered in what ſort the Citie might reſiſt the authoritie and forces of ſo great a league; which of themſelues they could not: that all *Italy* was become their enemie: that they had wholly loſt all hope of ſuccours with the *French* men, who being driuen with cowardiſe out of *Italy*, had enough to do to defend their owne Realme, and knowing their weakneſſe, had anſwered to the demands of the *Florentines*, that they were contented they ſhould accord with the League. Of the contrary, others ſaid it was ridiculous to beleeue that ſo great a ſtirre was made onely for the hatred of the *Gonfalonnier*, or to the end that the *Medices* might dwell in *Florence* as priuate Citizens: That the intention of the Confederates was farre otherwiſe, who to haue the Citie at their wils, and to draw from thence a great ſumme of money, had no other end, then to place the *Medices* in a tyrannie; but that they diſguiſed their intentions with demands not ſo ſharpe, which neuertheleſſe contained the ſame effect. For what other thing is it to take out of the Pallace the *Gonfalonnier* in a time ſo troubled, and with ſuch threatning and compulſion of armes, then to leaue a flocke wandring and without a paſtor? What other thing to bring the *Medices* into *Florence* in ſo great a tumult, then to aduance the ſtandard which thoſe would follow, who thinke vpon nothing elſe then to deface the name, the memory, and the forme of the great Councell? an eſtate of gouernment which cannot be depoſed without the abſolute ruine of the common libertie. And what is there to let the *Medices*, accompanied with the *Spaniſh* army, and followed within with ſeditious and ambitious troupes, that they may not oppreſſe the libertie euen as ſoone as they ſhall enter into *Florence*? That it is to be conſidered what may be the iſſue of ſuch things, and what may happen by yeelding to demands vniuſt and preiudiciall: and that it is not meet ſo much to feare the dangers, as to forget the generall ſafetie; and how intollerable it would be to liue in ſeruitude, to ſuch as haue bene borne and bred vp in libertie: That they ſhould remember with what valour they had oppoſed againſt the late King *Charles* the eight for the preſeruation of their libertie, at ſuch time as he was within *Florence* with a mightie army: and conſider how much more eaſie it was to reſiſt ſo ſmall a companie, vnfurniſhed of money,

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vnprouided of victuals, naked of great artilleries, and all other commodities to beare out the warre, if onely they reſiſted their firſt furie: and who being conſtrained to ſtay but a while in *Tuſcane*, and puſhed forward by a hope giuen them by the baniſhed men, to carry *Florence* at the firſt aſſault, when they ſhall perceiue that men begin to make a reſolute defence, they will quickly incline to accord, and that vpon very honeſt conditions. Theſe diſcourſes ranne in the market places and ſtreets amongſt the Citizens. But the *Gonfalonnier* holding it beſt that the anſwer which the Magiſtrate was to make to the Viceroy, ſhould be communicated with the people, called together the great Councell, and in full preſence of the Citizens gaue his opinion in this maner:

Peter Soderin reaſoneth in the Councell.

If I thought the demand of the Viceroy touched me onely, and that it ſtretched no further, I my ſelfe would haue giuen an anſwer conformable to my intention, which hauing alwayes bene, to be ready to giue my life for your good, it would be a matter much more eaſie for me to reſolue to renounce the charge you haue giuen me (to deliuer you from the dangers and harmes of the warre,) ſpecially hauing for ſo many yeares ſince I came to this place, worne out both my body and mind with infinite cares & trauels. But ſince it may be that in this demand wil be debated other things then my priuate intereſt, it hath bene thought good by this honorable aſſiſtance, and my ſelfe, not to deliberate without publike conſent in a matter that ſo vniuerſally concerneth you all, and that a cauſe ſo graue and generall, ſhould not be referred to the conſultation of that ordinary number of Citizens, who do ordinarily handle other things; but to you, in whoſe perſons is reſembled the ſoueraigne maieſtie and preſence of this Citie, and to whom onely belongeth a deliberation of ſo great conſequence. I will not exhort you to incline more to one part then to the other, I referre all to your counſell and iudgement: that which you ſhall reſolue, ſhall be accepted and liked of me, who do not onely lay at your feete the office you haue giuen me, which is your owne, but alſo my perſon and life; and I ſhould thinke my ſelfe very happie, if I could beleeue that that were a meanes of your ſafetie. Examine of what importance the demand of the Viceroy may be for your libertie; wherein I beſeech God ſo to direct your minds, as you may make election of the better way. If the *Medices* were diſpoſed to liue in this Citie as priuate Citizens, and would be obedient to your lawes and Magiſtrates, it were a laudable act to ſuffer them to returne, and to receiue them, to the end that our common countrey might be reincorporated into one common bodie: but if they haue any other intention, conſider your danger, and let it not be grieuous vnto you to ſuſtaine all expences and difficulties to preſerue your libertie, the which how precious it is, you ſhall then beſt diſcerne, but without profit (which I haue horror to ſpeake) when you are depriued of it. And let no man perſwade himſelfe that the gouernment of the *Medices* will be the ſame it was afore they were expulſed, ſeeing the forme and foundations of things are changed. For then, they being trained vp amongſt vs almoſt as priuate Citizens, wealthy in goods according to the degree they held, and not offended by any, relyed vpon the good will of the Citizens, vſed to conſult with the principals of publike affaires, and laboured with the cloake of ciuilitie to hide rather then to diſcouer their greatneſſe: but now that they haue liued ſo many yeares out of *Florence*, hauing learned the faſhions and manners of ſtrangers, and in that regard haue ſmall skill in ciuill cauſes; mindfull of their exile, and ſeuerities done to them, poore in goods, iniuried by ſo many families, and knowing well enough that the moſt part, yea almoſt all the whole Citie, abhorreth tyrannie: they will repoſe confidence in no Citizen, but compelled by pouertie and ſuſpition, they will take to themſelues the adminiſtration of all things, not ſupporting themſelues by goodwill and loue, but by force of armes, in ſuch ſort, that in a very ſhort time this Citie ſhall become like to *Bolognia*, as it was in the time of the *Bentiuoleis*, and like to *Sienna* and *Perouſa*. I haue thought good to ſpeake this, to ſuch as commend the time and gouernment of *Lawrence de Medicis*, the which in compariſon of this would ſeeme a golden age, notwithſtanding the conditions of that time were hard, and the gouernment was a kind of tyrannie, although more eaſie then many others. Now it appertaineth to you to reſolue wiſely, and to me, either conſtantly and freely to giue vp this charge, or elſe if you determine otherwiſe, reſolutely to apply my ſelfe to the preſeruation and defence of your libertie.

There was no doubt what the Councell would reſolue, the people bearing almoſt an vniuerſall inclination to maintaine the popular gouernment: therefore it was determined by a wonderfull accord, to conſent to the returning of the *Medices* in the nature of priuate perſons:

and to refuſe the depoſing of the *Gonfalonnier* from the Magiſtracie, and that if the enemies were obſtinate herein, they ſhould looke to the defence of their libertie and common countrey, ſparing neither goods nor life in that action. Then all mens thoughts being turned to the warre, and to the prouiſions of money, they ſent men to the towne of *Prato*, ten miles from *Florence*, which they thought would be the firſt place that would be aſſailed by the Viceroy: who after he had gathered together his army at *Barberina*, together with the artillery which was drawne with great difficultie, both for the ill way of the *Appenin*, and alſo for that for want of money they lacked labourers and inſtruments neceſſary for the cariage, he tooke the way to *Prato*, as had bene formerly iudged: where being arriued at the breake of day, he began the ſame day to batter the gate *Mercatala* with two Falconets about the ſpace of an houre, but he preuailed litle there, for that it was well rampiered within. The *Florentines* had beſtowed within *Prato* about two thouſand footmen, the moſt part of their garriſon ſouldiers, and the reſidue leuied in haſte of all ſciences and baſe trades; and in that number there were very few experienced and trained to the warre. They had alſo ſent thither with an hundred men at armes *Luke Sauello* an ancient Captaine, but yet neither for his age, nor by experience, had attained to any degree of martiall knowledge: and the men at armes were the very ſame who a litle before had bene ſtripped in *Lombardie*. Hereunto was added, that by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of the time, and the ignorance of ſuch as had the charge to make prouiſions, there was great want of artilleries within *Prato*, and not halfe the munitions and other things neceſſary to defend the place. The Viceroy had in his armie two hundred men at armes, fiue thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, and two Cannons onely, which was an armie very ſmall in numbers and other prouiſions, but great in valour, for that the footmen were all of thoſe bodies, who with ſo great reputation were retired from the battell of *Rauenna*, and who like men of warre repoſing much in their vertue, deſpiſed greatly the ignorance of their aduerſaries. But being come, without hauing taken order for victuals, and finding ſmall ſtore in the country (for that although the harueſt was hardly finiſhed, it was all carried into places of ſtrength) they began immediatly to fall into want, wherewith the Viceroy being terrified, he began to incline to accord, whereof there was continuall ſolicitation, namely, that the *Florentines* ſuffering that the *Medices* might returne equall with the other Citizens, and without ſpeaking any more of the depoſing of the *Gonfalonnier*, the Citie ſhould pay to the Viceroy, to the end that he might withdraw his armie from off their dominions, a certaine ſumme of money, which was ſuppoſed not to exceed thirtie thouſand duckats: and therfore the Viceroy had granted a ſafeconduct to the Embaſſadors elected for that expedition, and had abſtained vntill their coming any more to aſſaile *Prato*, if they within had in any ſort furniſhed him with victuals. There is nothing that flieth faſter away then occaſion: nothing more dangerous then to iudge of the intention and profeſſion of another: and nothing more hurtfull then an immoderate ſuſpition. All the chiefe Citizens deſired agreement, being accuſtomed by the example of their elders, to defend their libertie againſt armes with gold: and therefore they made requeſt, that the Embaſſadours elect ſhould depart incontinently, being charged among other things to ſee them of *Prato* furniſh the *Spaniſh* armie with victuals, to the end the Viceroy might expect with patience if the compoſition that was now in hand would ſort to any effect. But the *Gonfalonnier* perſwading himſelfe (againſt his naturall timorouſneſſe) that the enemies deſpairing to be able to do any thing, would depart of themſelues, or fearing the *Medices* by what meanes ſoeuer they ſhould returne to *Florence*, or his deſtinie puſhing him on to be the cauſe of his owne ruine, and the calamitie of his country, he held artificially in delay the diſpatch of the Embaſſadours, not ſuffering them to depart the day that was appointed according to the reſolution which had bene made: in ſo much as the Viceroy when he ſaw himſelfe preſſed with the want of victuals, and being vncertaine whether the Embaſſadours would come, diſlodged by night from the gate *Mercatala*, and incamping before the gate called *Serraglio*, from the which the way goeth to the mountaine, he began to batter the next wall with two Cannons, chuſing that place for the commoditie of a high heape of earth ioyning to the wall, by the which he might eaſily aſcend to the breach of the wall aboue that was battered: the which facilitie for them without, being turned into a difficultie for them within the towne, for that the breach that was made aboue the heape of earth, remained within very high and far from the ground, one of the Canons was broken at the firſt execution, and the other with the which the battery was continued, had ſo loſt his force with often ſhooting, that

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the bullets came very ſlackly to the wall, and did litle harme. Neuertheleſſe, after they had in the ſpace of many houres made a breach in the wall of more then twelue fadomes, certaine of the *Spaniſh* footmen being gotten vp to the heape of earth, began to aſſaile the breach; from thence they got to the top of the wall, where they ſlue two of the footmen that guarded it, for whoſe death the reſidue beginning to retire, the *Spaniards* climbed vp quickly by the helpe of ſcaling ladders: and albeit there was within neare the wall a ſquadron of ſhot and pikes, beſtowed there to ſuffer none of the enemies to ſtay vpon the wall, and to make ſlaughter of the firſt that raſhly ſhould leape in, or otherwiſe get downe; yet as ſoone as they ſaw the enemies vpon the wall, they brake their ranke, and of themſelues abandoned the defence of the place: ſo the *Spaniards* being amazed to ſee ſo great cowardize and litle experience in men of warre, made their entrie in ſundry places without impediment, and began to run through the towne, where was ſeene no other thing then flying, violence, ſpoiling, bloud, murders, and crying; the footmen of the *Florentines* making no reſiſtance, but caſting away their weapons, offered their bodies to the rigour of their enemies: from whoſe couetouſneſſe, luſt and crueltie, nothing had eſcaped, if the Cardinall *de Medicis* hauing beſtowed guards in the great Church, had not ſaued the honour of women, which in their calamitie were fled thither for ſafetie. There were more then two thouſand men that died, not fighting (for not one fought) but in flying, or crying for mercie: and all the reſidue were made priſoners, together with the *Florentine* Commiſſioners. *Prato* being loſt, they of *Piſtoya*, not falling otherwiſe from the iuriſdiction of the *Florentines*, agreed to relieue the Viceroy with victuals, receiuing his promiſe not to be diſtreſſed by his armie. *Prato taken by the Spaniards.*

But as ſoone as the ſucceſſe of *Prato* was knowne at *Florence*, by reaſon whereof the Embaſſadours that went to the Viceroy, being on the halfe way, were returned, there was diſcerned great alteration in the minds of euery one. The *Gonfalonnier* repenting the vanitie of his counſell, being amazed, and hauing almoſt altogether loſt both reputation and authoritie, rather vngouerned then gouerning, and altogether vnreſolued, gaue himſelfe vp to the wils of others, without making prouiſion either for his owne ſafetie, or the common tranquillitie. Others, who deſired alteration of the gouernment, waxing bold, diſcõmended publikly the things preſent: but the moſt part of the Citizens who were not accuſtomed to armes, and who ſet afore their eyes the miſerable example of *Prato*, notwithſtanding they affected the popular gouernment, remained, by reaſon of feare, as a miſerable prey to whoſoeuer would oppreſſe them. By reaſon of theſe things *Paul Vettori* and *Anthonie Franciſquo Albizi*, Gentlemen ſeditious and deſirous of innouation, becoming more audacious (who had many moneths afore conſpired ſecretly with others in fauour of the *Medices*, and to agree with them of the maner of their reſtoring, had ſecretly ſpoken with *Iulian de Medicis* in a village of the *Florentine* territory neare to *Sienna*) determined to make experience to draw the *Gonfalonnier* out of the publike Pallace by force: and hauing communicated their counſell to *Bartholomew Valori* a yong man of the like condition, and intangled (by his vnreaſonable prodigalities) with ſundry debts, as was alſo *Paul Vettori*, they went the ſecond morning after the loſſe of *Prato*, being the laſt day of Auguſt, with a ſmall companie to the Pallace, where, for that the *Gonfalonnier* had left all things to aduenture, finding no great guard or reſiſtance, they entred his chamber, and threatned him to take his life from him if he would not depart the Pallace; but in caſe he would go out, they gaue him their faith to defend him from harme. Whereunto he yeelding, and the whole Citie riſing into tumult, many diſcloſing themſelues againſt him, and not one in his fauour, when (as they had appointed) he had preſently cauſed ỹ Magiſtrates to aſſemble, who, hauing according to the lawes great authoritie ouer ỹ *Gonfalonniers*, they required that he might be lawfully depriued of the Magiſtracy, threatning ỹ otherwiſe they wold kil him. In wch feare depoſing him contrary to their wil, they led him in ſafetie into ỹ houſe of *Paul Vettori*, frõ whẽce the night following, being wel accompanied, he was conueyed vpon the dominions of *Sienna*, and frõ thence making ſhew to go to *Rome* with ſafeconduct of the Pope, ſecretly taking the way of *Ancona*, he paſſed by ſea to *Ragouſa*, for that he was aduertiſed by his brother the Cardinal, that the Pope wold breake his promiſe with him, and ſpoile him of the money which he had, which was ſuppoſed to be in great quantitie. As ſoone as the *Gonfalonnier* was depoſed from the Magiſtracie, the Citie diſpatched preſent Embaſſadours to the Viceroy, with whom they compounded eaſily by meanes of the Cardinall *de Medicis*; for the Cardinall was content that in reſpect of him there ſhould be no

further mention, then of the reſtoring of him and his, and of all ſuch as had followed him, as priuate Citizens, with power to redeeme within a certaine time their goods that had bene alienated by the fiske; but reſtoring the moneys that had bene disburſed, and the increaſe that was made by ſuch to whom they had bene transferred: and touching common affaires, the *Florentines* entred the league. They bound themſelues (according to that which the *Medices* had promiſed at *Mantua* to the Biſhop of *Gurci* in recompence of their returne) to pay to the Emperour fortie thouſand duckats, to the Viceroy twentie thouſand, and for the armie foureſcore thouſand, the one halfe preſently, and the reſidue within two moneths: but vpon this condition, that the firſt paiment being receiued, the armie ſhould forthwith depart from off the lands of the *Florentines*, relinquiſhing all that they had taken. Beſides this, they contracted a league with the King of *Aragon*, with bonds reciprocall for certaine numbers of men at armes for the defence of their eſtates, and that the *Florentines* ſhould entertaine in their pay two hundred men at armes of the ſubiects of that King; and although it was not expreſſed vnder whom, it was intended vnder the Marquis of *Paluda*, to whom the Cardinall had promiſed, or at leaſt giuen hope, to make him Generall of the *Florentine* men of warre. The *Gonfalonnier* being driuen away, and the dangers of the warre remoued by the compoſition, the Citizens began to correct the gouernment in points wherein the former forme was thought vnprofitable: but with an vniuerſall intention (except of a very few, who were yong, and almoſt of no reſpect) to preſerue the libertie and the Councel popular. Therefore they determined with new laws, that the electiõ of the *Gonfalonnier* ſhould no more be for perpetuity, but for one yeare onely: and that to the Councell of the foureſcore, which changed from ſixe moneths to ſixe moneths, and by whoſe authoritie the cauſes of greateſt weight were determined, to the end there might be a continuall communitie of the Citizens of greateſt qualitie, ſhould be alwaies added all ſuch as had adminiſtred either at home or abroad the chiefe offices and honours: at home, ſuch as had bene either *Gonfalonnier* of iuſtice, or of the ten of the *Balia*, which is an office in that Commonweale of great authoritie; abroad, all ſuch as being choſen by the Councell of the fourſcore, had ſerued either as Embaſſadours to forreine Princes, or elſe as generall Superintendents in the warre: the ordinances of gouernment remaining firme and ſtable in all other matters. After theſe things were reſolued, they elected *Gonfalonnier* for the firſt yeare, *Iohn Baptiſta Rodolfe*, a noble Citizen, and who was eſteemed very wiſe, the people reſpecting (according to the maner of troubleſome times) not ſo much ſuch as by popular practiſes were moſt agreeable to them, as one, who by the great authoritie he had in the Citie, ſpecially with the Nobilitie, and by his proper vertue could ſupport and eſtabliſh the tottering eſtate of the Commonweale. But things were already too much out of order, and the common liberty had too many mightie enemies; in the bowels of the countrey an army ſuſpected, and within the Citie the moſt audacious of the youth deſirous to oppreſſe it, to whoſe wils was conformable the deſire of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, notwithſtanding in words he made ſhew of the contraty. For he who from the beginning eſteemed not the reſtoring of him and his as priuate Citizens, a recompence worthy of ſo many trauels and paines, conſidered further now, that this alſo could not long endure; for that together with his name, they ſhould be greatly hated of euery one, the other citizens liuing in continuall ſuſpition, that they would dreſſe ſome ambuſh againſt their libertie: and much more, for diſdaine that they had brought the *Spaniſh* army againſt their country, & bin the cauſe of the moſt cruell ſacke of *Prato*: and becauſe that for feare of armes the Citie had bene conſtrained to receiue ſuch baſe and vniuſt conditions. To this he was vrged by ſuch as afore had conſpired with him, and ſome others who in a Commonweale well ordered held no honorable place. But the conſent of the Viceroy was neceſſary, who expecting the firſt paiment, which for the ill condition of the citie could not ſo ſoone be procured, kept as yet within *Prato*, and had no fancie (whatſoeuer the cauſe was) that any new change ſhould be made in the Citie of *Florence*. Notwithſtãding the Cardinal declaring vnto him (& cauſing the Marquis of *Paluda* & *Andrew Caraffe* Earle of *S. Seuerin*, Captaines in the armie, to do the like) that the name of the *Spaniards* could not but be very odious to a Citie againſt which they had done ſo many harmes, and that in all occaſions they would ſticke alwayes to the enemies of the King Catholike; yea, that there was danger, leſt when the army ſhould depart, they would reuoke the *Gonfalonnier*, whom they had expulſed by conſtraint: and being further moued, for that the money was ſo long vnpayed which they had promiſed him, which if they had ſooner performed, the *Florentines* might haue

layed

layed a better foundation for a free gouernment, he conſented to the deſire of the Cardinall, who as ſoone as he had made agreement and reſolution of the affaires with him, came with diligence to *Florence* into his houſes, and many Captaines and ſouldiers of the *Italians* entred, ſome with him, and ſome ſeparate, the Magiſtrates not hauing the courage to let their entrie, for feare of the *Spaniards* that were at hand. The next morning a Councell of many Citizens being aſſembled at the publike Pallace to conſult of the preſent affaires, *Iulian de Medicis* being preſent and aſſiſting the action, the ſouldiers charged the gate of the Pallace on a ſudden, and climing vp by ladders, they made themſelues maiſters thereof, making pillage of the ſiluer veſſell which was kept there for the ſeruice of the Citie; which together with the *Gonfalonnier*, compelled to giue place to the wils of ſuch as could do no more with weapons then the Magiſtrate could with reuerence and authoritie, called together preſently with the ringing of the great bell (by the direction of *Iulio de Medicis*) the people, to Parliament vpon the Pallace green: where, ſuch as went thither being enuironed with armed ſouldiers, and by the yong men of the Citie that had taken armes for the *Medices*, they conſented that to fiftie Citizens of the Cardinals naming, ſhould be giuen the ſame authoritie in publike buſineſſe, which the whole people had, (which large kind of power the *Florentines* call *Ampla balia*.) Now by the decree of theſe men, the gouernment being reduced to that forme which it caried before the yeare a thouſand foure hundred ninetie and foure, and a garriſon eſtabliſhed within the Pallace, the *Medices* reſumed the ſame ſtate of greatneſſe which their father had, but their gouernment was more imperious, and with a power more abſolute. In this ſort was oppreſſed the libertie of the *Florentines*, being brought to that degree principally by the diſagreements of the Citizens; into which it was thought it would not haue come, if they had not behaued themſelues ſo negligently in the defence of the publike buſineſſe, ſpecially in the lateſt times, not to ſpeake of the neutralitie, which they vſed very vndiſcreetly, and the cowardize of the *Gonfalonnier*, giuing too much head to the enemies of the popular gouernment. For the King of *Aragon* had not from the beginning ſo great a deſire to ſubuert the libertie, as to turne away that Citie from the alliance of the *French* King, and to draw from thence ſome ſummes of money to pay his armie: in ſo much that as ſoone as the *French* had abandoned the Duchie of *Millan*, he ſent to tell the Viceroy, that whether the affaires occurrent ſhould draw him to another enterpriſe, or for any other occaſion he ſhould know that the reſtitution of the *Medices* would be difficult, determining according to the condition of the times, he ſhould deale with the Citie as he thought good, and to the beſt aduantage for his affaires. This was his commandement in the beginning: but being afterwards diſcontented with the Pope for that he would haue done to *Alphonſo d'Eſte* at *Rome*, and entring withall into ſuſpition for the threats he gaue publikely againſt ſtrangers, he gaue plainly to vnderſtand to the ſame Embaſſadour of *Florence* that came to him in the beginning of the warre, (enioyning no leſſe to the Viceroy) that there ſhould be no ſtriuing to alter the gouernment: either for that he iudged it would be a thing of more ſuretie for him to preſerue the *Gonfalonnier*, who was enemy to the Pope, or elſe for that he feared leſt the Cardinall of *Medicis* being reſtored, would depend more of the Pope then of him: but this laſt deliberation came not to the knowledge of the Viceroy vntill the day after the Commonweale was reduced into the power of the Cardinall. By this diſcourſe it may be diſcerned, that if the *Florentines*, after the *French* were chaſed away, had diligently looked to aſſure their affaires by ſome agreement, or at leaſt had made themſelues ſtrong with armes & trained ſouldiers, either the Viceroy had not marched againſt them, or at leaſt finding reſiſtance, he would eaſily haue compounded with them for money. But their deſtinie would not ſuffer them ſo to do, although beſides that which might be coniectured by humane reaſons, they had bene warned of the perils imminent to them, by ſignes from heauen: for, not long afore, the lightning that fell vpon the gate that leades from *Florence* to *Prato*, caried away from an ancient ſhield of Marble, the golden flower *de Luces*, which are the armes of *France*: and another time a flaſh of lightening deſcending from the top of the Pallace into the chamber of the *Gonfalonnier*, touched no other thing then a great boxe of ſiluer, wherein were wont to be gathered the voices of the great Magiſtrate: and afterwards falling downe, it ſtroke ſo violently a great ſtone at the foote of the ſtaires, which bare vp the whole weight of the building, that being remoued from his place without any hurt, it ſeemed to be pulled from thence with great dexteritie by men skilfull in Architecture.

At theſe ſame times, or a litle before, the *Genowaies* beating vpon the Caſtle of *Genes* with

The caſtle of Genes taken by the Genowaies.

the artilleries which the Pope had lent them, the Caſtle-keeper being corrupted with a bribe of ten thouſand duckats, deliuered it vp to the townesmen; being hereunto moued, for that an armie by ſea which was ſent out of *Prouence* for the defence of the towne before the King had knowledge of the rebellion, hauing not the courage to take land, were retired, ſo that he had no hope to be ſuccoured. But the Lanterne held out for the King, whereinto the ſame day certaine *French* veſſels had conueyed victuals and other neceſſary prouiſions. As ſoon as the matters of *Florence* were diſpatched and the mony receiued, the Viceroy raiſed the camp to march to *Breſſia*, which Citie, the *Venetian* armie, hauing appeaſed the *Swiſſers*, held beſieged afore the gate of *S. Iohn*, battering at one time both the towne and the Caſtle with artilleries planted vpon the oppoſite mountaine. And likewiſe had hope to be let in at the gate of Piles by meanes of an intelligence, which proued vaine, for that it was diſcloſed. But when the *Spaniſh* armie arriued at the borough of *Gairo* which is neare to *Breſſia*, *Monſieur d'Aubigny* Captaine of the *French* that were within, determined to giue vp the towne together with the Caſtle to the Viceroy, with compoſition that all the ſouldiers that were within, ſhould iſſue out, their goods and liues ſaued, but their Enſignes folded, and the points of their weapons downeward, and leauing behind them their artillerie. And it was thought that *Monſieur d'Aubigny* preferred the Viceroy before the *Venetians*, hauing receiued a commandement a litle afore from his King, to deliuer it rather to the *Spaniards* or to *Ceſar*, not for any hatred that he bore them, but to entertaine matter of contention with *Ceſar* and the King of *Aragon*. The *French* men that kept *Legnaguo*, had followed the ſame counſell afore the *Spaniards* came into *Lombardie*: for, litle eſteeming of the many offers of the *Venetians*, they ſurrendred it vp to the Biſhop of *Gurci*, vnto whom *Peſquiero* yeelded at the ſame time that the Viceroy entred *Breſſia*, the poſſeſſion whereof the ſame Biſhop deſired to haue, but it pleaſed the Viceroy thē to retaine it for the League, in whoſe name he had receiued it. It happened otherwiſe to the towne of *Crema*, about the which lay incamped *Rance de Cere* with part of the *Venetian* ſouldiers: for that foure thouſand *Swiſſers* which *Octauian Sforce* Biſhop of *Loda* and Gouernour of *Millan* had ſent to conquer it in the name of the future Duke *Maximilian Sforce*, being approched, *Benedict Cribario* who was corrupted by gifts, and a promiſe to be created a Gentleman of *Venice*, gaue it vp to the *Venetians*, with the conſent of *Monſieur Duraz* that kept the Caſtle, who repoſed no confidence for his ſafetie in the faith of the *Swiſſers*. Afterwards the Biſhop of *Gurci* went to *Rome*, whom the Pope deſiring earneſtly to haue at his deuotion, forcing his nature, he cauſed him to be receiued through all his dominions with all ſorts of honors: defraying his expences by the way, together with all ſuch as followed him, making them great cheare. All the townes receiued him with exceſſiue and vnuſuall honours, the wayes being filled with ſuch as went to meete him, and in many ſeuerall places he was viſited by ſundry new Embaſſadours of Prelates and perſonages of honor whō the Pope ſent vnto him: and he was deſirous that the Colledge of Cardinals ſhould haue gone to the gates of *Rome* to receiue him, but the Colledge refuſing it, as a matter not onely new, but full of great indignitie, the Cardinals *Aginenſe* and of *Strigonia* went by the medowes halfe a mile out of the gates to receiue him in the name of the Pope, who led him to *S. Maria de Popolo*, he being in the middeſt betweene them as Lieutenant to *Ceſar*. And from thence, where the two Cardinals left him, accompanied with an innumerable multitude, he went to the Pope, who being in his Pontificall ſeate, in ſolemne habite, expected his coming in the publike Conſiſtorie, where not many dayes before he had very honorably receiued the twelue Embaſſadours of the *Swiſſers*, whom all the Cantons had ſent to him, both to giue him publike obedience, and to declare that that nation would be perpetuall defenders of the ſtate of the Church, and to thanke him, that with ſo great honour he had giuen them the ſword, the hat, the helmet, and the banner, together with the title to be the Defenders of the Eccleſiaſtike libertie. When the Biſhop of *Gurci* was arriued, they began to debate of the eſtabliſhment of the common affaires, whereof the principall point conſiſted in the remouing of particular quarrels & contentions, to the end that *Italy* might be ſo eſtabliſhed, that with an vniforme courage and counſell it might be able to reſiſt the *French* King: and that which herein was the moſt difficult, was the compoſition ſo many times practiſed betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*. For, the Biſhop of *Gurci* conſented willingly that *Padua*, *Treuiſa*, *Breſſia*, *Bergama* and *Crema* ſhould remaine to the *Venetians*, ſo farre forth as they would render *Vincenſa* to *Ceſar*, renouncing the rights they pretended to the townes that *Ceſar* held, and paying to him preſently two hundred thouſand

Breſſia rendred by the French to the Viceroy.

Crema rendred to the Venetians.

The Biſhop of Gurci at Rome

thouſand florins of *Rhein*, and thirtie thouſand yearely for euer in way of tribute. It diſpleaſed the *Venetians* to acknowledge themſelues tributaries for thoſe townes which they had poſſeſſed ſo many yeares as their owne: and no leſſe to giue ſo much money, notwithſtanding the Pope offered to lend them part of the ſumme. But that which troubled them moſt, was the reſtoring of *Vincenſa*; for they ſaid, that that were to ſeparate the bodie of their eſtate, and to depriue them of the commoditie to paſſe from the head and principall parts to the other members, and that thereby the poſſeſſion of *Breſſia*, *Bergama* and *Crema* would be vncertaine and ill aſſured. And beſides, to refuſe the more honeſtly, they ſaid, they had giuen their faith to the *Vincentines* the laſt time they put themſelues into their hands, neuer to ſeparate themſelues from them. Other conditions were debated betweene the Pope and the King of *Aragons* Embaſſadour, propounded partly more for reuenge of the complaints of others, then for any hope to obtaine them. For the Pope demanded that that King according to the contents of the confederation, ſhould aide him to conquer *Ferrara*: he required him to leaue off the protection of *Fabricio* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, againſt whom he had begun to proceed with ſpirituall weapons, for that they had forced the gate of *Latran*, and receiued *Alphonſo d'Eſte* who had rebelled againſt him, into thoſe townes whoſe iuriſdiction appertained directly to the Church. He required him to renounce the protections he had vndertaken in *Tuſcane*, of the *Florentines*, of the *Siennois*, of the *Lucquois*, and of *Plombin*, as matters done in diminution of the rights of the Empire, and generally ſuſpected of all *Italy*, but particularly of the Church: for that it was not profitable to the other Potentates that he ſhould haue ſo many alliances in *Italy*, and moſt dangerous for the Church, that a prouince belonging to the dominion of the ſame ſhould depend vpon his authoritie. To theſe things the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours replied, that they refuſed not to aide him againſt *Ferrara*, ſo farre forth as according to the bonds of the ſame confederation, he made paiment of the mony due to the armie for the time paſt, and made prouiſion for the time to come: That it was an action not praiſeworthy to proceed againſt *Fabricio* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, for that as well by reaſon of their dependances, as for that they were Captaines of authoritie, if they were purſued, it would be the cauſe of a new warre: That the King Catholike could not leaue them abandoned, without ſpeciall preiudice to his proper honour, and that their ſeuerall ſeruices in the warres of the Pope and himſelfe againſt the *French* King, deſerued no ſuch recompence: And touching the complaint he made of the protections of *Tuſcane*, that it proceeded not of any good or iuſt zeale, but to the end that *Sienna*, *Lucques* and *Plombin*, ſhould remaine a prey to his couetouſneſſe, intimating notwithſtanding that the King would referre himſelfe in thoſe things to the will of *Cæſar*. All the Confederates agreed with full conſent, that *Maximilian Sforce* ſhould enter vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, but *Cæſar* conſented not to inueſt him, nor to endue him with the name of Duke or any iuſt title. But the complaints of the Biſhop of *Gurci* and the *Spaniards* were againe renewed touching the occupation of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, in preiudice of the rights of the Empire, to the too much increaſe of the Popes greatneſſe, and weakening of the Duchie of *Millan*, which had need to be made more mightie, for that it lay alwayes open to the firſt inuaſions of the *French*: That in the capitulations of the League, the Pope had made mention of no other thing then of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*: That now he vſurped that which of long time paſt had not bene poſſeſſed by the Church of *Rome*, there being no certaine knowledge that euer ſhe had enioyed it, euen in the times moſt ancient: and that vnder colour of rights, whereof there appeared no authentike memorie, he ſhewing no other thing of the donations of Emperours, then a ſimple writing, which might be forged or feigned according to any mans fancie: and ẏ the Pope, notwithſtanding taking occaſion of the tumults of *Lombardy*, was his owne iudge, as in a matter manifeſt & notorious. Theſe diſputatiõs could not be eaſily reſolued. But that which moſt troubled the iſſue of things, was the controuerſie betweene *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, by reaſon whereof the Pope did what he could, ſometimes prouoking them, ſometimes praying them, and ſometimes threatning them, for a deſire which he ſtill nouriſhed to preſerue the *Venetians*, for the common benefite of *Italy*, and for that he hoped by meanes of their ſuccours, to be able to take *Ferrara* without the aide of the *Spaniards*. The Embaſſadours of the King of *Aragon* laboured herein with great importunitie, fearing leſt to a common danger, there might be ſome cauſe giuen to the *Venetians* to turne their diſpoſitions to the *French*: but they were driuen to proceed circumſpectly, not to prouoke *Cæſar* to make alliance with the *French*, from whom their King had

had ſeparated him with ſo great paine, and for that he would not for other reaſons breake amitie with him. The *Swiſſer* Embaſſadours likewiſe did their vttermoſt endeuour, for that being bound to defend the *Venetians*, who alſo in that regard were bound to pay them euery yeare fiue and twentie thouſand duckats, they deſired not to be brought to this neceſſitie to breake their promiſes, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt *Cæſar* if he offered to vexe them. At laſt, when the Biſhop of *Gurci* could not be brought to relinquiſh the demand which he made that the *Venetians* ſhould render *Vincenſa* to *Cæſar*, nor the *Venetians* to be diſpoſed to giue it vp, who were not yet agreed touching the ſumme of money, the Pope, who deſired aboue all things, to the end to ſuppreſſe the name and authoritie of the Conuenticle of *Piſa*, that *Cæſar* might approue the Councell of *Latran*, proteſted to their Embaſſadours, that he ſhould be conſtrained to perſecute their Commonweale with armes ſpirituall and temporall: which proteſtation not mouing them, he proceeded to confederate onely with *Cæſar*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour refuſing to deale in the action, either for that he had no commiſſion from his King, or for that that King, notwithſtanding he was reſolued in mind to aide *Cæſar*, ſought ſtill to nouriſh the *Venetians* with ſome hope. It was expreſſed in the proeme of the confederation, which was after ſolemnly publiſhed in the Church of *S. Maria de Popolo*: That the *Venetians* hauing obſtinately refuſed the peace, and the Pope, for the neceſſitie of the Chriſtian commonweale, had proteſted to abandon them; *Cæſar* did now enter and accept the league made in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and eleuen, betweene the Pope, the King of *Aragon*, and the *Venetians*, according as the libertie was then reſerued for him; and promiſed to cleaue to the Councell of *Latran*, diſanulling the commiſſion, and reuoking all the procurations & acts done in fauour of the conuenticle of *Piſa*: binding himſelfe not to aide any one of the ſubiects or enemies of the Church, but chiefly *Alphonſo d'Eſte* and the *Bentiuoleis*, occupiers of *Ferrara* and *Bolognia*: and to call home all the bands of *Almaine* footmen that were in the pay of *Alphonſo*, together with *Federike de Boſſolo* that held of him. On the other ſide, the Pope promiſed to aide *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians* with armes both ſpirituall and temporall, vntill ſuch time as he had recouered all that was contained in the league of *Cambray*. It was declared, that the *Venetians* were altogether excluded out of the league and truce made with *Cæſar*, for that in many ſorts they had impugned both the one and the other: That they were enemies to the Pope, to *Cæſar* and to the King Catholike, to whom they reſerued place to enter the confederation within a certaine time, and vnder certaine conditions: That the Pope could make no couenant with them without the conſent of *Cæſar*, or till *Cæſar* had recouered that which appertained to him, as was ſaid afore: That neither the Pope nor *Cæſar*, without reciprocall conſent, could contract or couenant with any Chriſtian Prince: That during the warre againſt the *Venetians*, the Pope ſhould do no hurt or diſpleaſure to *Fabritio* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, it being notwithſtanding left in his power to proceed againſt *Pompey* and *Iulio*, and ſome others that had bene declared rebels: That notwithſtanding he was ſuffered to poſſeſſe *Parma*, *Reggia* and *Plaiſance*, yet by this capitulation it was not meant to preiudice the rights of the Empire. When this confederation was publiſhed, the Biſhop of *Gurci* in the next ſeſſion of the Councell of *Latran*, adhered to the Councell in the name of *Cæſar*; and as his Lieutenant generall in *Italy*, diſanulled all commiſſions, acts and procurations, and teſtified in the preſence of the whole Councell, that *Cæſar* neuer conſented to the conuenticle of *Piſa*, diſauowing all ſuch as had vſed his name. This being done, the Biſhop of *Gurci* departed from *Rome*, to be preſent when *Maximilian Sforce* (being now come by commiſſion of *Cæſar* to *Verona*) ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Duchie of *Millan*: whoſe comming the Cardinall of *Sion* expected with an ill will, together with the Embaſſadours of the whole nation of *Swiſſers*, who were at *Millan*, for that they deſired that in the demonſtrations and ſolemnitie of the actions that were to be performed, it might appeare (as the truth was indeed) that the *Swiſſers* were the men that had chaſed the *French* men out of that ſtate, and by whoſe valour and courage *Maximilian Sforce* receiued it. And yet the Viceroy obtained more by deuices & induſtry then by his authoritie, that they taried for the coming of the Biſhop of *Gurci*: who, after he had ratified at *Florence* in the name of *Cæſar*, the confederation made in *Prato*, and receiued certaine ſummes of money of the *Lucquois*, whom he tooke into protection, came at laſt to *Cremona*, where *Maximilian Sforce* and the Viceroy attended him: and from thence they went all together to *Millan*, to make their entrie, at the day appointed, into that Citie, with the ſolemnities and honours accuſtomed to new Princes. In which action, albeit it was

The Popes promiſes to the Emperour, to the preiudice of the Venetians

long

long diſputed betweene the Cardinall of *Sion* and the Viceroy, which of them ſhould giue him the keyes at the entrie of the gate, in ſigne of poſſeſſion, yet, in the end the Viceroy giuing place, the Cardinall put into his hands the keyes of the towne in the vniuerſall name of the *Swiſſers*: and that day, being one of the laſt dayes of December, he did all things both in ſhew and act, that were neceſſary to make knowne that *Maximilian Sforce* receiued the poſſeſſion of them: who was receiued with an incredible gladneſſe of all the people, for the great deſire they had to haue a Prince proper and particular, and for that they hoped he wold reſemble his grandfather or his father, of whom the memory of the one was very famous in that ſtate for his excellent vertues, and touching the other, the deſpites they had receiued by the gouernment of ſtrangers, had turned their hatred into good will: and theſe gratulations and ioyes were not yet finiſhed, when the Caſtle of *Nouaro* was recouered, for that they within yeelded it vp. The confederation made at *Rome*, had not taken away all hope of agreement betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, for that the Pope had ſuddenly ſent to *Venice Iaques Staffiley* his Nuncio, with whom went three Embaſſadours of the *Swiſſers* to perſwade them to accord: and on the other ſide, the Senate, the better to entertaine the good will of the Pope, and not to giue cauſe to *Ceſar* to inuade them with armes, had ſent to their Embaſſadours a new direction to cleaue to the Councell of *Latran*, and commanded the men of warre as ſoone as the confederation was made, to retire vpon the territories of *Padua*: and therefore the Viceroy not willing to trouble the hopes of peace, had turned his armie towards *Millan*. But the ſame difficulties remaining touching the reſtitution of *Vincenſa* and the money which *Ceſar* demanded, all theſe things were to no purpoſe: which was the cauſe that the Pope aſſailed not the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom (agreement being made betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*) he ſuppoſed he ſhould be able to vanquiſh with his owne forces and the aide of the *Venetians*, together with the bruite onely that the *Spaniards* were to come if need ſhould be: for otherwiſe he had reſolued to deferre that expedition till the Spring time, for that he eſteemed it a hard matter to take *Ferrara* in the Winter, the ſituation being ſtrong in reſpect of the riuer, and greatly fortified beſides by the continuall induſtrie of *Alphonſo*.

Maximilian Sforce reſtored to Millan.

If I make mention of that which was done in *France* that ſame yeare, it may haply ſeeme to ſome, that I go from my purpoſe, which hath bene, not to meddle with things done out of *Italy*: but becauſe the affaires of that nation haue ſome affinitie with the buſineſſe of theſe parts, and that to the ſucceſſe of the one, the counſels and iſſues of the other were oftentimes conioyned, I am conſtrained not to paſſe them altogether vnder ſilence. About the beginning of May, ſixe thouſand *Engliſh* footmen ſailed in veſſels of *Englaind* and *Spaine* to *Fontaraby*, which is a frontier towne belonging to the Crowne of *Spaine* vpon the coaſt of *France*, ſtanding vpon the Ocean ſea: and it was (according to the couenants made betweene the father in law and ſon in law) together with the forces of *Spaine*, to aſſaile the Duchie of *Guyen*, which is a part of the prouince of *Aquitaine*, according to the ancient names and diuiſions of the ſame: againſt which warre, the *French* King being not yet aſſured on the coaſt of *Picardie*, prepared the new leuie of eight hundred Lances which he had made, and waged many bands of footmen of the lower parts of *Germanie* not ſubiect to the Emperour: and knowing of what importance for the defence of the Duchie of *Guyen*, was the realme of *Nauarre*, which was the dowrie of *Katherine de Foix*, and poſſeſſed ioyntly with *Iohn* the ſonne of *Albert*, who was her husband; he called to the Court the father of the ſaid *Iohn*, and carefully conſidered how he might make him his friend and conſociate: to which purpoſe the death of *Gaſton de Foix* ſtood him in good ſtead, by the inſtigation of whom, pretending the ſame kingdome not to fall vpon the female, and by conſequent to appertaine to him as to the next heire male of the houſe of *Foix*, the *French* King had purſued the ſaid *Iohn*. On the other ſide, the King Catholike, who had ſet his eyes vpon that Realme, required the King of *Nauarre* to ſtand neuter betweene the *French* King and him: and that he would ſuffer his ſouldiers that were to enter *France*, to paſſe through his realme: and that for the aſſurance of theſe things he would put into his hands certaine places of ſtrength, vnder promiſe to render them as ſoone as the warre ſhould be ended. But the King of *Nauarre* being not ignorant of the drift of theſe demands, (for the ancient deſire of the King of *Spaine* to get poſſeſſion of the Realme of *Nauarre* was very manifeſt) choſe rather to expoſe himſelfe to an vncertaine perill, then to accept a loſſe vnauoidable, hoping that he ſhould not faile of the ſuccours promiſed by the *French* King, for whoſe affaires it came well to paſſe that the warre began

The Engliſhmē at Fontaraby againſt the French king.

gan in the realme of *Nauarre:* and at the ſame time, either to giue more leiſure to ſuch as were appointed to come to his ſuccours, or to deliuer himſelfe if he could from thoſe demands, he treated with the King of *Aragon*, who according to his cuſtome proceeded in theſe matters with great cunning. But the induſtrie and warineſſe of the King of *Aragon* was not more hurtfull to the King of *Nauarre*, then the negligence of the *French* King; who growing more ſecure for that the *Engliſh* that were arriued at *Fontaraby*, had now for many dayes done nothing, and ſuppoſing withall, that the King of *Nauarre* was able with his owne forces to defend himſelfe for a time, he deferred very long to ſend him ſuccours. By reaſon whereof the King of *Aragon* who had cunningly nouriſhed and entertained the hopes of the King of *Nauarre*, conuerting thither with great expedition the bands which he had prepared to ioyne with the *Engliſh*, the King of *Nauarre* being vnprepared, deſpairing to be able to make reſiſtance, fled into *Bearn* beyond the *Pyrene* hils, and the realme of *Nauarre* being left abandoned (except certaine ſtrong places which yet held out for the King who was fled) fell, without any expences or difficultie, and more for the feare and reputation of the *Engliſh* that were at hand, then by his owne forces, into the power of the King of *Aragon*: who becauſe he could not affirme that he poſſeſſed it lawfully with any other title, alledged that he was iudicially impatronized of it by the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolike. For the Pope being not ſatisfied with the happie ſucceſſe of *Italy*, had a litle before publiſhed a Bull againſt the *French* King, wherein naming him no more Moſt Chriſtian, but Moſt Noble, he ſubiected as well his perſon as whoſoeuer were his adherents, to all the paines of heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, permitting euery one to occupie their ſubſtances, eſtates, and all that appertained vnto them: and with the ſame ſeueritie being much offended that the Cardinals and other Prelates who were fled from *Millan*, had bene receiued into the towne of *Lyons*, he commanded vnder paine of moſt grieuous cenſures, that the Fayre accuſtomed to be kept at *Lyons* foure times euery yeare, with great affluence of Merchants, ſhould be hereafter holden in the Citie of *Geneua*, from whence King *Lewis* the eleuenth had taken it for the benefit of his kingdom: and laſtly, he had brought the whole realme of *France* vnder the Eccleſiaſticall interdiction. But after the King of *Aragon* had conquered the kingdome of *Nauarre*, which albeit is but of litle circuite, & of leſſe reuenue, yet for the ſituation is very conuenient for the kingdome of *Spaine*, and greatly auaileable to the ſuretie of it: he determined in himſelfe to paſſe no further, eſteeming it not profitable for him to make war againſt the *French* King beyond the Mounts. In this reſpect, and euer ſince the *Engliſh* men arriued, he had bene long in preparing his forces: and after the conqueſt of *Nauarre*, the *Engliſh* ſoliciting him to ioyne his forces with them, to march together and incampe afore *Bayon*, a Citie neare to *Fontaraby*, and ſtanding almoſt vpon the Ocean ſea, he propoſed vnto them other enterpriſes, in places more remoued from the ſea, alledging that *Bayon* was ſo manned and fortified, that there could be no hope to take it. Which things being contradicted by the *Engliſh*, who made no reckoning of any other conqueſt in the Duchie of *Guyen* beſides *Bayon*, when there had beno much time ſpent in theſe diſputes, the *Engliſh* who were angrie and thought themſelues mocked, embarking themſelues without commiſſion or licence of their Prince, returned into *England*. By reaſon whereof the *French* King remaining aſſured on that ſide, and fearing no more the inuaſions of the *Engliſh* by ſea, for that at laſt he was become ſo ſtrong by ſea, that he commanded from the coaſts of *Spaine* euen to the ſhores of *England*; he determined to make triall if he could recouer the realme of *Nauarre*: whereunto he was encouraged, beſides the departing of the *Engliſh* fleete, for that by reaſon of the ill ſucceſſes in *Italy*, all his bands of ſouldiers were returned into *France*. At the ſame time that the King of *Aragon* gaue hope to the *Engliſh* men to enter into the warre, the better to bring vnder him the whole iuriſdiction of the realme of *Nauarre*, he had ſent certaine regiments of men to *S. Iohn Pedeportum*, which is the vttermoſt towne of that kingdome, ſtanding at the foote of the *Pyrene* hils, on that ſide towards *France*: and afterwards the *French* forces beginning to increaſe thereabouts, he ſent thither with the maine armie *Federike* Duke of *Alba*, Captaine generall of that warre. But the *French* armie being at laſt become farre more mightie, whereunto was arriued the *Daulphin* of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Monſieur Longueuille*, the chiefe Princes of the realme of *France*, the Duke of *Alba* lying incamped in a ſtrong place betweene the plaine and the mountaine, held it an action very neceſſary to that ſeruice, to hinder the *French* men for entring into the realme of *Nauarre:* who being not able to force him out of that place for the ſtrength of the ſituation, determined

The King of Aragon taketh the realme of Nauarre.

termined that the King of *Nauarre* with ſeuen thouſand footmen of his countrey, and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* with his company of three hundred lances remouing from *Saluatierra* neare to *S. Iohn Pedeportum*, where the whole armie lay, ſhould paſſe the *Pyrene* hils by the way of the Vale of *Roncales*, and drawing neare to *Pampeluna* the capitall towne of the kingdome, wherein the people taking courage by the nearneſſe of the *French*, began alreadie to draw into mutinie, for the deſire they had of their King, they ſhould ſeize vpon the Vale of *Roncales*, by which way onely was brought to the *Spaniſh* armie victuals, whereof by reaſon of the ſterilitie of the countrey they had already ſome want in the place where they were. The ſucceſſe was, that the King of *Nauarre* and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* when they had wonne the way that is vpon the top of the *Pyrene* hils, tooke *Bourget* by aſſault, a towne that ſtands at the foot of the hils, wherein was *Beldes* Captaine of the guard to the King of *Aragon*, with many bands of footmen: and if they had vſed ſuch celeritie as they ſhould, to winne the Vale of *Roncales*, famine onely had bene ſufficient to vanquiſh the *Spaniſh* armie, enuironed on all ſides with enemies, and countries infinitely troubleſome. But the diligence of the Duke of *Alba* preuented them, who hauing left in *S. Iohn Pedeportum* a thouſand footmen with all the artillerie, he paſſed to *Pampeluna* by the Vale of *Roncales* afore they came thither. So that the King of *Nauarre* and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* being diſappointed of their hope, to whom alſo the *Daulphin* had ſent a new ſtrength of foure hundred lances, and ſeuen thouſand Lanceknights, made their approch to *Pampeluna* with foure peeces of artillerie, which they had drawne with great paine and difficultie, by reaſon of the ſteepneſſe of the mountaines: and when they had giuen the aſſault, perceiuing they could not carry it for that the ſeaſon was againſt them (for it was in December,) and there was no meanes to recouer victuals in ſo barren a countrey, they repaſſed the *Pyrene* hils, vpon the which they were conſtrained to leaue their artillerie, both for the difficultie of the paſſages, and for the impediments giuen them by the men of the countrey. And at the ſame time *Monſieur Lautrech* who was entred *Biſcay* with three hundred Lances and three thouſand footmen, ſpoiling and burning the whole countrey, after he had in vaine aſſaulted the towne of *S. Sebaſtian*, repaſſed the mounts and returned to the armie, which now brake vp, both hope and feare ceaſſing on all parts, and the whole realme of *Nauarre* remaining free and peaceable to the King of *Aragon*. About this time it being detected that *Ferdinand* ſonne to the late *Federike* King of *Naples*, who called himſelfe Duke of *Calabria*, had ſecretly conſpired with the *French* King, and meant to ſteale to the *French* armie not farre from the towne of *Logrognia*, where at that time was the King of *Aragon*, he was by him ſent to the Caſtle of *Sciatiua*, whither the Kings of *Aragon* are wont to ſend ſuch priſoners as are perſonages of name, either for their nobilitie or for their vertue: and for the ſame cauſe *Philip Coppolo* a *Neapolitane* was quartered, who was the ſecret meſſenger to the *French* King in this action: Fortune ſo changing the ſtate of worldly things, that he was executed for the ſeruice of him, whoſe grandfather by the fathers ſide, had cut off the head of the Count *de Sarny* his father. This conſpiracie being diſcouered, was of ſome conſequence for the affaires of *Italy*: for, as it had his beginning of a certaine gray Frier, which the Duke of *Ferrara* had ſecretly ſent to *Ferdinand*; ſo the King Catholike hauing alreadie an inclination to ſatisfie the Popes will, tooke this matter ſo to heart, that he commanded the Viceroy and his Embaſſadour reſident with the Pope, to conuert when they thought good, his armie againſt *Ferrara*, demanding of him no more money then ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary to entertaine them. Theſe were the accidents of that yeare both in *Italy*, in *France*, and in *Spaine*.

Now followeth the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and thirteene, no leſſe full of memorable things then the former: in the beginning whereof, armes ceaſſing on all parts, (for that neither the *Venetians* moleſted others, nor any other moued againſt them) the Viceroy went to incampe with three thouſand footmen afore the rocke of *Treſſa*, which was rendred vnto him vnder condition that the bodies that were within ſhould depart with their goods ſaued. But all men were troubled in their minds with the conſideration of things to come: knowing that the *French* King being deliuered from forreine armes, and reincouraged both for the great leuie of Lanceknights he had made, and for the increaſe of his numbers of men at armes, had nothing in ſo great deſire as to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*: which diſpoſition albeit it was very violent in him, and that he deſired much to haſten the warre, whileſt the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona* were yet kept by his ſouldiers: notwithſtanding conſidering how he was hindered by the 1513.

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oppoſing of ſo many enemies, and being not yet aſſured that the King of *England* would not make ſtrong warre againſt him the next Sommer, he determined to enter into no action, vnleſſe he could ſeparate ſome one of the Confederates from the common alliance, or elſe winne to him the amitie of the *Venetians*: of which things the yeare paſt gaue him many hopes that one of theſe might haply ſucceed to him. For when the Biſhop of *Gurci* went from *Rome* to *Millan*, he heard graciouſly by the way one of the familiar friends of the Cardinall *de S. Seuerin*, ſent to him from the *French* Queene, and afterwards ſent one of his men ſecretly into *France* to make this motion: That the King ſhould be bound to aide *Ceſar* againſt the *Venetians*: That the mariage ſhould go forward betweene the ſecond daughter of the King, and *Charles* nephew to *Ceſar*, to whom the King ſhould giue in dowrie the Duchie of *Millan*: and ſhould alſo giue vp to his ſaid daughter and future ſonne in law, the rights he pretended to the Realme of *Naples*: And to the end that ſimple words and promiſes ſhould not ſtand to *Ceſar* as a ſuretie, he required that the daughter might be immediatly put into his hands: And that when the King ſhould haue recouered the Duchie of *Millan*, *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda* ſhould be for *Ceſar*. The King hoped likewiſe that he might eaſily ioyne to him the *Venetians*, who were not a litle angrie at that time that the Viceroy occupied *Breſſia*, but much more for the matters which afterwards were accorded at *Rome* betweene *Ceſar* and the Pope. Therefore after that the King cauſed *Andrew Gritti* to come ſecretly to his Court, who hauing bin taken at *Breſſia*, remained as yet priſoner in *France*, and cauſed *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, in whom the *Venetians* repoſed much, to ſend to *Venice* one of his Secretaries vnder colour of other affaires. He had alſo ſome hope to be able to compound with the King of *Aragon*, who (according to his cuſtome oftentimes to debate affaires by the negociation of religious men) had ſent ſecretly into *France* two gray Friers, to the end that expreſſing their zeale to the common benefit, they might begin to negociate with the Queene in ſome points, concerning the peace either vniuerſall or particular betweene the two Kings. Neuertheleſſe touching the particular, there was litle hope, the king knowing well enough that he would retaine the Realme of *Nauarre*, and to him it was a matter of no leſſe indignitie to leaue abandoned that King, who to reenter into his amitie and vnder hope of his ſuccours, was fallen into that calamitie. But nothing troubled ſo much the mind of the *French* king, as the deſire to reconcile the *Swiſſers* vnto him, knowing that thereupon depended his aſſured victorie, for the great authoritie that that nation then had, for the feare of their armes, and for that it ſeemed they had begun to gouerne themſelues, not as mercenarie ſouldiers, nor as ſhepheards, but with a care and vigilancie, as of a well ordered Commonweale, and as men brought vp in the adminiſtration of eſtates, and managing of affaires, without ſuffering any leuies to be made, but by good counſell and diſcretion: by reaſon whereof all Chriſtian Princes had Embaſſadours with them: the Pope with almoſt all the Potentates of *Italy* payed them yearely penſions, to be receiued into their confederation, and to leuie for their proper defence in times of neceſſitie, ſouldiers of that nation. The remembrance of which things made them ſo proud, that weighing how King *Charles* the eight by their armes had firſt toubled the quiet ſtate of *Italy*, and that afterward King *Lewis* his ſucceſſor, by their valour had conquered the Duchie of *Millan*, recouered *Genes*, and ouerthrowne the *Venetians*, they vſed towards all men an imperious and inſolent behauiour. And though the *French* King, beſides the perſwaſions of many particulars of that nation, and the opinion that they would become more flexible to him for the great offers of money that were made them, hoped he might winne them; for that ſuch as gouerned *Millan*, hauing agreed with the Embaſſadours of the *Swiſſers* in the name of *Maximilian Sforce*, that he ſhould giue them an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats ſo ſoone as he had receiued the poſſeſſion of *Millan* and the Caſtles, and fortie thouſand duckats a yeare for the ſpace of fiue and twentie yeares, the *Swiſſers* taking him into their protection, with couenant to deliuer into his pay bands of their footmen; yet the Cantons would neuer ratifie it: by reaſon whereof, in the beginning of the yeare preſent, notwithſtanding afore he had in vaine proued to haue his Embaſſadours heard, which he meant to ſend to treate of theſe things, yet to purchaſe audience in their Diots, he conſented freely to giue vp to them the Caſtles of the Vale of *Lugan*, and of *Lucarna*: with ſo great indignitie great Princes ſought at that time the amitie of that nation. Then *Monſieur Trimouille* according to the commiſſion of the King, came to *Lucerna*, a place appointed to heare him in publike aſſembly; and albeit he was receiued in good ſort, yet he quickly perceiued he ſhould do

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litle good touching the Duchie of *Millan*: for that not many dayes before, ſixe of the Cantons had ratified and ſubſigned the capitulations made with *Maximilian Sforce*, three had determined to confirme them, and touching the other three, they were not yet reſolued: by reaſon whereof, ſpeaking no more of *Millan*, he demanded that at leaſt they would aide the King to recouer *Genes* and *Aſt*, which were not comprehended in the capitulation made with *Maximilian Sforce*. For the better aduancement of which demand, *Triuulce* made requeſt that he might be at the Diot, vnder colour to treate of particular affaires; and ſafeconduct was granted him, but with this condition, that he ſhould not ſolicite in any matter appertaining to the *French* King: and being come to *Lucerna*, he was forbidden to haue any conference with *Monſieur Trimouille*, either in publike or in priuate. At laſt by an vniuerſall conſent, the capitulations made with the Duke of *Millan* were ratified by all the Cantons, and all the demands of the *French* King denied, with this addition, that they would not ſuffer any leuies of footmen of that nation to ſerue him either in *Italy* or out of *Italy*: by reaſon whereof the King ſeeing himſelfe reiected of ỹ *Swiſſers*, perceiued that it was neceſſary for him to be reconciled either with *Ceſar* or with the *Venetians*, who treated alſo at the ſame time with *Ceſar*, for that the ſuſpition of their reconciliation with the *French* King increaſing in the minds of the Confederates, the Biſhop of *Gurci* conſented that they ſhould retaine ſtill *Vincenſa*. But the ſame reaſons encouraging the Senate which gaue feare to the enemies, they ſtood vpon this, to make no more peace if *Verona* were not rendred to them, recompencing *Ceſar* with a greater quantitie of money. In which demand ſome difficultie being found, the *Venetians* inclining ſo much the more to the amitie of the *French*, contracted with the Secretarie of *Triuulce* to be confederate with the King, according to the capitulations made betweene them afore, by the which *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda* ſhould remaine to them. But the Secretarie ſet downe expreſſe mention in the capitulation, that that agreement ſhould ſtand as voide and of none effect, if within a certaine time it were not approued by the King, in whoſe Councell the diſputations were great, which was moſt to be deſired, either a reconciliation with *Ceſar*, or a confederation with the *Venetians*: *Robert* a Secretarie of great authoritie, *Triuulce*, and almoſt all the chiefeſt of the Councell approued more the confederation with the *Venetians*; alledging that which the preſent experience had made them know of the inconſtancie of *Ceſar* with ſo great detriment, the hatred he bare to the King, and his deſire of reuenge; and that which they had heard of perſonages worthy of credit, who reported that they had often heard him ſay at that time, that he kept fixed in his mind the remembrance of ſeuenteene iniuries receiued from the *French*, and that whenſoeuer oportunitie ſerued him to be reuenged of them all, he would not loſe the occaſion: and that theſe ſolicitations were practiſed by him for no other end, then by the meane of a reconciliation full of fraud, either to haue the better oportunitie to do harme, or at leaſt to break off ỹ which he knew was practiſed with the *Venetians*, or elſe to detract the preparations of the war: & that they could not excuſe him, nor eſteeme him worthy of compaſſion, who being once beguiled by another, returneth vnwiſely to repoſe confidence in him againe. The Cadinall of *S. Seuerin* was of another opinion, who (as his aduerſaries ſaid, croſſing *Triuulce* more through enuie then for other occaſion, for that with his brethren he had alwayes defended the *Gibelin* faction in *Millan*) replied on the contrary, that nothing could be more profitable to the King, then by ioyning with *Ceſar*, to breake the vnion of the enemies, ſpecially the confederation being made by ſuch meanes as they might hope it would laſt: it being proper to Princes, in their deliberations alwayes to preferre profite afore good will, hatred, and other affections: And what greater benefite could be done to *Ceſar*, then to aide him preſently againſt the *Venetians*, with hope that his Nephew ſhould come to ſucceed in the Duchie of *Millan*? That *Ceſar* being ſeparate from the others, the King Catholike would not oppoſe againſt his authoritie, as well for the intereſts of his Nephew, as for other good regards. Moreouer, that nothing could more amaze the Pope, then this confederation: and on the contrary, that the confederation with the *Venetians*, was full of indignitie, ſince he muſt yeeld to them *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*, members ſo conuenient to the Duchie of *Millan*, that to recouer them, the King had ſtirred vp all the world: and yet if the vnion of the reſidue were not broken, that the confederation with the *Venetians* would not ſuffice to obtaine the victory. At laſt this opinion preuailed, the rather for the authoritie of the Queene, who deſired greatly the aduancement of her daughter, ſo farre forth as it might be obtained, that till the conſummation of the mariage ſhe might remaine with her, who would giue

her faith and promiſe to keepe her in the name of *Cæſar*, as the aſſigned ſpouſe for his Nephew, and to deliuer her to her husband as ſoone as her age made her fit for mariage. But the King being afterwards certified that *Cæſar* would not admit this limitation, but rather that theſe things were by him artificially propounded, to cauſe him to proceed more ſlowly in his other proiects, he brake off from this practiſe, and ſent backe againe for *Monſieur d'Aſparot* brother to *Monſieur de Lautrech*, who was already gone from the Court to meete the Biſhop of *Gurci* with this commiſſion. On the other ſide, the feare of the vnion betweene the King and the *Venetians* increaſing dayly, the King of *Aragon* aduiſed *Cæſar* to render *Verona*, and with the money which he ſhould receiue of the *Venetians*, and with the *Spaniſh* armie, to transferre the war into *Burgundie*. The Biſhop of *Gurci* was of the ſame opinion, who hoping by his preſence to be able to moue *Cæſar*, returned into *Germanie*, being followed not onely of *Dom Peter de Vree* which was come with him, but alſo of *Iohn Baptiſta Spinella* Count of *Carriato*, Embaſſadour to the ſaid King of *Aragon* reſident with the *Venetians*. And firſt of all he perſwaded the Senate (to the end that new difficulties might not breake off the matters in queſtion) to make truce with *Cæſar* for all the moneth of March: and then the ſaid Embaſſadours ſhould giue them their faith, that *Cæſar* ſhould render *Verona*, if they would promiſe him within certaine times two hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats, and fiftie thouſand by the yeare.

The purpoſes of Pope Iulio the ſecond and his death.

In this alteration of affaires, and in ſo troubleſome a time, the Pope fell ſicke, who was full of more high conceits and deſires then haply at any time before: for when he had obtained the thing he deſired, his plots did nothing diminiſh, but increaſed dayly. He had determined in the beginning of the Spring to vndertake the enterpriſe of *Ferrara* ſo much deſired, which (as he thought) wold make litle reſiſtance, both for that it was naked of all ſuccours, and becauſe the *Spaniſh* armie was to ioyne with his companies: He had ſecretly bought of *Cæſar* for the price of thirtie thouſand duckats the Citie of *Sienna* for the behooſe of the Duke of *Vrbin*, to whom (except *Peſera*) he would neuer giue any thing of the Eccleſiaſtike eſtate, to the end to reſerue entire to himſelfe the glorie to haue ſimply and onely ſtudied for the exaltation of the Church: He agreed to lend to *Cæſar* fortie thouſand duckats, receiuing *Modena* in gage: He threatned the *Lucquois* who in the heate of the affaires of the Duke of *Ferrara*, had ſeized vpon *Garfagnana*, importuning them to deliuer it to him: And he was angrie with the Cardinall *de Medicis*, for that he thought he adhered more to the King Catholike then to him: and becauſe he perceiued he was not able to diſpoſe of the Citie of *Florence* as he thought, he ſtudied alreadie new plots & practiſes to alter the eſtate of *Florence*. He was diſpleaſed with the Cardinal of *Sion*, from whom he tooke the name of Legate, and enioyned him to come to *Rome*, for that in the Duchie of *Millan* he had appropriated to himſelf a yearly reuenue of more then thirtie thouſand duckats of the eſtates and goods of diuers perſons: The better to aſſure the Duke of *Vrbin* of *Sienna* by intelligences of his neighbors, he had of new taken into his pay *Charles Baillon*, to chaſe out of *Perouſa Iohn Paul*, who by affinitie was very neare conioyned to the ſons of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, ſucceſſors to the greatneſſe of their father: He would eſtabliſh for new Duke of *Genes*, *Octauian Fregoſa*, depoſing *Ianus* from that dignitie, whereunto the reſidue of the houſe of *Fregoſa* did conſent, becauſe for the degree that his anceſtors had held in that ſtate, it ſeemed beſt to appertaine to him: He ſtudied continually either how he might get the *Spaniſh* armie out of *Italy*, or ouerthrow it by the aide of the *Swiſſers*, whom onely he exalted and embraced: and that to this end, that the kingdome of *Naples* being poſſeſſed by him, *Italy* might remaine free frō ſtrangers, a ſpeech that often paſſed out of his mouth; and for this cauſe he had hindred that the *Swiſſers* did not confederate with the King Catholike. And yet (as though it had bene in his power to batter all the world at one time) continuing in his accuſtomed heat againſt the *French* King, although he had giuen eare to a meſſage frō the Queen, he ſtirred vp the King of *England* to make warre, to whom he had transferred by a publike decree of the Councell of *Latran*, the name of Moſt Chriſtian, whereof there was alreadie a Bull written, wherein was likewiſe contained the priuation of the dignitie and title of the King of *France*, giuing that kingdome to whom ſoeuer could ſeize vpō it. In theſe ſo great thoughts, and haply in others more ſecret and more great (for in a mind ſo fierce and terrible, all ſorts of imaginations how great and vaine ſoeuer they be, are not incredible) after the ſickneſſe of many dayes, death ſeized vpon him: whereby ſeeing himſelfe preuented, he called together the Conſiſtorie, wherein he could not be preſent in perſon, by reaſon of his diſeaſe, by the which he cauſed the Bull to be confirmed

med which he had publiſhed before againſt ſuch as by ſymony would climbe to the Popedome: declaring that the election of his ſucceſſor appertained to the Colledge of Cardinals, and not to the Councell: and that the Cardinals ſchiſmatikes could haue no preſence there, to whom he ſaid he pardoned the iniuries they had done him, and prayed God to forgiue them the wrongs they had done to his Church. After this he beſought the Colledge of Cardinals, that for his ſake, they would grant to the Duke of *Vrbin* his Nephew, the Citie of *Peſera* in Vicarage, in conſideration that by the meanes of that Duke it had bene recouered to the Church after the death of *Iohn Sforce*. He ſhewed in no other matter any priuate or particular affection: in ſo much as Madame *Felice* his daughter (and many others for her ſake) intreating him with great importunitie, to create Cardinall *Guido de Montfalcon* being her brother by the mothers ſide, he anſwered roundly, that he was not worthy of that degree; and retaining in all things his accuſtomed conſtancie and ſeueritie, together with the ſame iudgement and force of mind which he had before his ſickneſs, when he had deuoutly receiued the Sacraments of the Church, the night before the one and twentieth day of Februarie he ended the courſe of theſe preſent paines about the breake of day. He was a Prince of incredible conſtancie and courage, but violent, and of ſuch vnmeaſurable apprehenſions, as the reuerence that was borne to the Church, the diſcord of Princes, and the condition of the times, did more to ſtay him from his ruine, then either his moderation or diſcretion: worthy no doubt of great glory, if he had bene a Prince ſecular, or if that care and intention which he had to raiſe the Church into temporall greatneſſe by the meanes of warre, had bene employed to exalt it by the way of peace in matters ſpirituall. And yet neuertheleſſe he was lamented and eſteemed aboue all his predeceſſors, by thoſe, who (hauing loſt the true names of things, and being ignorant how to diſtinguiſh them rightly) iudged it the dutie of Popes rather to increaſe the iuriſdiction of the Sea Apoſtolike by armes and the bloud of Chriſtians, then to labour (by good example of life, and by curing and correcting of corrupt manners) for the ſauing of thoſe ſoules, for whom they boaſt that Ieſus Chriſt hath conſtituted them his Vicars in earth.

The Pope being dead, the Viceroy of *Naples* who was marched with his *Spaniſh* armie towards *Plaiſance*, conſtrained that Citie to returne, as it had bene accuſtomed to be, vnder the gouernmẽt of the Dukes of *Millan*. And *Parma* did the like, hauing the ſame feare of the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers. On the otherſide, the Duke of *Ferrara* hauing ſuddenly recouered the townes of *Romagna*, drew neare to *Reggia*: but finding no tumult within the towne, he durſt not abide there for feare of the *Spaniſh* armie, which lay diſperſed betweene *Plaiſance* and *Reggia*. There was no other ſtirre or mouing in the ſtate of the Church, neither did the Citie of *Rome* nor the Colledge of Cardinals feele any of thoſe difficulties which they felt at the death of the two laſt Popes: by reaſon whereof the obſequies and funerals being ended according to the accuſtomed maner, foure and twentie Cardinals entred peaceably into the Conclaue, hauing firſt agreed that the Marquis of *Mantuaes* ſonne, whom Pope *Iulio* kept in his Court for hoſtage, ſhould be acquited of his faith and promiſe, with libertie to returne to his father. The firſt matter that was debated in the Conclaue, was with ſtrict articles to moderate the authoritie of the Pope to come, which they ſaid the laſt Pope had vſed too immoderatly: and yet (as amongſt men, ſome haue not the heart to oppoſe againſt a Prince and great Lord, and ſome deſire to enter into his grace) within a ſmall time after, of themſelues they diſanulled the moſt part of thoſe lawes. The ſeuenth day they choſe Pope without any diſcord of conſent, *Iohn* Cardinall of *Medicis*, who tooke vpon him the name of *Leo* the tenth, being but ſeuen and thirtie yeares of age, which was a very ſtrange matter, and contrary to cuſtome, which the yong Cardinals brought to paſſe by their induſtrie, hauing a long time afore ſecretly agreed among themſelues to create the firſt Pope of their number. The moſt part of Chriſtendome were very well pleaſed with this election, all men in generall perſwading themſelues, that he would become a rare and excellent Pope, as well for the freſh memory of the valour of his father, and for the fame of his liberalitie and benignitie, which was vniuerſally ſpread, as for the opinion of his continencie and life not attainted, together with an hope that by the example of his father, he would be a louer of learned men, and of all generous ſpirits. Whereunto was much helping the maner of his election, which was performed ſincerely, and without ſymonie or ſuſpition of other corruption. And it ſeemed that God began already to approue and confirme his ſeate, for that the fourth day after the election, the Cardinals of *S. Croſſe* and *S. Seuerin*, which had bene depriued

The creation of Pope Leo the tenth.

of the Hat, came into his power, who as ſoone as they heard of the death of Pope *Iulio*, went by ſea to *Rome* accompanied with the Embaſſadour of the *French* King: and when they were arriued at the hauen of *Liuorne*, vnderſtanding that the Cardinall *de Medicis* was choſen Pope, truſting to his benignitie, and chiefly the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*, for the ancient friendſhip and ſtrait familiaritie which he had had with him and his brother; when they had obtained ſafeconduct of the Captaine of *Liuorne*, which ſtretched no further then the bounds of his iuriſdiction, they tooke land, and without ſeeking other ſuretie, went vp voluntarily to *Piſa*: in which Citie they were honorably receiued, and afterwards being conueyed to *Florence*, they were ſo curteouſly guarded, that they had no diſpoſition to depart: the ſame being the deſire of the Pope, who ſending vnto them the Biſhop of *Oruietto*, exhorted them with words full of affection, that as well for their proper ſuretie, as for the tranquillitie of the Church, they would abide at *Florence* vntill it were determined in what maner they ſhould come to *Rome*; and that hauing bene iudicially depriued, and their depriuation confirmed in the Councell of *Latran*, they ſhould forbeare to go in the habite of Cardinals, to the end that making ſhew of their humiliation, they might giue him the better occaſion to reduce their affaires into good termes, as he had determined. The firſt act of the new Pope was his coronation, which was performed according to the cuſtome of his predeceſſors, in the Church of *S. John de Latran*, with ſo great pompe, as well of his family and Court, as of all the Prelates, and many Lords that were there preſent, together with the people of *Rome*, that all men acknowledged that ſuch magnificence and ſumptuouſneſſe had not bene ſeene in *Rome* ſince the inundations of the ſauage nations: in which ſolemnitie the Standard of the Church was carried by *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, who hauing obtained ſuſpenſion of the cenſures, was come to *Rome*, with great hope, by the clemencie of the Pope, to be able to cõpound with him for his affaires. The Standard of the Knights of *Rhodes* was borne by *Iulio de Medicis*, mounted vpon a ſtately Courſer armed at all points, who by nature was inclined to the profeſſion of armes, but by deſtinie drawne to the Eccleſiaſtike life, wherein he may ſerue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune. That which made that day more memorable and admirable, was the conſideration that he who then with ſo rare pompe and glorie tooke the enſignes of ſo great dignitie, had bene the yeare before, and on the very ſame day, miſerably made priſoner. This magnificence confirmed in the multitude the opinion that was had of him, euery one promiſing himſelfe that *Rome* ſhould be happie vnder a Pope adorned with ſo great liberalitie and bountie, it being very certaine that he had ſpent an hundred thouſand duckats that day. But wiſe men deſired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: who iudged, that ſuch pompe was not conuenient for Popes, and that the condition of the preſent times required not that the treaſures gathered by his predeceſſor, ſhould be ſo vnprofitably ſpent. But ſo it was, that neither the changing of the Pope, nor other accidents, were ſufficient to eſtabliſh and aſſure the tranquillitie of *Italy*: for it was plainly diſcerned that matters tended more to warre then to peace: for *Ceſar* (who would heare no more of the rendring of *Verona*, fearing thereby to be depriued of all oportunitie to haue any eaſie entrie into *Italy*) albeit the truce was prolonged for the full moneth of Aprill, made no reckoning of the conditions of accord that had bene debated at *Millan*; and being diſcontented with the importunities of the Embaſſadours of the King Catholike, he told the Count of *Carriato*, that for the inclination he ſhewed to the *Venetians*, he might rather be called the Embaſſadour of *Venice* then of *Spaine*. But that which much more augmented this diſpoſition, was the truce that was made for a whole yeare betweene the *French* King and the King Catholike, onely touching the affaires out of *Italy*: the oportunitie of which truce gaue to the *French* King (being now deliuered from the ſuſpitions of *Spaine*) a great facilitie to renew the warre in the Duchie of *Millan*.

The coronatiõ of the Pope.

The diſpoſition of Princes to the warre.

The King Catholike did alwayes diſlike to haue warre with the *French* out of *Italy*, for that being not ſufficiently ſtored with money, and therefore conſtrained to helpe himſelfe with the forces of the Barons and peoples of *Spaine*, either he had no readineſſe of ſuccours, or elſe he was conſtrained in times of warre to remaine with them as it were in ſubiection: but at this time principally he ſtood confirmed in his ancient counſell, for as much as by peace, he ſhould be the better aſſured of the Realme of *Nauarre*, by him newly conquered; but much more for that ſince the death of Queene *Iſabel*, being no more King but Gouernour of *Caſtile*, he had not in troubleſome times ſo great and firme authoritie: a freſh example whereof he had ſeene in the defence of the Realme of *Nauarre*, whereof albeit he had a happie ſucceſſe, yet it happened

that

that by the ſlowneſſe of ſuccours he ſaw himſelfe brought into many dangers. Therefore to the end to fall no more into thoſe inconueniences, not knowing yet of the Popes death, he agreed to the truce, which neuertheleſſe was not publiſhed before he receiued newes of the election of a new Pope: and to iuſtifie himſelfe of this vnlooked for deliberation; he alledged, that the Pope and the *Venetians* had violated the league with him: for that ſince the battell of *Rauenna* they had neuer payed to him the fortie thouſand duckats, as they were bound whileſt the *French* king poſſeſſed any thing in *Italy*: That he only had bin carefull for the publike good of the Confederates, and had not chalenged to himſelfe the rewards of the common victory: That he did not poſſeſſe in *Italy* ſo much as one ſmall tower more then he had before the warre; but the Pope had ſought his particular benefite, and made proper to himſelfe the things that were common, ſeizing vpon *Parma*, *Plaiſance* and *Reggia*, and nouriſhing a continuall ſtudie to poſſeſſe *Ferrara*: which couetouſneſſe of his had bene the onely impediment of the recouering of the Caſtles in the Duchie of *Millan* and the Lanterne of *Genes*: That for his part, he had interpoſed all his diligence and authoritie to worke the accord betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, but the Pope for his proper intereſts had laboured to exclude them out of the league; wherein he ſaid his Embaſſadours had behaued themſelues vndiſcreetly, who not conſenting (for that they knew ſuch was his intention) that he ſhould be named in the head of the confederation, had ſuffered him to be named in that article wherein the *Venetians* were excluded. Moreouer, that in thoſe negociations and practiſes, the *Venetians* had not anſwered the opinion that men had of their wiſedome, holding *Vincenſa* in ſuch eſtimation, that for feare to loſe it, they would not deliuer themſelues from the trauels of the warre: That it was impoſſible for him to maintaine the armie he had in *Italy* without the contributions promiſed, and much leſſe poſſible to ſuſtaine the whole warre vpon the confines of his realmes, a matter which he knew all the reſidue did deſire and procure: That the Pope could no more diſſemble his deſire and intention to take from him the kingdome of *Naples*: and yet that theſe iniuries could not moue him to haue a thought to abandon the Church and the other eſtates of *Italy*, if he might find in them a reaſonable correſpondencie to contract and capitulate with him for their common defence, which he hoped they would be moued vnto, the rather by the oportunitie and meanes of this truce. He cauſed to be inſerted in the inſtrument of the truce the names of *Ceſar* and the King of *England*, notwithſtanding he had nothing communicated with them: and this was a thing very ridiculous, that at the ſame time that the truce was ſolemnly publiſhed throughout all *Spaine*, an Herald came from the King of *England*, to ſignifie vnto him the great preparations which he made to inuade *France*, and to ſolicite him likewiſe to make warre againſt the King on the coaſts of *Spaine*, according to his promiſe. The truce made in this manner, amazed much the minds of ſuch in *Italy* to whom the iuriſdiction of the *French* was diſpleaſing, euery one holding it almoſt for certaine, that the *French* King would not deferre to ſend an army into *Italy*; and that for the obſtinacie of *Ceſar* touching the conditions of the peace, the *Venetians* would ioyne with the King, againſt whom being ioyned together, it ſeemed a very hard matter to make reſiſtance; for that the *Spaniſh* armie had now no more meanes to maintaine themſelues, notwithſtanding they had at times drawne ſome ſtore of money out of the eſtate of *Millan*, much afflicted with infinite expences. Touching the new Pope, men could not yet diſcerne what was his intention. He ſeemed to wiſh ſecretly that the power of the *French* King might be bounded by the *Alpes*; and yet being newly aſcended to the Popedome, and no leſſe confuſed then others for the truce made by the king Catholike, in a time whē men had greateſt expectation that he wold follow the war, his mind was full of doubt, & he was alſo angrie, for that demanding with great inſtance the reſtitution of *Parma* and *Plaiſance* to the Church, men were ready to giue him hope thereof, but the execution went ſlowly forward, all the others deſiring to preſerue them to the Duchie of *Millan*, and haply hoping that the deſire to recouer them, would induce him to the defence of that ſtate. The *Swiſſers* ſeemed to be a more certaine and a more mightie defence and ſuccour; but becauſe the ſummes of money, which according to the couenants were neceſſary to wage and leuie them, could not be aduanced neither by *Maximilian Sforce* nor the reſidue, it was feared, that in the greateſt neceſſitie they would refuſe to deſcend into the ſtate of *Millan*. On the other ſide, the *French* King, after he had finiſhed the truce, determined to ſend an armie into *Italy*, the reaſons afore recited giuing him great hope of the victory: whereunto was added, that he knew well enough that the

peoples of the ſtate of *Millan*, vexed with ſo many taxes and rapines of the *Swiſſers*, and with the harbouring and payment to the *Spaniards*, deſired earneſtly to returne vnder his obedience; hauing found by the rude behauiour which others had vſed towards them, that in comparison the domination of the *French* was to be deſired; and particularly many Gentlemen by expreſſe letters, which they ſent, ſome to himſelfe, and others to *Triuulce*, whom the King had ſent to *Lyons*, the better to debate with them of *Millan*, perſwaded that he ſhould not deferre to ſend an armie, promiſing to take armes, and to declare themſelues for him as ſoone as his armie was paſſed the Mounts. And there was no want of continuall perſwaſions, as well of *Triuulce*, as of others that were baniſhed, who, according to the cuſtome of ſuch as be out of their countrey, alledged that the enterpriſe would be very eaſie, ſpecially the *Venetians* being brought to ioyne with him in the action. But that which enforced the King to make haſte, was the confidence he had to preuent with the end of that expedition, the beginning of the warre which the King of *England* meant to make vpon him, which he could not begin till after certaine moneths; for that that kingdome hauing now bene many yeares in peace, was diſfurniſhed of armour, of artilleries, and almoſt of all other things neceſſary for warre: and alſo in great want of horſes of ſeruice, for that the *Engliſh* do ordinarily make warre on foote: and their footmen being vnexperienced, the King of *England* was conſtrained for that he meant to paſſe into *France* with a mighty power, to entertain a great number of *Almain* footmen: matters which could not be diſpatched without great tract of time. The *French* King in like ſort was conſtrained to make the more haſte, for feare leſt the Caſtles ſhould be loſt for want of victuals, but ſpecially the Lanterne of *Genes*, which not many dayes before had miſſed to be relieued with victuals by a ſhip ſent for that purpoſe: which from *Albinguo*, whither it was accompanied with three ſhips and one gallion, being entred the maine ſea with a good wind, had by the force thereof paſſed through the midſt of the *Genoways* fleet, and being approched neare the Lanterne, and riding at anker, had faſtened her cables to the Caſtle, and began already to vnlade her victuals and munitions which ſhe had brought, at what time *Andrew Doria*, who afterwards was ſo happie and famous by ſea, thruſting in with no ſmall danger with a great ſhip, whereof he was the owner, betweene the Lanterne and the *French* ſhip, when he had cut a ſunder the cable that was faſtened to the Caſtle, and the cables that held the ankers, fighting valiantly, and receiuing a wound in his face, he tooke the ſhip. The King therefore being determined not to deferre the beginning of the warre, to which intent, and to be ready vpon all occaſions, he had already ſent many lances into *Burgundie* and *Daulphiney*, he thought good to hearken with diligence after thoſe things which now had bene debated ſo many moneths with the *Venetians*, the which had bene ſomewhat deferred and protracted as well by the one as by the other partie, for that ſometimes the hope to haue peace with *Cæſar*, and ſometimes the great inſtance made by the *Venetians* for *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*, had holden the King in ſuſpence: and in the Senate the opinions were found diuers, for that many of great authoritie in that Commonweale, preferred the accord with *Cæſar*, ſhewing that it was more profitable for them to auoide for the preſent ſuch huge expences, and to free themſelues from dangers, thereby to be the more ready to embrace the occaſions that would be offered, then, their Commonweale being ſo ouer-wearied and trauelled, and the wealth of priuate men abated, to intangle themſelues with new warres in company of the *French* King, of whoſe amitie, how faithfull and aſſured it was, they were not without a late experience. Neuertheleſſe, for that it ſeemed to the greater part that rarely ſuch an occaſion would preſent it ſelfe as might giue them the meanes to recouer their ancient eſtate, and that the agreement with *Cæſar* (he retaining *Verona*) would not deliuer them from troubles and dangers, they reſolued (without ſpeaking any more of *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*) to make confederation with the *French* King, which was concluded in the Kings Court by *Andrew Gritti*, who enioyed already rather the place of an Embaſſadour then of a priſoner; and wherein, after it was granted that *Bartholomew Aluiano* and *Andrew Gritti* ſhould be ſet at libertie, the *Venetians* were bound to aide the King with eight hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horſemen, and ten thouſand footmen, againſt all ſuch as would riſe vp to let him for recouering of *Aſt*, of *Genes*, and the Duchie of *Millan*: and the King bound himſelfe to ioyne with them vntill they had recouered all that they poſſeſſed in *Lombardie* and the Marque of *Treuiſana* afore the league of *Cambray*. As ſoone as the confederation was reſolued, *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* and *Bartholomew Aluiano* went to *Suſa*: the one, to go from thence to *Venice*

A valiant exploit of Andrew Doria in preiudice of the French.

by

by the ſurer way, and the other to aſſemble there the army appointed for the warre, which conſiſted of fifteene hundred lances, eight hundred light horſemen, and fifteene thouſand footmen, whereof eight thouſand were Lanceknights, and the reſidue *French* men, all vnder the gouernment of *Monſieur Trimouille*, whom the King had appointed his Lieutenant, to the end that matters might proceed with the more reputation.

At this time the *French* King made great ſute to the Pope with earneſt prayers not to hinder him in recouering the Duchie of *Millan*, offering him not onely not to paſſe further after the victory, but alſo to make peace alwayes as it ſhould ſeeme beſt vnto him. To which motions albeit the Pope gaue eare very graciouſly, and that, to the end there might the more credite be giuen to his words, he vſed the helpe of *Iulian* his brother to treate with the *French* King, yet many things made him ſuſpected to the King: as the memory of things done afore the time of his Papacie: then, ſince he was Pope, how he had ſent to him *Cinthio* his familiar friend with letters and very friendly commiſſions, but ſo generall, as they diſcouered that his mind was not inclined to him: and that he had conſented that *Proſper Colonno* ſhould be elected Gouernour of the Duchie of *Millan*; a matter which Pope *Iulius* had alwayes hindred, for the hatred he bare to the *Colonnois*. He entred alſo into greater doubt, for that the Pope had ſignified to the King of *England*, that he would continue in the confederation made with *Ceſar*, the King Catholike and himſelfe: and afterwards he wrote to the Communalties of the *Swiſſers*, in a maner exhorting them to the defence of *Italy*, and diſſembled not his willingneſſe to continue with them the confederation made by Pope *Iulius*, by the which they were bound to the defence of the eſtate Eccleſiaſtike, receiuing of him a yearly penſion of twentie thouſand duckats. It was alſo a ſigne of his will and intention, that he had not receiued into grace the Duke of *Ferrara*, but by many excuſes deferred to render to him *Reggio* vntill his brother the Cardinall came to *Rome*, who to auoide the perſecutions of Pope *Iulius*, and the inſtance which the *French* King made vnto him to go to the Councell of *Piſa*, was withdrawne to his Biſhopricke of *Agria* in the countrey of *Hungaria*. But that which aboue all other things made the King enter into ſuſpition of the Pope, was, that he had (although very ſecretly) counſelled the Senate of *Venice* to accord with *Ceſar*: a matter cleane contrary to the intention of the King, who had alſo taken in ill part, that the Pope pretending that he was not moued for any other cauſe then for that which concerned his office, had written vnto him a Briefe, wherein he exhorted him not to take armes, and to make it appeare, that he deſired rather to finiſh the warre with ſome honorable compoſition: a matter which the King would not haue diſliked, if for the ſame deſire of peace, the Pope had declared to the King of *England*, that he ought not make war vpon the Realme of *France*. And certainly this ſuſpition of the King was not without cauſe, for that the Pope earneſtly deſired that the *French* might haue no more footing in *Italy*; either for that he thought it more profitable for the common ſuretie, or for the greatneſſe of the Church: or for that he kept ſtill fixed in his mind the remembrance of harmes receiued by the Crowne of *France*, whereunto albeit his father and other his predeceſſors had borne no litle affection, and in ſundry accidents had reaped many honours and profites; yet it was an iniury freſh in memory, that his brethren and he had bene expulſed *Florence* by the coming of King *Charles*, and that the King reigning bearing fauour to the popular gouernment, had either alwayes deſpiſed them, or if at any time he ſhewed himſelfe affected to them, it was to vſe them as inſtruments to draw the *Florentines* by that ſuſpition to couenants more aduantagious for himſelfe, without hauing any care at all of them. To this perhaps was added, a diſdaine, for that he had bin led priſoner to *Millan* after the battell of *Rauenna*, and that the King had commanded that he ſhould be brought into *France*. But although the Pope was thus affected, either for theſe or for other cauſes, yet he proceeded aduiſedly, and diſſembled as much as he could his intention, perceiuing himſelfe not of abilitie to make ſuch reſiſtance as he could haue wiſhed, and he gaue eare dayly with great affection to the demands and complaints which were made vnto him againſt the King. For the *Swiſſers* being much inclined to riſe for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, offered to deſcend thither with a farre greater number then before, if they might be furniſhed with a certaine ſumme of money, which for the pouertie and weakneſſe of others could not be expected from any but from the Pope. Touching the Viceroy, his counſels were vncertaine, and his ſpeeches variable and ſecret, for ſometime he offered the Pope to oppoſe againſt the *French* men, if he would ſhew himſelf openly in the cauſe, ſending his bands of ſoldiers

The deſire of Pope Leo to chaſe the French out of Italy.

to ioyne with him, and waging for three moneths a good number of footmen; and to adde the more credite to his doings, he tooke his ſouldiers from the Cities of *Parma* and *Reggia*, and incamped with his army vpon the riuer of *Trebia*, leauing notwithſtanding ſome of his ſouldiers for the guard of *Tortona* and *Alexandria*, who had not ſtirred from thence: ſometimes alſo he auouched that he had receiued commandement from his King (at the ſame time that he wrote to him of the truce) to leade backe the armie to the kingdome of *Naples*. But *Ierome Vich* Embaſſadour reſident with the Pope, vſed other ſpeeches, and yet he agreed with him in this, that his King promiſed, the Pope taking vpon him the defence of *Millan*, to begin the warre in *France* without any reſpect to the truce, which he ſaid he might lawfully do without any violation of his faith promiſed. Therefore it was beleeued of many, that the King Catholike, fearing that by reaſon of the truce that had bene made, no man would oppoſe againſt the *French* King, had commanded the Viceroy, that if he ſaw none would proceed roundly to the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, that he ſhould not ſeeke to prouoke the *French* King by new iniuries, but ſhould retire his army to *Naples*: for which cauſe alſo he made ſhew to the King that he was content to incline to peace, offering withall to induce *Ceſar* and the King of *England* thereto. And to make him the more tractable if he ſhould recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, he made almoſt an aſſured promiſe, that his army ſhould be no impediment to him. The Viceroy then who had determined to go his way, reuoked the ſouldiers that were vnder the Marquis of *Peſquiero* in *Alexandria* and *Tortona*, communicating at the ſame time (as was ſaid) his reſolution to *Triuulce*, to the end his departing might be more acceptable to the *French* King. Neuertheles he put not this deliberation ſo ſpeedily in execution, for that the *Swiſſers* being very deſirous to defend the Duchie of *Millan*, had ſent thither by common conſent fiue thouſand footmen, and gaue hope to ſend a farre greater number: but making demonſtration of the contrary, he ſent *Proſper Colonno* to debate with the *Swiſſers* of the place where they ſhould aſſemble againſt the *French*, either for that he had receiued aduertiſement that the truce was diſcontenting to *Ceſar*, or for that he was enioyned by new commiſſions from his King to follow the will of the Pope, who perſeuered ſtill in the ſame perplexities (his ſmall hope on the one ſide, and his owne inclination on the other, ſtriuing in him.) And yet notwithſtanding the *Swiſſers* being come vpon the territories of *Tortona*, where *Proſper* had ſignified vnto them that the Viceroy would come and ioyne with them, interpoſing many excuſes, he required them to come vpon the lands of *Trebia* to ioyne with him. By which maner of ſolicitation, they perceiuing the difference that was betweene his will and his words, anſwered reſolutely, That the Viceroy made not this demand to the end to go looke his enemies in the face, but to turne his backe with more ſafetie: and that it was a matter of no importance to the *Swiſſers*, to whom it was all one, whether he feared to fight with the *French* men, whether he taried ſtill, whether he marched, or whether he fled, for that they onely were ſufficient to defend the Duchie of *Millan* againſt all men.

The French men in the Duchie of Millan.

But now was all the countrey in a mutinie, and the Count *Muſſocquo* ſonne to *Iohn Iaques* was got into *Aſt* without any impediment, and after into *Alexandria*; and the *French* men which were departed from *Suſa* marched with great diligence. The Duke of *Millan* who was come ſomewhat too late to enter *Alexandria*, ioyned himſelfe to the *Swiſſers* neare *Tortona*, where being giuen to vnderſtand by the Viceroy, that he was determined to go his way, they drew towards *Nouaro*. The inhabitants of *Millan* at the bruite of the departing of the Viceroy, ſent Embaſſadours to *Nouaro* to excuſe them to their Duke, for that hauing none to defend them, they compounded with the *French* men, to the end to auoide vtter ruine; who declared that he willingly accepted their excuſe, and alſo commended them for their charitable care of the ſafetie of their common countrey. Vpon this occaſion *Sacromoro Viſcount* to whom was appointed the beſieging of the Caſtle of *Millan*, turned to the *French*, and reuictualled the Caſtle which he was ſent to batter. The Viceroy then brake vp from *Trebia* with all his armie, conſiſting of twelue hundred men at armes and eight thouſand footmen, to returne to the kingdom of *Naples*, as though the affaires of *Lombardie* being deſperate, he had bene carefull onely of his ſafetie: but receiuing the ſame day in the way betweene *Plaiſance* and *Florenzola* letters from *Rome*, he cauſed immediatly the Enſignes to march backe againe, and came to the ſame lodging from whence he was departed. The cauſe was, that the Pope, to whom almoſt at the ſame time were rendred *Plaiſance* and *Parma*, determining to proue if the Duchie of *Millan* might be defended by the helpe of the *Swiſſers*, gaue very ſecretly to *Ierome Moron* the Dukes

The Pope ſendeth money to the Swiſſers.

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Embaſſadour reſident in his Court, fortie thouſand duckats to ſend to the *Swiſſers*: but with this pretext, that if the matter came to the knowledge of others, he ſhould giue out, that twentie thouſand of them were vpon the account of their yearely penſions, and the other twentie thouſand to ſatisfie the three Cantons, who pretended the ſame to be due to them by his predeceſſor, who had alwayes refuſed to pay them. For the returning of the Viceroy to *Trebia*, together with a bruite of the deſcending of the new companies of *Swiſſers*, the *Millanois* repenting their great haſte, gaue hope to *Maximilian Sforce*, that they would be ready to returne to his obedience, whenſoeuer they ſaw the *Swiſſers* and the *Spaniſh* armie ioyne together in the field. And the more to nouriſh them in theſe hopes, the Viceroy, with whom was *Proſper Colonno*, raiſed a bridge vpon *Po*, promiſing from time to time to paſſe ouer, but neuer putting it in effect, for that hauing a ſpeciall care to ſaue his armie, he determined to proceed according to the euent of things; and held it very dangerous to haue the *French* men in his face, and the *Venetian* armie at his backe, who hauing already taken the Citie of *Cremona*, and caſt a bridge at *Cana* vpon *Po*, were not farre from him. *Bartholomew Aluiano* was gone from *Suſa* to *Venice*, fetching a great circuite: where after he had in open Councell, without any contradiction, caſt vpon the Count *Petillano* the fault of the ouerthrow of *Giaradadda*, & ſpoken very proudly of the preſent warre, he was by the Senate choſen Captaine generall of their armie, vnder the ſame conditions that the Count *Petillano* had obtained that degree, and haply on the very ſame day whereon foure yeares before he fell into the power of his enemies: ſo often doth fortune laugh at the ignorance of mortall men. As ſoone as he was choſen Generall, he went to the armie which was muſtering at *S. Boniface* vpon the territories of *Verona*, and *Theodore Triuulce* was with him as Lieutenant to the *French* King, with whom he approched with great diligence to the gates of *Verona*, the ſelfe ſame day that the *French* armie parted from *Suſa*: for that in that Citie there were ſome who had conſpired to receiue him in: but the day after, fiue hundred Lanceknights entred *Verona* by the riuer of *Adice*, and the conſpiracie being diſcouered, *Aluiano* hauing loſt all hope to preuaile, determined, contrary to the authoritie of the *Venetian* Aſſiſtant, to draw towards the riuer of *Po*, to ſtop the *Spaniards*, or according to the occurrence of things, to ioyne with the *French* armie: and he imparted not this deliberation to the Senate vntill he was gone from *Verona* one baite; for that notwithſtanding he alledged, that the euent of the whole warre depended on the ſucceſſe of the affaires of *Millan*, wherein if fortune ſhould be aduerſe to the *French*, whatſoeuer ſhould be attempted or obtained in any other place would be but in vaine and not durable, and therefore it was neceſſary by all poſſible meanes, to make the *French* King victorious: yet he feared (and not without cauſe) leſt the Senate would be againſt it, not ſo much for the deſire he had that there ſhould be a care had firſt to recouer *Verona* and *Breſſia*, as for that certaine other of the Captaines allowed not that they ſhould paſſe the riuer of *Mincia*, vnleſſe they had firſt more particular knowledge of the proceedings of the *French*: wherein they ſhewed, in caſe of any inconuenience, how hard it would be to retire in ſafetie, hauing to paſſe by the confines of *Verona* and *Mantua*, countries either in ſubiection or at the deuotion of *Caſar*. *Valeggia* and the towne of *Peſquiero*, fearing the threats of *Aluiano*, yeelded themſelues to him, by whoſe example alſo the Caſtle-keeper gaue vp the Rocke, receiuing a ſmall ſumme of mony, as well for himſelfe, as for certaine Lanceknights that were therein. About the ſame time certaine of the chiefe men of the Mountaine, entred into *Breſſia* in fauour of the *Venetians* with a great ſtrength of paiſants: and yet *Aluiano*, although he was intreated of the *Breſſian* Embaſſadours which came to him at *Gambaro*, and deſired by the *Venetian* Aſſiſtant, could not be brought to conſent to go thither and remaine there onely one day, to recouer the Caſtle that was kept in the name of the Viceroy, ſo great was his deſire to follow his firſt deliberation without intermiſſion. With which celeritie being come to the gates of *Cremona*, he found that at the ſame time *Galeas Paluoiſin* (called by certain of *Cremona*) was entred in fauour of the *French* King, but being vnwilling that any other ſhould participate with him in the glory of that action, he brake & ſpoiled his bands of ſoldiers, and entring the towne, ſtripped *Caſar Fieramoſquo* that was left there in garriſon with three hundred horſe and fiue hundred footmen by the Duke of *Millan*. And it behoued him not to loſe time to recouer the Caſtle, for that it had bene alwayes holden by the *French* King, and reuictualled a litle before by *Ranſe de Cere*: who (as he returned to *Crema*, where he was appointed Gouernour) brake a troupe of two hundred horſemen of *Alexander Sforce*, which he encountred

Bart. Aluiano Captaine generall of the Venetians.

Aluiano taketh Peſquiero and other places.

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at *Serzana*. From thence *Aluiano* incamping at *Caua* vpon *Po* with the bridge made to passe ouer, kept not his souldiers from doing some insolencies vpon the lands of the Pope. He went afterwards to *Pisqueton*, hauing already because of the mutation of *Cremona*, *Soncino*, *Loda*, and other places thereabouts, set vp the *French* Ensignes. But afore, as soone as he had recouered *Cremona*, he had sent *Ranse de Cere* to *Bressia* with part of the men of warre, to assure that Citie, and to recouer the Castle, but much more to hinder the good successe of the *Almaines*: for that almost as soone as he was retired from before *Cremona*, *Rocandolph* Captaine of the Lanceknights, and with him *Federike Gonsaguo de Bossolo* issuing out of *Verona* with sixe hundred horse and two thousand footmen, were gone to *S. Boniface*, where *Aluiano* had left vnder *Sigismund Cauallo* and *Iohn Fortin*, three hundred light horsemen and sixe hundred footmen: who being scattered in the countrey without any military discipline, hearing of the coming of the enemies, were fled to *Colorgno*, where the Lanceknights following them, entred the towne by force, and making them all prisoners, they sacked and burnt the towne. They did the like afterwards to *Soaue*, breaking downe the bridge which the *Venetians* had made vpon *Adice*: and had with the same furie gotten *Vincensa*, if a very great companie of paisants had not suddenly entred therein: which maner of proceeding was so much the more feared, by how much the bruite ranne, that there came to *Verona* new supplies of footmen out of *Tyrol*.

Genes at the deuotion of the French.

About this time the *French* nauie containing nine light galleys and certain other vessels, drew neare to *Genes*; and *Anthonie* and *Ierome* brethren of the house of the *Adornes*, approched by land with the fauour of those of the Riuers that held their faction, and with other bands of souldiers that had bene leuied with the Kings money: which they did, pushed on by a great occasion, by reason of a discord hapned a litle before betweene the *Fiesquois* and the Duke of *Genes*, with whom they were at first confederate against the family of the *Adornes*: and the matter fell out, for that either for some quarrell that hapned by chance, or for some suspition, *Ierome* the sonne of *Iohn Lewis de Fiesquo*, coming out of the publike Pallace, was slaine by *Lodowike* and *Fregosin*, the Dukes brethren: for which iniurie, *Othobon* and *Sinibald* his brethren, retiring themselues to their country-houses, and shortly after hauing contracted with the *French* King, and conspired with the *Adornes*, they approched neare to *Genes* by another way, accõpanied with foure thousand footmen. The Duke was not mightie enough of himselfe to make resistance against the *Fiesquois* and *Adorneis* ioyned together, neither by reason of the diligence of his aduersaries, could the succours which he had demanded of the Viceroy arriue in time: and that which wholy put him downe, was, that a thousand of his footmen, who were possessed of the mountains neare the towne, being not able to resist a greater number, were ouerthrowne; so that the Duke together with *Fregosin*, hauing scarce leisure to saue his owne life, fled away by sea, leauing *Lodowike* his other brother to guard the Castle: and the victors entred *Genes*, where the brethren of the family of *Fiesquo*, caried with a furious desire of reuenge, cruelly caused *Zacharie* the Dukes brother to be slaine, and after to be tied to a horse taile, and drawne through the Citie, who had bene taken in the encounter vpon the mountaines, and was present with the others at the slaughter of their brother. Thus *Genes* being reduced to the deuotion of the *French* King, *Anthonie Adornei* was created Gouernour in the name of the King, and the *French* nauie furnished the Lanterne with men and victuals, and afterwards hauing sacked *Spetia*, roade at *Portouenere*. There remained no more but *Nouaro* and *Coma*, of an absolute recouery of all those estates which the King had lost the yeare before: for these two Cities onely in all the Duchie of *Millan*, held as yet in the name of *Maximilian Sforce*.

Nouaro besieged by the French.

But the glorie of this warre was destinated, to the great infamie of all others, not to the *French* men, nor to the *Almaine* footmen, nor to the *Spanish* regiments, nor to the *Venetian* bands; but to the *Swissers* onely, against whom the *French* armie (hauing left sufficient garrison within *Alexandria* to assure the places beyond *Po*) drew neare to *Nouaro*, boasting of their happie successes, of the confession euen of their enemies, who had inclosed themselues within wals, and of the manifest feare of the *Spaniards*. Besides this, there was presented to the memory of men, as it were a certaine image and representation of things past: That this was the same *Nouaro* wherein *Lodowike Sforce* father to the present Duke had bene made prisoner: That in the *French* campe were the same Captaines, *Monsieur Trimouille* and *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*: and some of the same Ensignes and Captaines of those Cantons, which in another warre had sold

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the father, did now accompanie the ſonne in this warre: by reaſon whereof *Monſieur Trimouille* had proudly written to the King, that he would ſend to him priſoner the ſonne, from the ſame place where he had deliuered into captiuitie the father. The *French* men violently beat vpon the walls of *Nouaro* with their artilleries, but in a place of no leſſe difficultie then danger to deſcend into the towne: and the *Swiſſers* ſeemed to haue ſo litle feare of their valour, that they would neuer ſuffer that gate of the towne that was towards the campe to be ſhut. After the artilleries had beaten to the earth a ſufficient ſpace of the wall, the armie without prepared furiouſly to the aſſault, but finding a valiant reſiſtance, and vnderſtanding they did preſently expect *Altoſaſzo* a Captaine of great renowne with a farre greater ſupply, they doubted of the ſucceſſe of the enterpriſe, which made them the day following to retire two miles from the wals of *Nouaro*, hoping afterwards to carry the victorie more by the diſorders and wants of the enemies, then by the furie of their armes. But theſe hopes were made vaine by the reſolute mind of *Motin* one of the *Swiſſers* Captaines, who calling together all the bands of ſouldiers vpon the market place of *Nouaro*, encouraged them with words full of reſolution, that without tarrying for the ſuccours of *Altoſaſzo*, who was to arriue the day following, they ſhould iſſue out and ſet vpon their enemies in their campe, and not ſuffer the glory and victory which they might appropriate to themſelues, to become common, or rather wholly transferred to others: for that as things that follow draw vnto them ſuch as go afore, and the increaſing of any thing couereth the part that is augmented; ſo the merite and praiſe of this warre would not be caſt vpon them, but vpon the ſupplies that came after. By how much (ſaid he) the enterpriſe may ſeeme more hard and perillous, by ſo much ſhall it be found more eaſie and ſure; for that the more accidents are ſudden and vnexpected, the more do they terrifie and amaze men. The *French* men doubt nothing leſſe at this time then to be charged by vs, and whereas they are newly incamped this very day, they cannot but ſuffer diſorder, the place being neither intrenched nor fortified. The *French* men were neuer wont to haue the courage to fight if they had not of our men among them; and though of late they haue aduentured to fight without vs, yet neuer againſt vs. How much will they then be aſtoniſhed when they ſhall ſee themſelues furiouſly charged vpon the ſudden, by thoſe whoſe vertue and reſolution was wont to encourage and aſſure them? Let not their horſemen and artilleries trouble you, ſince we haue had many experiences heretofore what confidence they repoſe in thoſe things againſt vs. *Gaſton de Foix* who was ſo braue a Captaine, notwithſtanding he was ſtrong in multitudes of lances and cannons, did not he alwayes ſuffer vs to paſſe by him along the plaines when we deſcended (two yeares ſithens) euen to the gates of *Millan*, we being no otherwiſe armed then with pikes? They haue now with them many bands of Lanceknights, but that doth ſo much the more encourage me, ſeeing we haue at one time an occaſion to ſhew to him who with ſo great couetouſneſſe and ingratitude hath contemned our trauels and our bloud, that he neuer made a worſe reſolution, either for himſelfe or for his Realme: and to manifeſt to thoſe that thinke the emploiment and ſeruice of their perſons to be ſufficient to make vs periſh for hunger, that the Lanceknights are not equall to the *Swiſſers*, and albeit they haue the ſame language and forme of diſcipline with vs, yet they haue neither the ſame valour nor the ſame reſolution. All the difficultie will be to winne their artillery, and yet this ſhall make it eaſie; that it is not planted in a place fortified; that our inuaſion is ſudden, and fauoured with the darkneſſe of the night; and aſſailing it furiouſly, it cannot endomage vs but for a very ſhort time, which yet will be interrupted by tumult, diſorder, and ſudden confuſion. Touching other things, they will be very eaſie to vs, for their horſemen dare not aduenture vpon our pikes, and much leſſe will their vile troupes of *French* footmen and *Gaſcons* enter skirmiſh with vs: ſo that taking ſuch a deliberation, we ſhall make no leſſe proofe of our wiſedomes then of our valour. Our nation is of ſuch reputation, that the glorie of our name cannot be preſerued but by attempting ſome matter beyond the common expectation and vſage of all men: and ſince we are about *Nouaro*, the place it ſelfe admoniſheth vs, that we can in no other ſort quench the ancient infamie we got here in the pay of *Lodowike Sforce*. Let vs proceed then in the name of the great God, the perſecutor of ſchiſmatikes, excommunicate perſons, and the enemies to his name: let vs march on to a victorie no leſſe eaſie then aſſured (if we ſhew our ſelues men,) whereby our name ſhall be made ſo much the more great and glorious, by how much the danger ſeemeth more euident: and by how much our enemies doe exceede vs in number, by ſo much the more ſhall we

The words of Captain Motin to the Swiſſers

we be enriched by their ſpoiles. At theſe ſpeeches of *Motin* all the bands of ſouldiers began to giue a great ſhout, euery one approuing his deuice by holding vp their hands: and then, aſſuring them of the victory, he commanded them to go to reſt, and to prepare themſelues to fall into array when the drum ſhould ſtrike. The nation of *Swiſſers* neuer made a more braue or more reſolute deliberation, being but a few againſt many, without horſemen, and without artilleries, againſt an armie well furniſhed and moſt mightie in that kind: and withall being not puſhed forward by any neceſſitie, for ỹ *Nouare* was deliuered frō danger, and they expected the day after a great ſtrength of ſouldiers. They rather choſe this way, wherein the ſuretie was leſſe and the hope of glory greater; then that, wherein for greater ſafetie there might happen to them leſſe glorie. Therfore the ſixt day of Iune after midnight they iſſued out of *Nouare* with great furie, being in number about ten thouſand men, who were ſo diſtributed and diſpoſed, that ſeuen thouſand were appointed to charge the artillerie, about which the Lanceknights were lodged, & ỹ reſidue were to be beſtowed with their pikes aduāced againſt the men at armes. The *French* men, for the ſhortneſſe of the time, and becauſe they doubted not that ſuch an accident ſhould befall them ſo ſoone, had made no fortification of their campe: and at the firſt tumult and alarme that the ſentinels made of the coming of the enemies, the ſuddenneſſe of the aduenture, and the darkneſſe of the night, increaſed much their feare and confuſion; yet the men at armes drew forthwith into ſtrength, and preſented themſelues in battel-ray, and the Lanceknights who were followed with the other bands of footmen, fell preſently into order. Now the artillery ſhot off with great noiſe againſt the *Swiſſers* that came to aſſaile it, and endomaged them much, ſtrewing the place with many of them, which was rather knowne by the crying & howling of men then by the benefite of the eyes, the vſe whereof was taken away by the darkneſſe of the night: and yet with a deſperate reſolution, deſpiſing preſent death, and nothing diſcouraged with the fortune of thoſe that lay ſlaine at their feete, nor once breaking their order for all this, they ranne as faſt as they could vpon the artillerie: and being come to it, the Lanceknights and they encountred together with a maruellous furie, the one fighting againſt the other with great rage, and much more for hatred and the deſire of glorie. There might haue bene ſeene (for now the Sunne began to ſhew) ſometimes one ſide to yeeld, ſometimes the other: oftentimes that part to ſeeme to preuaile which earſt was thought to haue the worſt: on the ſame ſide, and at the ſame time, the one battell to ſway, and the other to aduance; one part to inuade their enemies furiouſly, & the other to reſiſt hardly; all things on all ſides full of dead bodies, wounded men, and bloud: ſometimes the Captaines would valiantly performe the office of ſouldiers, both charging their enemies and defending themſelues and theirs, and ſometimes they would diſcreetly manage the place of Captaines, encouraging, prouiding, ſuccouring, relieuing, and commanding. On the other ſide, where the men of armes ſtood, they were very calme, without doing any thing; for that the authority, the perſwaſions, the commandements, the prayers, the exclamations, and threatnings of *Triuulce* and *Trimouille*, preuailing nothing with the horſemen, whoſe minds were already made timorous, they had not the courage to charge their enemies that were before them: & it ſufficed the *Swiſſers* to keep them impaled in their ranks, to the end they ſhould not ſuccour their footmen. At laſt in ſo great a hardineſſe and valour of ſuch as fought, the vertue of the *Swiſſers* preuailed, who hauing victoriouſly wonne the artilleries, turned them vpon their enemies, whom they put to flight as well by that meanes as by their owne valour. To the flying of the footmen was ioyned the running away of the men at armes, who ſhewed no valour, nor did any thing worthy of praiſe. Only the Lord *Robert la March* carried with the vehement affection of a father, entred the battell of the *Swiſſers* with a ſquadron of horſemen, to reſcue *Florango* and *Iames* his ſonnes, Captaines of the Lanceknights, who lay ſore wounded on the earth, and fought with ſuch furie, that the *Swiſſers* themſelues maruelled much that he could draw them aliue out of that danger. The battell continued about two houres, to the great hurt of both the parties. There was ſlaine of the *Swiſſers* about fifteene hundred bodies, amongſt whom was Captaine *Motin*, the firſt mouer of that ſo glorious a counſell, who fighting valiantly, was thruſt through the throate with a pike. But farre greater was the ſlaughter of the enemies, of whom ſome ſay were left dead ten thouſand carkaſſes: the moſt part of the Lanceknights died in fighting, and the greateſt ſlaughter of the *French* and *Gaſcon* footmen, was in flying. Almoſt all the horſemen went away in ſafetie, the *Swiſſers* being not able to follow them, who if they had had horſemen, might haue broken them eaſily,

The deſcriptiō of a furious conflict.

The French men defeated by the Swiſſers

eaſily, retiring as they did in great feare. All the baggage became a prey to the victors, with two and twentie peeces of great artillerie, and all the horſes aſſigned for the ſeruice of the ſame. The victors returned the ſame day into *Nouaro* almoſt triumphantly, and with ſuch renowne through the world, that in reſpect of the magnanimitie of their enterpriſe, the euident deſpiſing of death, the reſolution they ſhewed in the fight, and the happie ſucceſſe of the ſame, there were many that durſt preferre this action, afore almoſt all the memorable things which we reade to haue bene done by the *Greekes* and *Romanes*. The *French* men fled into *Piemont*, from whence (*Triuulce* loſing time to crie after them) they paſſed ſpeedily into *France*.

The victorie obtained, *Millan* with the other places that were declared for the *French*, ſent to demand pardon, which was granted them, vpon condition to diſburſe a great ſumme of money: the inhabitants of *Millan* two hundred thouſand duckats, and the reſidue euery one according to his abilitie: all giuen to the *Swiſſers*, to whom was rightly due, as wel the gain as the glorie gotten with their valour and with their bloud: and who, to draw all the fruit afterwards into the Marquiſdome of *Montferrat* and into *Piemont*, charged [illegible] aue receiued the *French* army: and there, partly by pillage, and partly by [illegible] ople (yet without attempting any thing againſt the life and honour of [illegible] h. The *Spaniards* alſo were not altogether depriued of the profits of the victo[illegible] or *Ianus* lately chaſed out of *Genes*, and *Octauian Fregoſo* (both which aſpired to be Duke) being retired to the Viceroy after the battell, the Viceroy preferring *Octauian*, for whom the Pope did what he could in regard of their ancient amitie, and withall receiuing his promiſe to pay him fiftie thouſand duckats when he ſhould be poſſeſſed of *Genes*, he deliuered him three thouſand footmen vnder the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, and for his owne part, he went with the reſidue of the armie to *Chieſteggio*, making ſemblance to paſſe further if need required. But as the Marquis and *Octauian* drew neare to *Genes*, the brethren of the family of *Adorno*, knowing their owne weakneſſe, went their way; and *Octauian* entring in, was created Duke of that Citie, which in the courſe of a yeare had for gouernours the *French* men, *Ianus Fregoſo*, the *Adorneis*, and *Octauian*. *Bartlemew Aluiano* hearing of the ouerthrow giuen to the *French* army, feared leſt he ſhould be preſently followed by the *Spaniards*, and retired in all haſte to *Pontuiquo*, leauing in the way (for loſing of time) certaine peeces of artillery, which could not ſo ſuddenly march. From *Pontuiquo* when he had left *Ranſe de Cere* in *Crema*, and abandoned *Breſſia*, for that it was not profitable to diminiſh the army, wherein were remaining ſixe hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen, marching with the ſame celeritie, and with ſo great feare and diſfauour of the country, that if but a ſmall company had followed them, they would of themſelues haue fallen into diſorder; he went to *Tomba*, neare to *Adice*, neuer ſtaying in any place longer then the neceſſitie to refreſh his men and horſes conſtrained him. When he ſaw the feare ouerpaſſed, ſince no man followed him, he ſtayd at *Tomba*, and there he gaue order to conuey to *Padua* and to *Treuiſa* the greateſt prouiſion of victuals that he could draw from the territories of *Verona*: and at the ſame time he ſent *Iohn Paul Baillon* to *Legnagno* with threeſcore men at armes, and twelue hundred footmen, who being immediatly receiued by the inhabitants of the towne where was no garriſon, he gaue aſſault to the Rock which was guarded by an hundred and fiftie footmen, part *Spaniſh* and part Lanceknights, hauing firſt battered it with the artillery on that ſide that is towards the market place: in which aſſault, I know not which had more force, either valour or fortune, for that during the fight, the fire by aduenture faſtening vpon the munitions, by meanes of certaine inſtruments of artificiall fires throwne by thoſe that were without, part of the Rocke was burned: and in this tumult the footmen that gaue the aſſault being entred ſome at the breach, and ſome by ladders, tooke their Captaine who was a *Spaniard*, and killed and tooke priſoners all the reſidue that were therein. *Legnagno* being taken, *Aluiano* cauſed to build a bridge vpon *Adice*, and afterwards certaine inhabitants of *Verona* giuing him hope that they would mutine againſt the *Almaines*, he went to incampe at the village of *S. Iohn*, which is foure miles from *Verona*; and from whence the morning following, approching neare to the gate called *S. Maximo*, he planted his artilleries with great furie againſt the tower of the gate and the wall ioyning to it, expecting in the meane while if there would riſe any tumult in the towne: and after he had brought to the earth about fortie fadomes of the wall, beſides the tower, which fell in ſuch ſort, that the ruines ſerued for a very ſtrong rampier to the gate, he gaue a very furious aſſault. But there were within *Verona*

we be enriched by their ſpoiles. At theſe ſpeeches of *Motin* all the bands of ſouldiers began to giue a great ſhout, euery one approuing his deuice by holding vp their hands: and then, aſſuring them of the victory, he commanded them to go to reſt, and to prepare themſelues to fall into array when the drum ſhould ſtrike. The nation of *Swiſſers* neuer made a more braue or more reſolute deliberation, being but a few againſt many, without horſemen, and without artilleries, againſt an armie well furniſhed and moſt mightie in that kind: and withall being not puſhed forward by any neceſſitie, for ẏ *Nouaro* was deliuered frō danger, and they expected the day after a great ſtrength of ſouldiers. They rather choſe this way, wherein the ſuretie was leſſe and the hope of glory greater; then that, wherein for greater ſafetie there might happen to them leſſe glorie. Therfore the ſixt day of Iune after midnight they iſſued out of *Nouaro* with great furie, being in number about ten thouſand men, who were ſo diſtributed and diſpoſed, that ſeuen thouſand were appointed to charge the artillerie, about which the Lanceknights were lodged, & ẏ reſidue were to be beſtowed with their pikes aduāced againſt the men at armes. The *French* men, for the ſhortneſſe of the time, and becauſe they doubted not that ſuch an accident ſhould befall them ſo ſoone, had made no fortification of their campe: and at the firſt tumult and alarme that the ſentinels made of the coming of the enemies, the ſuddenneſſe of the aduenture, and the darkneſſe of the night, increaſed much their feare and confuſion; yet the men at armes drew forthwith into ſtrength, and preſented themſelues in battel-ray, and the Lanceknights who were followed with the other bands of footmen, fell preſently into order. Now the artillery ſhot off with great noiſe againſt the *Swiſſers* that came to aſſaile it, and endomaged them much, ſtrewing the place with many of them, which was rather knowne by the crying & howling of men then by the benefite of the eyes, the vſe whereof was taken away by the darkneſſe of the night: and yet with a deſperate reſolution, deſpiſing preſent death, and nothing diſcouraged with the fortune of thoſe that lay ſlaine at their feete, nor once breaking their order for all this, they ranne as faſt as they could vpon the artillerie: and being come to it, the Lanceknights and they encountred together with a maruellous furie, the one fighting againſt the other with great rage, and much more for hatred and the deſire of glorie. There might haue bene ſeene (for now the Sunne began to ſhew) ſometimes one ſide to yeeld, ſometimes the other: oftentimes that part to ſeeme to preuaile which earſt was thought to haue the worſt: on the ſame ſide, and at the ſame time, the one battell to ſway, and the other to aduance; one part to inuade their enemies furiouſly, & the other to reſiſt hardly; all things on all ſides full of dead bodies, wounded men, and bloud: ſometimes the Captaines would valiantly performe the office of ſouldiers, both charging their enemies and defending themſelues and theirs, and ſometimes they would diſcreetly manage the place of Captaines, encouraging, prouiding, ſuccouring, relieuing, and commanding. On the other ſide, where the men of armes ſtood, they were very calme, without doing any thing; for that the authority, the perſwaſions, the commandements, the prayers, the exclamations, and threatnings of *Triuulce* and *Trimouille*, preuailing nothing with the horſemen, whoſe minds were already made timorous, they had not the courage to charge their enemies that were before them: & it ſufficed the *Swiſſers* to keep them impaled in their ranks, to the end they ſhould not ſuccour their footmen. At laſt in ſo great a hardineſſe and valour of ſuch as fought, the vertue of the *Swiſſers* preuailed, who hauing victoriouſly wonne the artilleries, turned them vpon their enemies, whom they put to flight as well by that meanes as by their owne valour. To the flying of the footmen was ioyned the running away of the men at armes, who ſhewed no valour, nor did any thing worthy of praiſe. Only the Lord *Robert la March* carried with the vehement affection of a father, entred the battell of the *Swiſſers* with a ſquadron of horſemen, to reſcue *Florango* and *Iames* his ſonnes, Captaines of the Lanceknights, who lay ſore wounded on the earth, and fought with ſuch furie, that the *Swiſſers* themſelues maruelled much that he could draw them aliue out of that danger. The battell continued about two houres, to the great hurt of both the parties. There was ſlaine of the *Swiſſers* about fifteene hundred bodies, amongſt whom was Captaine *Motin*, the firſt mouer of that ſo glorious a counſell, who fighting valiantly, was thruſt through the throate with a pike. But farre greater was the ſlaughter of the enemies, of whom ſome ſay were left dead ten thouſand carkaſſes: the moſt part of the Lanceknights died in fighting, and the greateſt ſlaughter of the *French* and *Gaſcon* footmen, was in flying. Almoſt all the horſemen went away in ſafetie, the *Swiſſers* being not able to follow them, who if they had had horſemen, might haue broken them eaſily,

The deſcriptiō of a furious conflict.

The French men defeated by the Swiſſers

easily,retiring as they did in great feare. All the baggage became a prey to the victors, with two and twentie peeces of great artillerie, and all the horses assigned for the seruice of the same. The victors returned the same day into *Nouaro* almost triumphantly, and with such renowne through the world, that in respect of the magnanimitie of their enterprise, the euident despising of death, the resolution they shewed in the fight, and the happie successe of the same,there were many that durst preferre this action, afore almost all the memorable things which we reade to haue bene done by the *Greekes* and *Romanes*. The *French* men fled into *Piemont*, from whence (*Triuulce* losing time to crie after them) they passed speedily into *France*.

The victorie obtained, *Millan* with the other places that were declared for the *French*, sent to demand pardon, which was granted them, vpon condition to disburse a great summe of money: the inhabitants of *Millan* two hundred thousand duckats, and the residue euery one according to his abilitie,to be all giuen to the *Swissers*,to whom was rightly due,as wel the gain as the glorie of the victorie, gotten with their valour and with their bloud: and who, to draw all the fruite they could,entred afterwards into the Marquisdome of *Montferrat* and into *Piemont*, charging those countries to haue receiued the *French* army: and there, partly by pillage, and partly by ransoming the poore people (yet without attempting any thing against the life and honour of any) they got much. The *Spaniards* also were not altogether depriued of the profits of the victorie, for that *Ianus* lately chased out of *Genes*, and *Octauian Fregoso* (both which aspired to be Duke) being retired to the Viceroy after the battell, the Viceroy preferring *Octauian*, for whom the Pope did what he could in regard of their ancient amitie, and withall receiuing his promise to pay him fiftie thousand duckats when he should be possessed of *Genes*, he deliuered him three thousand footmen vnder the Marquis of *Pesquiero*, and for his owne part,he went with the residue of the armie to *Chiesteggio*, making semblance to passe further if need required. But as the Marquis and *Octauian* drew neare to *Genes*, the brethren of the family of *Adorno*,knowing their owne weakenesse, went their way; and *Octauian* entring in,was created Duke of that Citie, which in the course of a yeare had for gouernours the *French* men, *Ianus Fregoso*,the *Adorneis*, and *Octauian*. *Bartlemew Aluiano* hearing of the ouerthrow giuen to the *French* army,feared lest he should be presently followed by the *Spaniards*,and retired in all haste to *Pontuiquo*, leauing in the way (for losing of time) certaine peeces of artillery, which could not so suddenly march.From *Pontuiquo* when he had left *Ranse de Cere* in *Crema*,and abandoned *Bressia*, for that it was not profitable to diminish the army, wherein were remaining sixe hundred men at armes,a thousand light horsemen, and fiue thousand footmen, marching with the same celeritie,and with so great feare and disfauour of the country, that if but a small company had followed them, they would of themselues haue fallen into disorder; he went to *Tomba*,neare to *Adice*, neuer staying in any place longer then the necessitie to refresh his men and horses constrained him.When he saw the feare ouerpassed,since no man followed him,he stayd at *Tomba*, and there he gaue order to conuey to *Padua* and to *Treuisa* the greatest prouision of victuals that he could draw from the territories of *Verona*: and at the same time he sent *Iohn Paul Baillon* to *Legnaguo* with threescore men at armes, and twelue hundred footmen, who being immediatly receiued by the inhabitants of the towne where was no garrison,he gaue assault to the Rock which was guarded by an hundred and fiftie footmen, part *Spanish* and part Lanceknights, hauing first battered it with the artillery on that side that is towards the market place: in which assault,I know not which had more force,either valour or fortune, for that during the fight, the fire by aduenture fastening vpon the munitions, by meanes of certaine instruments of artificiall fires throwne by those that were without, part of the Rocke was burned: and in this tumult the footmen that gaue the assault being entred some at the breach, and some by ladders, tooke their Captaine who was a *Spaniard*, and killed and tooke prisoners all the residue that were therein. *Legnaguo* being taken, *Aluiano* caused to build a bridge vpon *Adice*, and afterwards certaine inhabitants of *Verona* giuing him hope that they would mutine against the *Almaines*, he went to incampe at the village of *S. Iohn*,which is foure miles from *Verona*; and from whence the morning following,approching neare to the gate called *S. Maximo*, he planted his artilleries with great furie against the tower of the gate and the wall ioyning to it, expecting in the meane while if there would rise any tumult in the towne: and after he had brought to the earth about fortie fadomes of the wall, besides the tower, which fell in such sort, that the ruines serued for a very strong rampier to the gate, he gaue a very furious assault. But there were within *Verona*

three hundred horſemen and three thouſand Lanceknights vnder *Roccandolph* a Captaine much eſteemed, who defended themſelues valiantly, beſides that the breach that was made in the wall, was a good height frō the gound within; and they of *Verona* ſtirred not, according to the hopes that were giuen: ſo that *Aluiano* perceiuing the difficultie to take it, retired his footmen from the wals, and had already begun to withdraw the artillery, when changing counſel in a moment, as was ſuppoſed, by a certaine meſſage which he receiued from the towne, he cauſed his footmen to returne to the walls, and recontinued the aſſault with a greater fury then before. But he found ſtill the ſame difficulties, and thoſe that had called him ſo ſlow and remiſſe, that hauing loſt at the aſſault more then two hundred of his people, amongſt whom was *Thomas Fabro* of *Rauenna*, Marſhall of his footmen, he began to deſpaire wholly of the victory, and retiring his artillery with great diligence, he returned the ſame day to the lodging from whence he was departed in the morning, hauing gained no credit that day, either for his counſell, or the iſſue thereof, but his great diligence was much praiſed throughout all *Italy*, for that in one day he had done that, which hardly other Captaines are wont to do in three or foure dayes. After this he ſpoiled the country, aſſaying if by that feare he could conſtraine the inhabitants of *Verona* to come to accord. But the *Spaniſh* army being now come on, for that the Viceroy after he heard of the loſſe of *Legnago*, fearing leſt by the ill diſpoſition of the townesmen *Verona* would ſet open her gates to the *Venetians*, determined to giue preſent ſuccours to the affaires of *Cæſar*, hauing now no impediment, ſith the affaires of *Genes* had happily ſucceeded. Therefore after he had paſſed without difficultie the riuer of *Po* at *Stradella*, and that the Cities of *Bergamo* and *Breſſia* were rendred to him without reſiſtance, together with the towne of *Peſquiero*, he incamped before the Caſtle, that was manned with two hundred and fiftie footmen: the which although the common opinion was, that it might haue holden out yet certaine dayes, came by force into his power, the *Venetian* Ruler being made priſoner, and all the reſidue of the ſouldiers that were not ſlaine at the aſſault. Becauſe of the approch of the *Spaniards*, *Aluiano* retired to *Alberè* on the other ſide of *Adice*, and called to refurniſh his army as much as he could, not only certaine bands of footmen which were at *Poleſina de Rouigna*, but thoſe alſo whom he had left within *Legnago*: and a litle after the Lanceknights being ioyned at *S. Martin* with the Viceroy, alſo after the recouery of *Legnago* went to *Montagnana*, the *Venetians* who held no more in that quarter but *Padua* and *Treuiſa*, caring for no other thing then the preſeruation of thoſe Cities, ordained that the army ſhould be diſtributed in them, and that *Iohn Paul Baillon*, with whom were *Malateſta de Sogliano* and the Knight *de la Volpe*, ſhould be beſtowed in *Treuiſa* with two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen, *Aluiano* remaining in *Padua* with the reſidue of the army: who taking care to fortifie it, by repairing the baſtillions, and giuing perfection to many things that were vnperfect, cauſed likwiſe to raze all the houſes, and cut downe all the trees that were within three miles about *Padua*, to make more hard & dangerous the approch of the enemies, and to cauſe them to haue need of many pioners.

The Pope ſeeks to appeaſe the King.

But whileſt that matters of warre proceeded in this ſort, the Pope trauailed with great induſtrie to weed out of the Church the diuiſion brought in by the Councell of *Piſa*: which matter depending wholly vpon the will of the *French* King, he laboured to appeaſe him by many meanes, aſſuring him that the rumor that ranne that he had ſent money to the *Swiſſers*, was a falſe bruite, and declaring that he deſired nothing more then an vniuerſall peace, and to be the common father to all Chriſtian Princes: That he was very ſory that his diſſention with the Church, depriued him of all meanes to know how naturally he was inclined to his amitie; ſeeing that for the honour of the Sea Apoſtolike, and of owne his perſon, he was conſtrained to proceed with him ſeuerally, vntill by his returning to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, it were lawfull for him to receiue him as King Moſt Chriſtian, and to embrace him as the eldeſt ſonne of the Church. The King in regard of his owne affaires, deſired the vnion of his kingdome with the Church, the ſame being alſo inſtantly demanded by all his peoples and all his Court, whereunto alſo he was much incited by the Queene; and he knew alſo that there could be no hope of alliance with the Pope in matters temporall, if firſt there were not agreement for controuerſies ſpirituall. For this cauſe, either truſting indeed, or ſeeming to giue faith to his words, he ſent to him as Embaſſadour to negociate in theſe cauſes, the Biſhop of *Marſeilles*: at whoſe coming, the Pope by decree of the Councell, reinueſted the Biſhops and Prelates of *France*, againſt whom his predeceſſor proceeded rigorouſly by way of excommunication, as againſt ſchiſ-

ſchiſmatikes, with power to purge themſelues of their contumacie, during the whole moneth of Nouember: and the ſame morning wherein it was thus determined, there was read in the Councell a writing ſubſcribed by *Bernardin Caruagial* and *Federike de S. Seuerin*, wherein forbearing to name themſelues Cardinals, they approued all the acts of the Councell of *Latran*, promiſing to cleaue to the ſame, and to obey the Pope: wherein conſequently they confeſſed themſelues to be lawfully depriued of the eſtate of Cardinals; which priuation being done by Pope *Iulio*, had bene in his life time confirmed by the ſame Councell. It had bene debated afore to haue them reſtored, but it was afterwards deferred for the impediment of the Embaſſadours of *Ceſar* and the King of *Aragon*, together with the Cardinals of *Sion* and *Yorke*, who alledged, that it was a matter vnworthy the maieſty of the ſea Apoſtolike, and of very ill example, to pardon the authors of ſo great a ſcandal, and ſo pernicious a treſpaſſe, full of ſo manifeſt abhomination; a matter which the laſt Pope had conſtantly maintained againſt them, euen to the laſt moment of his life, and that for no other cauſe then for the publike good. But the Pope inclined to that ſide that was leaſt rigorous, iudging it more eaſie vtterly to quench the name of the Councell of *Piſa*, with clemencie then with ſeueritie: & withall, he would not prouoke the mind of the *French* King, who was a diligent interceſſor for them: neither was he carried againſt them by any particular hatred, for as much as the iniury was not done to him; but before his Pontificacie he and his brethren had bene great friends to *Federike*: for which reaſons, of his owne motion he cauſed to be read before the fathers of the Councel, the writing of their humiliation, and aſſigned a day for their reſtoring, which was done in this maner: *Bernardin* and *Federike* entred ſecretly into *Rome* by night, without either habite or note of Cardinals, and the morning following being to preſent themſelues before the Pope ſitting in full Conſiſtory, accompanied with all the Cardinals, except the *Swiſſer* and the *Engliſh*, who refuſed to be preſent: they firſt paſſed apparelled as ſimple Prieſts, with blacke bonnets on their heads through all the publike places of the Pallace of *Vatican*, where they had lodged: a great multitude of people flocking to ſee them, and euery one affirming that ſo publike an ignominie might ſerue as a cruell torment for the vnmeaſurable pride of *Bernardin*, and no leſſe arrogance of *Federike*. When they were admitted into the Conſiſtory, they fell downe on their knees, and with many ſignes of great humilitie demanded pardon of the Pope and the Cardinals, approuing all things that had bene done by Pope *Iulio*, and namely their priuation, and the election of the new Pope, as canonically done; reprouing the conuenticle of *Piſa*, as ſchiſmaticall and deteſtable. When this confeſſion was ſolemnly enregiſtred and ſubſigned with their hands, they roſe vp and ſtood on their feete, and after reuerence done, they embraced all the Cardinals, who ſtirred not out of their ſeates; and afterwards being apparelled in the habite of Cardinals, were receiued by the reſidue to ſit in the ſame order wherein they were wont to ſit before their priuation. They recouered onely by this act the dignitie of Cardinals, and not the benefices and other reuenues which they were wont to hold, for that long time before they had bene diſtributed to others, as vacant. In this act the Pope ſatisfied the *French* King, if not fully, yet at leaſt in part: but he ſatisfied him not in other matters, for that he ſought by all the wayes he could to accord *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*; which he thought he might eaſily obtaine, by reaſon of the accidents that happened. For he beleeued that *Ceſar* prouoked by the occaſions beyond the Mounts, would be content to hearken thereto, the more eaſily to recouer *Burgundie* for his Nephew: and much more the *Venetians*, as well for that they ſtood amazed with the ouerthrow of the *French*, as for that they knew the *French* King (many dangers hanging ouer his Realme) could not for that yeare thinke any more of the affaires of *Italy*: and likewiſe they ſaw the *Spaniſh* army neare them, whereunto were to be vnited the companies that were within *Verona*: they were drained of money, ill furniſhed of ſouldiers, and namely of footmen: and alone were to beare the whole brunt of the warre, without any hope or ſhew of other ſuccours: and yet the Senate anſwered very conſtantly, that they would not hearken to any accord, vnleſſe *Vincenſa* and *Verona* were reſtored to them.

Humilitie of two Cardinals

Ceſar at that time demanded of the Pope two hundred men at armes againſt the *Venetians*: which demand though it was grieuous to the Pope, for feare leſt the *French* King ſhould be diſcontented, and for that he held it inconuenient for *Ceſar* and him to become ſuſpected to the *Venetians* for a matter of ſo ſmall importance: *Ceſar* notwithſtanding perſeuering obſtinately in his demand, he ſent him vnder *Troilo Sauello*, *Achilles*, *Torello*, and *Mutio Colonne*, the num-

bers he required, for that he would not (by refuſing) ſhew any token of vnwillingneſſe to perſeuer in the confederation contracted with the laſt Pope; and for that he thought himſelfe not reſtrained by any obligation that he had with the *Venetians*: who, beſides that their armie had behaued themſelues almoſt in hoſtile maner vpō the lands of *Parma* and *Plaiſance* at ſuch time as *Aluiano* lay neare *Cremona*, had not elected Embaſſadours to proteſt their obedience to him according to the ancient cuſtome, vntill the *French* men being ouerthrowne, were returned out of *Italy*. This deliberation brought no litle amaze to the *Venetians*, not ſo much for the importance of ſuch a ſuccor, as for feare leſt by this beginning the Pope would paſſe further: and they tooke this likewiſe for a manifeſt ſigne that he would neuer be ſeparate from their enemies. Neuertheleſſe they changed not their firſt counſels, but ſtanding reſolute to make as good head as they could againſt fortune, they ſent commandement to their Admirall that was at *Corfu*, that aſſembling as many veſſels as he could, he ſhould aſſaile the marine places of *Powilla*; although a litle after, conſidering of what importance it would be to prouoke ſo much the King of *Aragon*, they reuoked that counſell, as more couragious then diſcreet, as well for the power of that King, as for that he had alwayes made ſhew that he perſwaded *Ceſar* to peace. The Viceroy remained at *Montagnana*, not hauing as yet determined what to doe, for as much as the conceptions of the Lanceknights were great, and the enterpriſes that remained to be attempted either of *Padua* or of *Treuiſa* very hard, and the forces farre inferiour to the difficulties: for in the whole army there was not aboue a thouſand men at armes, not many light horſemen, and ten thouſand footmen, as well *Spaniards* as Lanceknights: and alſo there was expectation of the coming of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, vpon whoſe will all depended. At this time a *Spaniſh* magiſtrate being in *Bergamo* to gather the impoſt of fiue and twentie thouſand duckats, taxed vpon that Citie at ſuch time as it was rendred to the Viceroy, *Ranſe de Cere* ſent thither from *Crema* part of his ſouldiers, who entring by night by the helpe of ſome of the towne, tooke the *Spaniard* with all the money he had leuied, and returned afterward to *Crema*. There was diſcerned about this time a preparation of new troubles in the ſtate of *Genes*, conformable to the wils of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swiſſers*, to whom *Anthonie* and *Ierome Adorno* had recourſe, declaring to the Duke the offices and kindneſſes which had paſſed betweene their fathers and *Lodowik* his father: That by the aide of their family he had recouered and many yeares holden in peace the principalitie of *Genes*, of the which he had bene fraudulently depriued by the Dukes *Fregoſes*: and that the *Adorneis* had participated with the aduerſe fortunes of the *Sforces*, for that at the ſame time that *Lodowike* loſt the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Adorneys* were chaſed out of *Genes*: and therefore it was conuenient that they ſhould likewiſe communicate in his good fortune, ſeeing the ſame affection & the ſame faith continued: and that they ought not to be charged by imputation, if being not ſo much as heard in any place, but abandoned of all hope, their neceſſitie had driuen them againſt their will, to haue recourſe to that King, by whom they had bene chaſed and expulſed before: That on the other ſide, he was to remember the ancient hatred of the *Fregoſes*, how many iniuries and practiſes had bene wrought againſt his father by *Baptiſta* and the Cardinall *Fregoſa*, who were Dukes of *Genes* ſucceſſiuely; and to conſider how he might truſt *Octauian Fregoſa*, who, beſides his ancient hatred, refuſed to haue a ſuperiour in that Citie. To the *Swiſſers* they propoſed the profite, the ſuretie and the honour they might reape hereby: That if by their meanes they were reſtored to their countrey, they would pay a ſumme of money equall to that which *Octauian Fregoſa* payed to the *Spaniards*: That by their vertue the Duchie of *Millan* had bene preſerued, and to them appertained the protection and defence thereof: and that therefore they ſhould conſider how much it would be contrary to the ſuretie of that ſtate, that *Genes* a citie of ſo neare neighborhood and ſo great importance, ſhould obey a Duke that depended wholly vpon the King of *Aragon*: and that it were an action very vnworthy their name and glory, to ſuffer *Genes* (the fruite of the victory of *Nouaro*) to fall to the profit of the *Spaniards*, who, whileſt the *Swiſſers* went with ſo great valour to expoſe themſelues againſt the thundring ſhot of the *French*, whileſt that (to expreſſe it better) the *Swiſſers* ranne vpon death, ſate ſtill at their eaſe, without doing any thing vpon the territory of *Trebia*, watching as it were the iſſue of the battell, either ſhamefully to flie, or fraudulently to ſteale the rewards of the victory gotten with the bloud of others. Theſe reaſons then inflaming them, the Duke cauſed his companies to march, and the *Swiſſers* aduanced foure thouſand footmen: but the threats of the Viceroy againſt the Duke, and the authoritie of the Pope, who tooke greatly to heart the af-

affaires of *Octauian*, were the cauſe that they gaue ouer preſently. In this meane while the Viceroy went vp to *Battallia*, a place about ſeuen miles from *Padua*, where *Caruagial* riding vp and downe vndiſcreetly with a ſmall ſtrength of horſemen to view the ſituation of the countrey, was taken by *Mercurio* Captaine of the *Venetian* light horſemen. At which time the Biſhop of *Gurci* ariuing in the army, they drew to conſultation what was to be done: & the Biſhop gaue counſel to beſiege *Padua*, ſaying, he hoped ſo much in the vertue of the *Spaniards* and Lanceknights againſt the *Italians*, that in the end they ſhould ouercome all difficulties: That it was a matter of leſſe labour to take *Treuiſa*, but the reward of the victory was farre different; for that to win *Treuiſa* onely, was of litle importance for the ſubſtance of the warre, but by the taking of *Padua*, the townes of *Cæſars* obedience ſhould ſtand fully aſſured from the troubles and dangers of the warre, and the *Venetians* ſhould be depriued of all hope to be euer able to recouer the places they had loſt. The Viceroy and almoſt all the other Captaines were of a contrary opinion: iudging it rather impoſſible then hard, to force *Padua*, by reaſon of the incredible fortificatiõs, it being throughly ſtored with artilleries and all things neceſſary for defence, & abundantly furniſhed with ſouldiers, many yong men of the Nobilitie of *Venice* being come thither, as they had done at other times. They alledged that the circuite of *Padua* was large, in which regard, as alſo for the multitude of the defendants and other difficulties, it required to be enuironed with a ſiege of two armies: which they were ſo farre from, that they were not able to make one ſufficient, the number of their ſouldiers being not great, of whom the Lanceknights, who murmured already for their pay, ſhewed themſelues not very forward: That they were not furniſhed with munitions, and wanted pioners, a prouiſion very neceſſary for an enterpriſe of that difficultie. But in the end the reaſons of the Viceroy and the other Captaines gaue place to the will of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, according to which the army drawing neare to *Padua*, incamped at *Baſſanella* vpon the right ſhore of the channell, within a mile and a halfe of *Padua*, in which place being much endomaged by certaine double cannons that lay planted vpon a baſtillion of the towne, they paſſed the channell, and lodged a litle further from the towne, from whence ſending certaine bands of footmen to *S. Anthonies* Church within halfe a mile of *Padua*, they began to approch with leſſe danger, and to caſt trenches neare to *S. Anthonies* gate: but the labor was great, and the want of pioners no leſſe, in a countrey abandoned of all inhabitants. Therefore the worke aduanced litle, and not without danger, for that the ſouldiers making many ſudden ſallies as well by day as by night, did great domage to thoſe that laboured. They ſuffered alſo great want of victuals, for that onely a ſmall part of the towne being enuironed by the enemies, the eſtradiots that had libertie to iſſue out of the other quarters of the towne, ouerrunning freely the whole countrey, gaue impediment to all that was brought to the campe; certaine armed barks which the *Venetians* had ſet for that purpoſe vpon the riuer of *Adice* doing the like, for that the men that they carried, ceaſſed not to make incurſions in all the plaine countrey, now in one part, and then in another. In regard of theſe difficulties, the eſtate of things being eftſoones brought into conſultation by the Viceroy, all men were of opinion, that it would be a leſſe infamy to correct the deliberation vndiſcreetly made, in leuying the campe, then by perſiſting in their error, to be the cauſe of ſome great domage that might happen, which would be accompanied with great ſhame. Which opinion being related to the Biſhop of *Gurci* by the Viceroy in the preſence of many Captaines, for that he had refuſed to be preſent at the Councell, he made anſwer, That the diſcipline of warre being not his profeſſion, it was no ſhame for him to confeſſe his ignorance in the affaires of warre: and that touching the counſell he had giuen to beſiege *Padua*, he had not ſo much followed his owne iudgement in that deliberation, as the authoritie of the Viceroy, who both by letters and expreſſe meſſengers had perſwaded the Emperour thereunto, and giuen him great hope to be able to carry it. At laſt the difficulties not ceaſſing, neither for their complaints nor for their debating, but rather the deſpaire to be able to take *Padua* dayly increaſing, the campe brake vp, after it had lien eighteen dayes afore the wals of *Padua*: and hauing both at their breaking vp, and vpon the way, the light horſemen art their backs, they withdrew themſelues to *Vincenſa*, which then was voide of inhabitants, and lay as a prey to who was maiſter of the field. In this meane while the ſouldiers of the Duke of *Millan*, to whoſe aide the Viceroy had ſent *Anthonie de Leua* with a thouſand footmen, tooke *Pontuiquo*, wherein were two hundred footmen in garriſon for the *Venetians*, who, neither amazed with the thunder of the artilleries, nor diſcouraged with the mines that were made, were

Padua beſieged by the Viceroy.

conſtrained at the end of a moneth to yeeld for want of victuals, after they had valiantly ſuſtained the aſſault. About the ſame time *Ranſe de Cere* iſſuing out of *Crema*, ouerthrew *Siluio Sauello*, marching with his bands and foure hundred *Spaniſh* footmen to *Bergamo*, whither the Duke of *Millan* ſent him: and a litle after a *Spaniſh* officer being returned to *Bergamo* to gather money, *Ranſe* ſent thither three hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen, who tooke both the officer and the Rocke whereunto he was fled for ſafetie with the money he had receiued: in which Rocke were very few men of warre, by reaſon whereof threeſcore men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and ſeuen hundred footmen, with two thouſand paiſants of the mount of *Brianſo*, went from *Millan* vnder the leading of *Siluio Sauello* and *Cæſar Fieramoſquo*, to recouer *Bergamo*: who encountring vpon the way fiue hundred light horſmen and three hundred footmen, ſent by *Ranſe* to *Bergamo*, were eaſily put to flight; by whoſe example the reſidue that afore had occupied *Bergamo* abandoned it, leauing onely a garriſon in the Rocke, which ſtandeth out of the Citie vpon the mountaine called *Cappello*.

The Viceroy and the Biſhop of *Gurci* ſoiourned certaine dayes at *Vincenſa*, and ſent part of the *Spaniards* vnder *Proſper Colonno* to ſack *Baſciano* and *Maroſtique*: not that they had offended, but that with the ſubſtances of thoſe wretched people they might nouriſh the army as well as they could, wherein the payes did faile, for that *Cæſar* was alwayes preſſed with his accuſtomed difficulties, the King of *Aragon* was not able alone to ſuſtaine ſo great a burden, and the Duchie of *Millan* being exceſſiuely taxed by the *Swiſſers*, could not contribute to the reliefe of others. The army abode at *Vincenſa*, with great diſcommodities, by reaſon of the continuall vexations of the light horſemen, who ouerrunning day and night the whole countrey, ſtopped all traffike and paſſage of victuals, vnleſſe they were guarded with a great ſtrength, and that of neceſſitie muſt be of men at armes, for that they had but a very few light horſemen: and therfore to be out of this torment, the Biſhop of *Gurci* went to *Verona* with the Lanceknights, very much diſcontented with the Viceroy, who following him by ſmall iourneys, got into *Albero* vpon the riuer of *Adice*, where he remained certaine dayes to giue oportunitie to them of *Verona* to gather their vintage and their harueſt, the incurſions of the light horſemen not ceaſſing for all that, who tooke from the *Almaines* euen neare the gates of *Verona*, the oxen that drew the artilleries. The Viceroy had layed a former plot to beſtow the army in garriſon in the countries of *Breſſia* and *Bergamaſqua*, and at the ſame time to moleſt *Crema*, which was all that the *Venetians* held on the other ſide the riuer of *Mincia*: and that deuice being publiſhed, had made the countries thereabouts ſo ſecure, that the territories of *Padua* were ful of inhabitants and goods, which was the cauſe that the Viceroy, who had no other meanes to feed his army then by preys and pillage, altering his plot, and calling back the *Almains*, went to *Montagnana* and to *Eſte*, and from thence to the village of *Bouolento*, where after he had driuen away great flockes of cattell, the ſouldiers conſumed with fire many faire houſes that ſtood thereabout. From *Bouolento* the deſire of pillage carrying them on, and taking courage for that the *Venetian* footmen were diſtributed to the guard of *Padua* and *Treuiſa*, the Viceroy determined to approch *Venice*, but againſt the opinion of *Proſper Colonno*, who told him, it was both raſh and dangerous. Therefore after they had paſſed the riuer of *Bacquillon*, and ſacked *Pieue de Sacco*, which is a borough very populous, and full of all things, they went to *Meſtro*, and ſo to *Marguera*, which ſtandeth vpon the ſalt waters: from whence, to leaue a more honorable memory of this expedition, they diſcharged towards *Venice* ten peeces of great artillery, whoſe bullets pierced the Monaſtery of *S. Secondo*; and at the ſame time they pilled and ſpoiled all the countrey, whoſe inhabitants were fled, moſt impiouſly making warres againſt the wals: for, not content with the rich preys of cattell and other wealth, in their crueltie they burned *Meſtra*, *Marguera*, and *Liſſafuſina*, together with all the other townes and villages of the countrey, not ſparing any houſe or pallace which had any beautie or extraordinary apparence. In theſe inſolencies, the impietie of the Popes ſouldiers and the other *Italians*, was not the leaſt, but ſo much the greater by how much it was more infamous in them then in the forreiners, to vſe crueltie againſt the magnificence and ornaments of their common countrey. But they of *Venice* diſcerning within their towne the ſmoke by day, and by night the fire through the whole countrey, and hearing within their houſes the noiſe of the artillery of the enemies, which was planted for no other purpoſe then to increaſe their ignominie, were touched in their minds with great indignation and ſorrow, ſuch a change of fortune ſeeming to euery one hard and grieuous, that in ſtead of ſo great glorie and ſo many victories formerly obtained

tained in *Italy* and out of *Italy* both by ſea and land, their eyes ſhould then behold a ſmall army, in compariſon of their ancient force and power, ſo boldly and contumeliouſly to offer ſuch a brauado to the name of ſo glorious a Commonweale. In regard of which indignities, the deliberations of that Senate being inforced, who till that day ſtood reſolute, what hopes ſoeuer were offered, not to tempt fortune: they now conſented, by the vehement perſwaſions of *Bartlemew Aluiano*, that reaſſembling all the ſouldiers, and ſtirring vp all the villages as well of the plaines as of the mountaines, they ſhould aſſay to ſtop the returne of the enemies: a matter which *Aluiano* ſhewed to be very eaſie, for that they being raſhly come ſo farre, that they were now in the middeſt betweene *Venice*, *Treuiſa* and *Padua*, and chiefly being laden with ſo great a prey, they could not retire without great danger, as well for the incommoditie of victuals, as for the impediment of riuers and hard paſſages: and now the *Spaniards* vnderſtanding of this new ſtirre, marching a good ſpace, were by this time come to *Ciuitella*, which when they ſaw they could not get, for that a ſuccour of ſouldiers were entred therein, they lodged a litle beneath neare to *Brenta*, to paſſe to the village of *Conticella*, where the riuer of *Brenta* was paſſable by foord: but they durſt not venture to paſſe ouer for feare of *Aluiano*, who was on the other ſide with his companies ranged in battell, and his artillery planted along the ſhore of the riuer, carefully looking not onely to that place, but alſo to many others: whereby, if reſiſtance had not bin made, the enemy might eaſily haue paſſed. Now it happened, that the Viceroy continuing his demonſtrations to paſſe ouer at the place below, to the which *Aluiano* had turned all his forces, he paſſed the night after without any impediment at the paſſage called the *New Croſſe*, three miles aboue *Ciuitella*, and from thence he tooke his way with great diligence to *Vincenſa*; but *Aluiano* ſeeking to ſtop his paſſage ouer the riuer of *Bacquillon*, preuented him. *Iohn Paul Baillon* and *Andrew Gritti* with a ſtrength of two hundred men at armes, and two thouſand footmen of the forces of *Treuiſa*, came and ioyned with *Aluiano* neare *Vincenſa*: and the opinion of the *Venetian* Captaines was not to fight with the enemies with banners diſplayed in open place, but guarding well the paſſages of ſtrength and places moſt conuenient, they ſhould labour to ſtop their way on what place ſoeuer they came, drawing now towards *Vincenſa*. To this end they had ſent *Iohn Paul Manfron* to *Monteſquo* with foure thouſand trained men: and to *Barberano* to hinder their paſſage in the mountains, were ſent fiue hundred light horſmē, with many other bands of the paiſants; & had alſo cauſed the country people to ſeize vpō all the paſſages ỹ led into *Germanie*, & to fortifie them with ditches, trenches, great ſtones, & trees laid thwart the wayes. *Aluiano* left *Theodor Triuulce* to guard *Vincenſa* with a garriſon ſufficient, and himſelfe with the reſidue of the armie incamped at *Olmo*, a place within two miles of *Vincenſa*, vpon the way that leades to *Verona*: which paſſage with another faſt by, was ſo choked with trenches, ditches, and artilleries planted vpon the places coming to it, that it was almoſt impoſſible to paſſe. The way towards *Verona* being thus peſtered, it was likewiſe hard for the *Spaniards* that marched along the mountaines to paſſe through the countries that were mooriſh and full of waters; and alſo difficult to take the way of the mountaine, which was narrow, and guarded by many armed men: in ſo much as being enuironed almoſt on all parts with enemies, both before, behind, and in flanke, and continually followed by great troupes of light horſemen, they could make no deliberation, which was not both difficult and very dangerous. After they had ſpent certaine time in skirmiſhing, they incamped in the beginning of the night, within halfe a mile of the place where the *Venetians* lay, and there the Captaines conſulting by night among themſelues what was beſt to be done amid ſo many difficulties and perils, they choſe as leaſt dangerous to turne their enſignes towards *Germany*, to the end to returne to *Verona* by the way of *Trent*, although for the longneſſe of the way, and the ſmall garriſon they had left there, they had almoſt an aſſured opinion that the celeritie of the *Venetians* would preuent their purpoſe. In this ſort then did they march at the dawning of the day towards *Baſſan*, turning their backes to the enemies, a matter then the which there is nothing more dreadfull or pernicious to an armie; and albeit they marched in order, yet it was with ſo ſmall hope of ſafetie, that they thought the loſſe of all their baggage and horſes of cariage, would be the leaſt harme that could happen to them. *Aluiano* was not ſo ſpeedily aware of their diſcamping without ſound of trumpet or drum, for that a thicke miſt falling that morning, tooke away the benefite of his ſight: but as ſoone as he perceiued it, he followed them with all the armie, wherein was thought to be a thouſand men at armes, a thouſand eſtradiots, and ſixe thouſand footmen, the eſtradiots vexing

them continually on all ſides, and infinite troupes of paiſants, who deſcending from the mountaines, were no litle trouble to them with their ſmall ſhot: ſo that with the danger, the difficultie to march increaſed continually, which was the more augmented by the multitude of their carriages, and the great quantitie of bootie, and for that they were driuen to paſſe through wayes ſtreight and full of ditches, which they had not had oportunitie to enlarge or make plaine with mattocks and ſpades. And yet notwithſtanding they made haſte to be gone, they forgot not to march in order, the ſame proceeding as well of the vertue of the ſouldiers, as of the carefull diligence of the Captaines: neuertheleſſe, after they had marched two miles of ſuch way with ſo great paine and trouble, they iudged it would be hard for them to hold out long in that ſort. But the enemies, by their raſhneſſe, had not the patience to expect till ſo faire an occaſion were ripe, which already was come almoſt to perfection; for *Aluiano* (according to his cuſtome) being not able to containe himſelfe, charged vpon the reareguard of the enemies guided by *Proſper Colonno*, and that not in diſorder, but with the armie ranged in battell, and with his artilleries. It was holden for more certaine, that *Aluiano* being long in preparing to the charge, *Loredano* a ruler among the *Venetians*, rebuked him with very ſharpe words, becauſe he went not to the charge, and that he gaue oportunitie to the enemies being already broken, to ſaue themſelues: which words cauſing ſo valiant a Captaine to runne headlong to the fight, in great furie he gaue the ſigne of battell. Some other affirme that *Proſper Colonno* was the cauſe of this battell, by whoſe counſell the Viceroy had rather proue the vncertaine fortune of the fight, then otherwiſe to follow ſo ſmall a hope of ſafetie. And it is ſaid further, that hauing made a ſhew that he would returne towards *Vincenſa*, *Aluiano* had cauſed to be beſtowed in the ſuburbes of *Vincenſa*, *John Paul Baillon*, with thoſe bands that were come from *Treuiſa*, and himſelfe with the reſidue of the armie was incamped at *Creatia*, within two miles of *Vincenſa*, in which place there is a litle hill where he might commodiouſly make vſe of the artillery againſt the enemies, and at the foote thereof a valley capable of a maine armie ranged in battell, but there is no way to come into it but onely by a narrow paſſage that runneth vp along the hils, and is almoſt incompaſſed with mariſhes, and that *Proſper* knowing what incommodities this place gaue to the enemies, perſwaded to ſet vpon them in that quarter. But howſoeuer it was, *Proſper* beginning reſolutely to fight, and hauing ſent to call the Viceroy which brought on the battell, and the *Spaniſh* footmen on the one ſide aduancing by the direction of the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, and the Lanceknights on the other, the *Venetian* ſouldiers being ſo furiouſly charged, not able to reſiſt their furie, betooke themſelues to flight, ſhamefully caſting downe their pikes. The footmen of *Romagna*, whoſe Colonell was *Babou Naldo* of *Briſiquello*, were the firſt that ſerued to the others as an example of cowardize and infamie. The reſidue of the armie did their endeuor as ill, no man almoſt being ſeene to fight, or once to looke his enemie in the face; and the vertue of *Aluiano* himſelfe was ſo abated by this ſo ſudden flight, that without ſtroke ſtriking he left the victory to the enemies, to whom the artilleries with al the baggage remained in prey. The footmen were ſcattred into diuers places; and for the men at armes, ſome of them fled towards the mountaine, and the reſidue ſaued themſelues in *Padua* and in *Treuiſa*, whither *Aluiano* and *Gritti* fled in like ſort. In this encounter were ſlaine *Francis Calſono*, and *Anthonie Pio* an ancient Captaine, with *Conſtance* his ſonne, *Meleager de Furly* and *Lewis de Parma*; and the fortune of *Paul de Saint Ange* was litle better, who ſaued himſelfe, though not without many wounds. The priſoners were *John Paul Baillon*, and *Iulio* the ſonne of *John Paul Manfron*, *Malateſto de Sogliano*, with many other Captaines and men of mark; and *Loredano* the *Venetian* ruler, but with a worſe fortune, for that two ſouldiers ſtriuing whoſe priſoner he ſhould be, the one of them killed him againſt all humanitie. The whole number, as well of the ſlaine as of ſuch as were taken priſoners, was about foure hundred men at armes, and foure thouſand footmen, for that many were hindred in their flight by the mariſhes. And this alſo brought them great domage in their flight, that *Theodore Triuulce* ſhut the gates of *Vincenſa*, and would receiue none, for feare leſt the Victor and the vanquiſhed ſhould enter pelmell together: ſo that many ſtriuing to paſſe further, were drowned in the next riuer, amongſt whom were *Hermes Bentiuole* and *Sacromoro Viſconte*. This was the ouerthrow that fell vpon the *Venetians* the ſeuenth day of October neare to *Vincenſa*, worthy to be remembred, both for the example it gaue to Captaines not to haue confidence touching matters of armes, in the *Italian* footmen, not experienced in pitched battels, and for that in a moment the victorie was transferred to thoſe in whom was leaſt hope of ſafetie.

The ouerthrow of the Venetian armie.

tie. This ouerthrow had put in danger either *Treuiſa* or *Padua*, notwithſtanding with the reſidue of the armie *Aluiano* was retired to the one and *Gritti* to the other, if the ſeaſon of the yeare, when raines began to fall, had not bene contrary, and the townes ſo well fortified as they were, and that the Captaines of the enemies had not bene ſo much troubled to diſpoſe to new enterpriſes the ſouldiers that were not yet payed. Neuertheleſſe, albeit the *Venetians* were afflicted with ſo many aduerſities, and confuſed with an accident ſo contrary to their hopes, yet they forbare not to prouide for thoſe Cities as well as they could, to the which, beſides other prouiſions, they ſent many yong Gentlemen, as they had bene accuſtomed to do in times of greateſt perill.

After this battell, things began to draw from armes to cogitations of peace, which was negociated with the Pope: vnto whom was gone the Biſhop of *Gurci*, principally to exhibite obedience vnto him in the name of *Cæſar* and the Archduke: being accompanied by *Francis Sforce* Duke of *Bary*, to do the like in the name of *Maximilian Sforce* his brother. And albeit the Biſhop of *Gurci* repreſented in *Italy* the perſon of *Cæſar*, as he had done at other times, yet now laying aſide his accuſtomed pompe and magnificence, he entred modeſtly into *Rome*, not wearing by the way the Cardinals Hat, which the Pope had ſent to him at *Poggibonſo*. At the coming of the Cardinall of *Gurci*, the Pope was appointed by him and the *Venetian* Embaſſadours arbitrator of all the controuerſies that were betweene *Cæſar* and their Commonweale: but it was a compromiſe rather in name and apparence, then in effect and ſubſtance; foraſmuch as neither partie would commit a matter of ſuch importance to a ſuſpected arbitrator, vntill they had ſeuerally and ſecretly receiued promiſe of him, that he would not giue vp his arbitration without their conſent. The compromiſe being ended, the Pope declared by a Brieſe, that there ſhould be a ſurceaſſing of armes betweene both the parties, the which (although it was ioyfully accepted of both the parties) was ill obſerued by the Viceroy: for that being come betweene *Montagnana* and *Eſte*, beſides that he had done nothing elſe ſince the victorie but make pillage and ouerrunne the whole countrey; and hauing ſent part of his ſouldiers to *Poleſina de Rouigna*, he committed in all thoſe places many inſolencies; ſometimes excuſing his doings, that they were the lands of *Cæſar*, and ſometimes alledging that he expected letters from the Cardinall of *Gurci*: and the end likewiſe of the compromiſe was no more happie then had bene the midſt and the beginning, by reaſon of the difficulties that fell out in the negociation of affaires. For, *Cæſar* conſented to the accord, no otherwiſe but with condition to retaine ſome of the townes, and for the other to receiue a great proportion of money: and of the contrary, the *Venetians* demanded all the townes, and offered a very ſmall ſumme of money. And it was beleeued, that the King Catholike did ſecretly diſſwade the accord, although openly he made demonſtration to deſire it, as he had formerly done: and it was ſaid, that to make it more hard, he had at the ſame time put *Breſſia* into the hands of *Cæſar*, which the Viceroy neuer would giue vp till that day, alledging that he kept it to make him more inclined to the peace. The cauſes were diuerſly coniectured, either for that hauing ſo much offended the *Venetians*, he iudged he could no more haue with them a true amitie, or for that he knew his reputation and greatneſſe in *Italy* depended of the keeping on foot the armie, which for want of money he was not able to maintaine but by racking and ranſacking the peoples that were his friends, and by ouerrunning and ſpoiling the countries of his enemies. The Pope then left the matter vnperfect: and a litle after the *Almaines*, by the helpe of the exiles and baniſhed men, tooke *Marano* vpon the ſudden, a ſeafaring towne in the country of *Friul*, and afterwards *Montfalcon*. And albeit the *Venetians* who deſired to recouer *Marano*, being within threeſcore miles of *Venice*, aſſailed it both by ſea and land, yet their fortune being all one in all places, they receiued loſſe and vexation on all ſides. Onely *Ranſe de Cere* in that time ſuſtained in ſome ſort the name and credite of their armes, to his great praiſe: who albeit there was a great plague and famine in *Crema* where he lay in garriſon, and the bands of *Spaniards* and *Millanois* being diſperſed in the townes thereabout, by reaſon of the ſeaſon of the yeare, he was at it were beſieged, he gaue a ſodaine charge vpon *Calcinaia*, a towne of the countrey of *Bergamo*, and ſtripped *Cæſar Fieramoſquo* with fortie men at armes and two hundred light horſemen of the regiment of *Proſper Colonno*: and not many daies after, being entred by night into *Quinſano*, he tooke the Lieutenant of the Count *S. Seuerin*, and ſpoiled there fiftie men at armes, and within

within *Treuy* ten men at armes of the companie of *Proſper*. At this time things went quiet enough in other places of *Italy*, ſauing that the *Adorneis* and the *Fieſquois* with three thouſand men of the countrey, and perhaps with the ſecret fauour of the Duke of *Millan*, after they had taken *Spetia* and other places of the riuer of *Leuant*, drew neare the walls of *Genes*: but things ſucceeding not well with them, they went away almoſt ouerthrowne, hauing loſt part of the men they brought thither, and certaine peeces of artillerie. There appeared alſo in *Tuſcane* certaine beginnings of new ſcandals: for, the *Florentines* began to moleſt them of *Lucques*, perſwading themſelues that for feare of the Pope they would redeeme peace by reſtoring to them *Pietraſanta* and *Mutron*, alledging that it was not conuenient that they ſhould enioy the benefite of that confederation, which they had broken in miniſtring ſecret ſuccours to the *Piſans*: whereof they of *Lucques* complained to the Pope and to the King Catholike, in whoſe protection they were; but ſeeing they found no remedie, they were at laſt contented (to auoide greater miſchiefes) to referre a compromiſe to the Pope; who hauing the like authoritie from the *Florentines*, pronounced that the *Lucquois*, who had afore rendred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Garfagnana*, ſhould leaue to the *Florentines* the places of *Pietraſanta* and *Mutron*, and that there ſhould remaine betweene them a perpetuall confederation. About the end of this yeare the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona*, which for the neceſſitie of victuals had agreed to yeeld if they were not ſuccoured in a certaine time, were deliuered into the power of the Duke of *Millan*: ſo that there remained no more that the *French* King held in *Italy*, but the Lanterne of *Genes*, which in the end of the ſame yeare the *Genowayes* aſſayed to caſt downe by mines, approching to it in a boate of thirtie cubites in length and twentie in breadth; wherein was ſtowage for three hundred men, and which was ſet round about with packes of wooll, the better to defend the ſhot: which was a matter of great art and inuention, but being brought to triall (as often it happeneth with ſuch ſtrange workes) it ſerued to litle vſe.

The end of the eleuenth Booke.

THE

THE TWELFTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THe King of England makes warre vpon the French King. Terwaine beſieged by the Engliſh, and taken by them. The Venetians recouer Friul. The Pope as arbitrator pronounceth peace betweene them and the Emperour. King Lewis the twelfth dieth. Francis the firſt cometh to the Crowne, and deſcendeth into Italy to recouer Millan. A league betweene the Emperour, the King of Spaine, the Duke of Millan and the Swiſſers againſt the French King, to whom the Pope ioyneth himſelfe.

THere hapned the ſame yeare in the regions beyond the Mounts, moſt dangerous warres, whereof I will make diſcourſe, both for the ſame reaſons, and with the ſame ſhortneſſe that I haue touched them in the narration of the yeare before. The beginning of theſe ſtirres was the reſolution which the King of *England* made to inuade that Sommer the Realme of *France*, with a maine armie both by ſea and land: to make the victorie of which enterpriſe the more eaſie, he had agreed with *Ceſar* to furniſh him of an hundred and twentie thouſand duckats, to make an entrie at the ſame time into *Burgundie* with an armie of three thouſand horſemen and eight thouſand footmen, part *Swiſſers* and part *Almaines*. He promiſed alſo to the *Swiſſers* a certaine proportion of money, to the end that they ſhould do the like being ioyned with *Ceſar* who conſented that they ſhould keepe in pawne part of *Burgundie* vntill he had fully ſatisfied them of their payes. Beſides this, the King of *England* perſwaded himſelfe that the King Catholike his father in law, adhering to the confederation betwixt *Ceſar* and him (as he had alwayes promiſed to do) would open the warre on his ſide at the ſame inſtant: by reaſon whereof, the report of the truce made by the *Engliſh* with the *French* King (although for all that the deſire to make warre was nothing diminiſhed) was ſo ill brooked not onely by him, but by all the people of *England*, that vndoubtedly the commons had violently ſlaine the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, if the Kings authoritie had not reſiſted their furie. To theſe things were added the oportunitie of the eſtate of the Archduke, not ſo much for that he letted not his ſubiects to take pay againſt the *French*, as for that he promiſed to giue ſufferance and paſſage of victuals out of his countries into the *Engliſh* armie.

Prouiſions of the French againſt the king of England.

Againſt theſe great preparations and dangerous threatnings, the *French* King forgot not to make all ſorts of prouiſion: for he furniſhed a ſtrong armie by ſea to encounter the Admirall of *England*; and by land he leuied men from all parts, labouring ſpecially to haue as great a ſtrength of Lanceknights as he could. He had alſo afore made inſtance to the *Swiſſers*, that ſince they refuſed to aide him in the warres of *Italy*, at leaſt, that they would furniſh him with footmen for the defence of the Crowne of *France*. But they being wholly ſet vpon the protection & aſſuring of the Duchie of *Millan*, gaue anſwer that they would giue him none, vnleſſe he would returne to the vnitie of the Church; and giue vp the Caſtle of *Millan*, which was not yet rendred; and that cancelling his rights and intereſts to that eſtate, he would promiſe no more to moleſt either *Millan* or *Genes*. The King likewiſe, the more to terrifie the King of *England*, and to make him looke to his owne affaires, had called into *France* the Duke of *Suffolke* as Competitor to the Crowne of *England*: in reuenge whereof the King of *England* cut off the head of his brother, who till then had bene holden priſoner in *England*, ſince the time that *Philip* King of *Caſtile*, ſailing into *Spaine*, deliuered him into the hands of the late King his father. The *French* king alſo was not without hope to haue peace with the King Catholike: for that when the King Catholike vnderſtood of the league made between the *French* king and the *Venetians*, diſtruſting much of the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, he ſent into *France* one of his Secretaries

taries to practiſe new offers: and it was beleeued, that in conſideration that the greatneſſe of *Caſar* and the Archduke might not alter his gouernment of *Caſtile*, he could not in good policie ſtand well contented with the embaſing of the Realme of *France*. Beſides this, the *French* King ſtirred vp *Iames* the King of *Scots* his ancient confederate, to make warre vpon the Realme of *England*; who being much more moued by the conſideration of his proper intereſt, for that the aduerſities of *France* were dangerous for his kingdome, he prepared himſelfe with all diligence, demanding of the *French* King no other thing then fiftie thouſand franks to furniſh munitions and victuals. The *French* King neuertheleſſe was very ſlow in making theſe prouiſions, both by his accuſtomed negligence, for that he had turned his thoughts to the enterpriſe of *Millan*, and for that he repoſed not a litle in the truce made with the King Catholike. And touching the King of *England*, he conſumed many moneths in theſe preparations, for that his ſubiects hauing bene many yeares without warres, and the maner of warfaring being much changed, their bowes and their other vſuall armes being become vnprofitable, he was conſtrained to make great prouiſions of armours, artilleries, and munitions, to leuie (as ſouldiers trained) many bands of Lanceknights, and by neceſſitie many horſes, the ancient cuſtome of the *Engliſh* being to fight on foote. For theſe cauſes the *Engliſh* armie paſſed not the ſeas afore the moneth of Iuly: and after they had bene many dayes in the champaine countrey neare to *Bolleine*, they went to incampe afore *Terwaine*, a towne ſtanding vpon the marches of *Picardie*, and in the region of thoſe peoples whom the Latins call *Morini*. The King of *England* a litle after was preſent there in perſon, who had in his whole armie fiue thouſand horſes of ſeruice, and more then fortie thouſand footmen. When the *Engliſh* who were ſo many in number were incamped, and that according to their ancient cuſtome they had enuironed their campe with trenches and carts, and had rampired it with wood, and planted it round about with artillery, that they ſeemed to be in a walled towne, they began to batter the towne of *Terwaine* in many places, and to make many mines, but their vertue being not anſwerable to ſo great preparations, nor to the fame of their hardineſſe, they forbare to giue the aſſault. The towne of *Terwaine* within was very well furniſhed with artilleries, and manned with a great ſtrength of two hundred and fiftie Lances and two thouſand footmen: which was a ſmall garriſon, but not without hope of ſuccours: for that the *French* King, who was very carefull to aſſemble his armie, which was intended to containe fiue and twentie hundred Lances, ten thouſand Lanceknights guided by the Duke of *Gueldres*, and ten thouſand footmen leuied in his owne Realme, was come to *Amiens*, to the end that by his neareneſſe he might be the readier to giue ſuccours to the beſieged, who fearing nothing but the want of victuals, for that (except of bread) they had not ſufficient prouiſion of any one nature, vexed day & night the *Engliſh* campe with the artillerie, wherewith the Great Chamberlaine of *England* was ſlaine, and one leg taken away from *Talbot* then Captaine of *Calice*. The danger of *Terwaine* troubled the King, but for that by the negligence of the *French*, and for the difficultie to leuie Lanceknights, he was long ere he began to put order to his affaires, his whole armie was not yet aſſembled, he determined (whatſoeuer happened) not to hazard to fight with the enemies, for that in loſing the battell, the whole Realme of *France* had ſtood in manifeſt danger: and for that he hoped that the Winter, which in thoſe cold climates was now at hand, would be very helpfull to him. But when his armie was aſſembled, the King remaining ſtill at *Amiens*, he ſent it forth to *Aire*, neare to *Terwaine*, vnder the gouernment of *Monſieur Longueuille*, otherwiſe called the Marquis of *Rotelin*, Prince of the bloud, and Captain of an hundred Gentlemen, and of *Monſieur de Paliſſa*, with commiſſion, that eſchuing all occaſions to attempt the battell, they ſhould ſee to the well reuictualling of the townes thereabouts, which till that time had bene ill furniſhed, by the ſame negligence; and, if they could, to put into *Terwaine* a ſuccour of men and victuals: a matter of it ſelfe very vneaſie, and yet made more hard by the ſmall agreement that was betweene the Generals, either of them attributing ſeuerally to himſelfe the whole direction and gouernment, the one for his nobilitie, and the other for his long experience in warre. Notwithſtanding thoſe within the towne, demanding a ſuccour of men, there was a ſtrength of fifteen hundred lances that aduanced to approch the towne on that ſide that was furtheſt remoued frõ the *Engliſh*: and the artilleries within beat in ſuch ſort vpon three thouſand *Engliſh* that were beſtowed at certaine paſſages to ſtop them, ẏ the reſidue of the armie being not able to reſcue them, by reaſon of certaine ouerthwart trenches and ditches caſt by thoſe of the towne, Captaine *Frontailles* got to the gate, and put into the towne

Terwaine beſieged by the Engliſh.

foure

foureſcore men at armes without horſes, as they had required: and afterwards retired with the reſidue of his companies without receiuing any harme; and he might by the ſame meanes haue put victuals into the towne, if he had carried any with him. By which experience the *French* Captaines taking courage, went another day with a great quantitie of victuals, to put them in by the ſame way. But the *Engliſh*, who doubting ſuch a thing, had raiſed a new fortification on that ſide, ſuffered them not to approch, and on the other ſide, had ſent out their horſemen and fifteene thouſand Lanceknights to cut off their way; in ſo much as being vpon their returne, and mounted vpon their litle nags to be the more at their eaſe, as ſoone as they were aſſailed, they betooke themſelues to flight without making any reſiſtance, and in that diſorder the *French* men loſt three hundred men at armes, with whom were taken priſoners the Marquis of *Rotelin*, the Captaines *Bayard* and *Fayette*, with many other men of marke: and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* was alſo taken priſoner, but he eſcaped away by chance. And it was thought that if the *Engliſh* had followed their fortune, they had that very day opened a way to be maiſters of the whole realme of *France*; for that behind, ſtood a great battell of Lanceknights which had followed the men at armes, whom if they had ouerthrowne, it had bene with ſo great domage to the *French* army, as it is certaine that the *French* King when he receiued the firſt newes, beleeuing that they had bin likewiſe broken, complaining maruellouſly, entred into ſuch deſpaire, that he was already in mind to flie into *Britany*. But the *Engliſh*, after they had giuen the chaſe to ſ horſemen, minding to take *Terwaine*, preſented the *French* enſignes and priſoners before the wals: by reaſon whereof the ſouldiers within the towne deſpairing of ſuccour, and the Lanceknights being vnwilling to endure the laſt extremitie of victuals, they agreed to leaue the towne, the horſes and liues of the ſouldiers ſaued, if they were not reſcued within two dayes. And it is not to be doubted, but their holding out for the ſpace of fiftie days, was a thing very profitable for the Realme of *France*. Not many dayes before the Emperour *Maximilian* was come in perſon into the *Engliſh* armie, reuiewing thoſe places wherein in his youth he had with ſo great glorie ouerthrowne the armie of the *French* King *Lewis* the eleuenth; and whileſt he remained in the campe, the armie was gouerned by his direction.

The ouerthrow of the French neare Terwain

Now ſo it is that the *French* King was not onely trauelled with the *Engliſh* armies, but alſo, and that with greater danger, by the *Swiſſers*, amongſt whom the vulgar ſort deſiring much that the King ſhould renounce the rights he pretended to the Duchie of *Millan*, and for as much as he did it not, their hatred redoubling towards him, they had burnt ſ houſes of many priuate perſons of *Lucerna*, whom they ſuſpected to fauour too much the affaires of the *French* King: and proceeding continually againſt all men that were noted of like ſuſpition, they had cauſed all the principals of thē, to ſweare they would put all the penſions in cōmon; & afterwards when they had taken armes by publike decree, they entred almoſt by heapes into *Burgundie*, to the number of twentie thouſand footmen, with a thouſand horſemen; and the artillerie which the Emperour gaue them; who, either according to his inconſtancie, or for iealouſie he had of them, refuſed to go thither in perſon, notwithſtanding his promiſe made as well to the King of *England* as to the *Swiſſers*, who went and incamped afore *Dyon* the chiefe towne of *Burgundie*, wherein was *Monſieur Trimouille* with a thouſand Lances and ſixe thouſand footmen: and for doubt that the *Swiſſers* had of their Captaines, who began already to conferre with the *French*, they tooke the artilleries and fell to batter the towne, of whoſe defence *Monſieur Trimouille* doubting much, had recourſe to the laſt remedies, and agreed ſuddenly with them, without expecting any commiſſion from the King, that the King ſhould be bound to renounce all the rights he had to the Duchie of *Millan*, and to pay them ſixe hundred thouſand crownes within a certaine terme: for the obſeruation of which couenant he gaue them foure hoſtages, perſons very honorable and of great condition: and the *Swiſſers* bound themſelues to no other thing then to returne to their houſes: ſo that they were not tied to remaine friends to the *French* King for the time to come, but might returne when they liſted to moleſt his kingdom. As ſoone as they were poſſeſſed of the hoſtages, they departed immediatly, alledging for their excuſe for entring into this couenant without the King of *England*, that they had not receiued in time conuenient the money which he had promiſed them. It was generally thought that this agreement was the cauſe of ſauing the whole Realme of *France*, for that *Dyon* being taken, it was in the power of the *Swiſſers* to runne without reſiſtance euen to the walls of *Paris*; and it was not vnlikely that the King of *England* paſſing the riuer of *Somme*, would haue taken the field to ioyne with them,

Riſing of the Swiſſers againſt the French king.

which the *French* could not let, for that not aboue ſixe thouſand Lanceknights being in the armie, and the Duke of *Gueldres* not yet come, they were conſtrained to keepe themſelues incloſed within townes. But the King was not a litle diſcontented herewith, complaining not a litle of *Monſieur Trimouille* for the ſumme of money he had promiſed, and much more that he had bound him to the reſignation of his rights, as an action of too great preiudice, and far vnworthy his greatneſſe and the glorie of the Crowne of *France*. For this cauſe, albeit the danger had bene great if the *Swiſſers* in their wrath had eftſoones returned to aſſaile him, yet reposing much in the approch of the Winter, and in the difficultie to reaſſemble themſelues ſo ſoone, and being withall reſolued to incurre all fortunes rather then to depriue himſelfe of his rights in that Duchie (which he loued ſo dearely,) he determined not to ratifie it: yea rather, he began to propound to them new offers, which they conſtantly reiected, with theſe threats, that if the ratification came not within a certaine time, they would cut off the heads of the hoſtages.

Terwine being taken, whereunto the Archduke layed claime by pretence of his ancient right, and the King of *England* ſaid it belonged to him, hauing gotten it by a iuſt conqueſt; *Cæſar* and he fell to this point, for the auoiding of diſcord, to caſt downe the walls to the ground, notwithſtanding it was forbidden them by the capitulations made with them of *Terwaine*. Immediatly after, *Cæſar* went from the armie, affirming by that which he had ſeene, that the *Engliſh* were raſh, and not very skilfull in matters of warre. From *Terwaine* the King of *England* went to incampe before *Tournay*, a towne very ſtrong and rich, and of great deuotion of long time to the Crowne of *France*, but ſo enuironed with the countries of the Archduke, that it was impoſſible for the *French* to reſcue it ſo long as they were not maiſters of the field. The *French* King was not a litle glad of this enterpriſe, fearing leſt they would haue paſſed further into thoſe parts of his Realme that were of more importance, which put him into no ſmall perplexities. For, notwithſtanding he had now aſſembled a mightie armie, wherein (beſides the fiue hundred Lances which he had beſtowed in garriſon in *S. Quentin*) were two thouſand Lances, eight hundred light horſemen *Albanois*, ten thouſand Lanceknights, a thouſand *Swiſſers*, and eight thouſand footmen of his owne nation: yet it was farre inferiour to the puiſſance of the *Engliſh* armie, which, by the continuall flocking of ſouldiers, was (as the report went) reſupplied to the number of foureſcore thouſand fighting men. Therefore the *French* King who had no great hope to be able to defend *Bulleine* and the reſidue of the country that is beyond the riuer of *Somme*, whither he feared leſt the *Engliſh* wold turne thẽſelues, were carefull to defend *Abeuille* & *Amiens*, & the other townes that are vpon the riuer of *Somme*, and to let them for paſſing the riuer, temporizing in that ſort, either vntill the cold ſeaſon came, or that the *Scottiſh* King (in whom he hoped much) were readie to do ſome action that might draw them from that warre, his army marching in the meane while along the riuer of *Somme*, to let the enemies from winning paſſage. It was beleeued that the perſwaſions of *Cæſar* were the cauſe of this enterpriſe of the *Engliſh*, in hope that if the towne of *Tournay* were taken, it might either then or at ſome other time diuolue into the power of his nephew, to whom it was thought it did appertaine: or elſe that it was for feare to be afflicted with want of victuals if they had bene in another place; or haply that other places whereunto they might haue gone, would be ſuccoured by the enemies. The towne of *Tournay*, which was not manned with forreine ſouldiers, and had no expectation to be ſuccoured, being battered with artilleries in many ſeuerall places, after it had made a ſmall reſiſtance, yeelded, vnder ſafetie of goods and liues: but paying an hundred thouſand duckats to free it from pillage. And fortune ſhewed her ſelfe no more fauourable to the *French* in other places, for that the *Scottiſh* King coming to battell with the *Engliſh* armie vpon the riuer of *Twede*, where the Ladie *Katherine* then Queene of *England* was in perſon, was ouerthrowne with a very great ſlaughter, ſeeing there died with him more then twelue thouſand men, and a baſtard ſonne of his, who was Archbiſhop of *S. Andrewes*, with many other Prelates and Nobles of that Realme. After which victories, about the end of October, the King of *England* leauing a ſtrong garriſon within *Tournay*, diſmiſſed his horſemen and his Lanceknights, and ſo diſpoſed himſelfe to returne into *England*, reaping no other fruite of a warre made with ſo great preparations and with ineſtimable expences then the towne of *Tourney*: for touching *Terwaine*, whoſe walls were throwne downe to the earth, it remained in the power of the *French* King. One cauſe that made the King of *England* repaſſe the ſeas, was, that the ſeaſon of the yeare

The Engliſh armie afore Tournay.

taking

taking away all oportunities to continue the warre in thoſe cold regions, he held it a matter vnprofitable to nouriſh an armie there with ſo great charges: and another was, that he thought to take order for the gouernment of the yong King of *Scots*, who was in minoritie, and the ſonne of his owne ſiſter; whither the Duke of *Albany* was likewiſe gone, who was alſo of the bloud of the ſame King.

When the King of *England* was gone, the *French* King diſmiſſed all his armie except the Lanceknights: and that becauſe he ſaw himſelfe deliuered of the care of preſent dangers, but not of the feare to fall into them againe the next yeare with farre greater difficulties. For when the King of *England* departed out of *France*, he vſed high threatnings, promiſing that he would returne thither the next Sommer: and which more is, to be no more ſo long in beginning, he began already to make new preparations for the warre. And beſides, the *French* King knew well that *Cæſar* had the ſame intention to annoy him; and feared withall leſt the King Catholike, who with ſundrie ſubtilties had excuſed himſelfe of the truce made, to the end not to alienate them wholly from him, would alſo take armes with them: whereof he had great preſumptions by the diſcourſe of a letter intercepted, wherein the King Catholike, writing to his Embaſſadour reſident with *Cæſar*, and diſcouering an intention quite contrary to his words, in which he was wont to pretend that he had an earneſt deſire to make warre againſt the Infidels, and to go in perſon to recouer *Ieruſalem*, perſwaded him that ioyning their forces together, they ſhould endeuour that the Duchie of *Millan* might be brought to *Ferdinand* their common Nephew, yonger brother to the Archduke: and admoniſhed him, that this being done, all the reſidue of *Italy* ſhould be conſtrained to obey them, and that it would be eaſie for *Cæſar*, chiefly with his aide, to make himſelfe Pope, as he had alwayes deſired ſince the death of his wife, which being obtained, he might reſigne to the vſe of the Archduke the Crowne Imperiall: and his concluſion neuertheleſſe was, that matters of ſo high nature could not be brought to perfection but with time and occaſions. Beſides this, the *French* King doubted nothing of the will of the *Swiſſers*, whom he could in no wiſe appeaſe, although he made them very faire offers: and they were of new incenſed, for that the hoſtages deliuered them by *Monſieur Trimouille*, fearing leſt for want of obſeruation in the King, they ſhould loſe their heads, were ſecretly fled into *Germanie*: ſo that it was not without cauſe that he feared leſt by the occaſion of ſo many of his other troubles, they would aſſaile preſently, or at leaſt the yeare after, the country of *Burgundie* or *Dauphiney*. Theſe difficulties were partly the occaſion that made him fall to agreement with the Pope for cauſes ſpirituall: of which agreement the principall article contained the abſolute extirpation of the Councell of *Piſa*, which was debated many moneths with very great difficulties, ſpecially for the regard of things done either with the authoritie of the ſame Councel, or againſt the authoritie of the Pope, which ſeemed very vnworthy for the Sea Apoſtolike to approue; and to reuoke them, there was no doubt but it would cauſe great confuſion: ſo that there was a delegation of three Cardinals to deuiſe of ſome meanes by the which ſuch a diſorder might be met withall. This bred alſo ſome difficultie, that it ſeemed not conuenient to grant to the King abſolution of the cenſures vnleſſe he ſued for it: whereunto the King would not condeſcend, leſt his perſon and the Crowne of *France* ſhould be noted of ſchiſme. But at laſt the King made wearie with theſe perplexities, and no leſſe vexed with the importunities of all the people of his Realme, who deſired with an vniuerſall affection to be reunited to the Church of *Rome*, being alſo much moued by the intreaties of the Queene, who neuer tooke any pleaſure in theſe controuerſies, he determined to yeeld to the will of the Pope, and not without ſome hope, that ſuch a quarrell being ended, the Pope would ſome way ioyne to his aide, whereunto with great art he ſeemed to expreſſe a good intention: although a new complaint was added to the ancient iniuries, for that the Pope had by a Brieſe commanded the *Scottiſh* King not to annoy the King of *England*. Therefore in the eighth Seſſion of the Councell of *Latran*, which was in the latter end of the yeare, the *French* agents in the name of their King & producing his cõmiſſion, renounced the Conuenticle of *Piſa*, and ſtuck to the Councell of *Latran*, with promiſe that ſixe of thoſe Prelates that were preſent at the Councell of *Piſa*, ſhould go to *Rome* to do the like in the name of the whole *French* Church, and that other Prelates ſhould alſo come to diſpute of the pragmaticall ſanction, with intention to referre themſelues to the declaration of the Councell, of which in the ſame Seſſion they obtained full abſolution of all things committed againſt the Church of *Rome*. Theſe were the actions done in *Italy*, *France* and *England*, in the yeare

a thouſand fiue hundred and thirteene.

1514. In the beginning of the yeare following, *Anne* the *French* Queene departed from this life to a better, hauing ſcarcely taſted the ioy of the vnion with the Church, ſo much by her deſired. She was a very vertuous and Catholike Queene, and for this cauſe her death was greatly lamented of all the Realme, and of her people of *Brittaine*. Now when the Realme of *France* was reduced to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, and by that meanes both the name and authoritie of the Councell of *Piſa* vtterly aboliſhed; ſome of thoſe that feared the greatneſſe of the *French* King, began to be moued, and to feare leſt his power ſhould be too much embaſed: but ſpecially the Pope, who notwithſtanding he continued in the ſame deſire that the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould not be recouered by him, yet fearing leſt the King, appalled with ſo great dangers, and calling to mind the matters of the yeare paſt, would ſuddenly fall to accord with *Caſar* (as the King Catholike continually laboured, by the conſent of *Caſar*,) and giue his daughter in mariage to one of the Nephewes of thoſe two Kings, granting her for dowrie the Duchie of *Millan*: he began to perſwade with the *Swiſſers*, that for too great hatred againſt the *French* king, they would not bring him into a neceſſitie to do a matter which ſhould be no leſſe preiudiciall to them then to him: ſpecially ſince he was not ignorant of the ill mind that *Caſar* and the King Catholike bare to them, who if they obtained the Duchie of *Millan* by vertue of accord with the *French* King, it would be a matter no leſſe dangerous to their libertie and authoritie, then to the libertie of the Church, and of all *Italy*: That they ought to perſeuer in their reſolution, not to ſuffer the *French* King to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, but withall to take heed, leſt (as it often hapneth in humane actions) by auoiding too much one extremitie, they fell not into another more hurtfull and dangerous: and that to aſſure themſelues more then was need, that that eſtate ſhould not reuert to the *French* King, they were not the cauſe to make it fall into the hands of others, with ſo much the more perill and domage to all, by how much leſſe any can be found able to withſtand them, as it happened when it was needfull to reſiſt the greatneſſe of the *French* King: That the Commonweale of the *Swiſſers* hauing exalted their name to the heauens in actions of warre by ſo many glorious and worthy victories, ſhould endeuour to make themſelues no leſſe famous by the practiſes of peace, foreſeeing by the preſent ſtate of things the dangers that were to come, and to redreſſe them by wiſedome and counſell, not ſuffering things to fall into ſuch termes that they cannot be redreſſed but by armes and valour of the hand: for as dayly experience teacheth vs, it hath often happened in warre, that the valour of men hath bene ſuffocated by the too great power of fortune: That it was a far better counſel, to moderate in ſome part the accord of *Dion*, ſpecially the King offering them greater paiments, and promiſing to make truce for three yeares with the State of *Millan*, ſo far forth as they would not conſtraine him to reſigne his intereſts: which reſignation being of greater conſequence in apparence then in effect, (for when oportunitie ſhall returne to the King to recouer it, all reſignements ſhall be no other impediment to him then he himſelf liſteth) things for that difficultie ought not to be reduced to ſo great a danger. On the other ſide, he aduiſed the *French* King with many forcible reaſons to chuſe rather the leſſer ill, to ratifie the accord of *Dion*, then to returne into the danger to haue the next Sommer ſo many enemies in his Realme: That it was the dutie of a wiſe Prince, for auoiding of the greater ill to embrace as good and profitable the election of the leſſer: and not for the auoiding one danger and diſorder, to run into another of more importance and greater infamie. For what honour could it be to him to grant the Duchie of *Millan* with ſo manifeſt a note of cowardize to his naturall enemies, who had purſued him with ſo many deceits and ſubtilties? What reſt or ſecuritie, by diminiſhing ſo much his owne reputation, to enlarge the power of ſuch as thinke vpon nothing more then to ruinate the Realme of *France*? conſidering withall that he himſelfe knew well that he could not be aſſured of any promiſe, of any faith or oath that they ſhould make vnto him, as he had found by former experience to his great harmes: That indeed it was a hard matter to reſigne his rights, but the infamie was ſo much the leſſe, by how much a ſmall writing made not his enemies more mightie: and ſince the promiſe had bene made by his ſeruants, without his conſent, it could not be ſaid that his determination had bene ſuch from the beginning; but it might be the better excuſed in the execution, being as it were conſtrained by a promiſe made by his people, or ſome keeping of his faith: beſides, that all men knew well from what danger that accord had then deliuered the realme of *France*: That he allowed well that by other

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meanes and offers he laboured to induce the *Swiſſers* to his intention: and for his part, he deſired for the ſuretie of his kingdome, that in ſome ſort there were made an agreement betweene them and him, and that he would omit no good office to induce the *Swiſſers* to be conformable to his will; but if they would be obſtinate, he exhorted him with a fatherly deuotion to obey times and neceſſitie, as well for all other regards, as not to depriue himſelfe of excuſe to depart from the alliance he had with his enemies. The King knew well that theſe reaſons were true, and yet he complained that the Pope had ſecretly mingled threats with perſwaſions: and confeſſed that it was neceſſary for him to make ſome deliberation that might diminiſh the number of his enemies; but he was reſolued rather to expoſe himſelfe to all dangers, then to renounce his rights to the Duchie of *Millan*: being incited hereunto by his Councell, and by all thoſe of his Court, to whom albeit it was grieuous any more to follow the warres in *Italy*, yet reſpecting the dignitie of the Crowne of *France*, it was farre more offenſiue to them to ſee their King ſo infamouſly conſtrained to diſclaime his rights. There was diſcerned the ſame obſtinacie in the aſſemblies of the *Swiſſers*: for notwithſtanding the King made offer to pay them foure hundred thouſand crownes preſently, and afterwards eight hundred thouſand at ſundry termes, and that the Cardinall of *Sion* with many of their principals conſidering the imminent danger if the *French* King ſhould ioyne with *Ceſar* and the King Catholike, inclined to accept thoſe conditions: yet the commons being very enuious againſt the name of *France*, and made proud by ſo many victories, were confident to defend the Duchie of *Millan* againſt all the Princes vnited together: and the authoritie of the Cardinall of *Sion* being much diminiſhed amongſt them, and their other chiefe rulers ſuſpected, by reaſon of the penſions which they were wont to receiue from the *French* King, they inſiſted obſtinately vpon the ratification of the accord of *Dyon*: and which more is, puſhed on with great raſhneſſe, they debated to enter againe into *Burgundie*, which the Cardinall of *Sion* and other Chieftaines amongſt them hindered, not with manifeſt authoritie, but indirectly, and with many ſleights, putting off that reſolution from Dyot to Dyot. Therefore the *French* King being neither offended by them, nor aſſured of them, ceaſſed not to continue with the King Catholike the practiſe of the mariage, wherein (as before) the principall difficultie was, whether the Damſell ſhould remaine in the power of her father in law, till time had made her able for the conſummation of mariage: for that if the father retained her, it ſeemed to *Ceſar* that he could in no ſort be aſſured of the effect: and the King was content to entertaine the difficulties that hapned in this action, for that he ſaw there was ſome hope that the bruite of this match (which he diligently ſpread abroad) might to his profite mollifie the minds of others, by reaſon of the intereſts they had in it. The King Catholike ſent to him *Quintaine* his Secretarie, whom he had ſent to him the yeare before about the ſame buſineſſe, and who going afterwards by his conſent to *Ceſar*, returned againe to the *French* King: at whoſe returne, to the end the difficulties of the peace might be reſolued the more commodiouſly, the King and *Quintaine* in the name of the King Catholike prolonged yet for another yeare the truce that had bene made the yeare precedent, and that with the ſame conditions that were before, whereunto was very ſecretly added, that during the truce the *French* king ſhould not moleſt the eſtate of *Millan*; in which article neither *Genes* nor *Aſt* were comprehended. This condition, which the King concealed as much as he could, the King Catholike cauſed to be proclaimed ſolemnly through all *Spaine*; a thing which made the world vncertaine which was moſt true, either the negatiue of the one, or the affirmatiue of the other. In the ſame couenant was reſerued to *Ceſar* and the king of *England*, a reſpite of three moneths to enter into the agreement; and *Quintaine* aſſured that they would both enter; which, for ſo much as concerned the king of *England* was vaine: but for *Ceſar*, the King of *Aragon* who always ſtood reſolued not to haue warre on the coaſt of *Spaine*, had perſwaded him that there was no better meane to compaſſe the mariage that was ſollicited. This prorogation of the truce aggrauated the Popes ſuſpition, that betweene theſe three Princes was either already made, or at a point to be made, ſome concluſion of greater things to the harme of *Italy*: and yet for all that, not going from his firſt opinions, that it would be a matter very hurtfull to the common libertie to ſuffer the Duchie of *Millan* to come into the power of *Ceſar* and the King Catholike, and no leſſe dangerous that it ſhould be recouered by the *French* king, he found it a hard matter for him to proceed and ſo to ballance things, that the meanes which were helping to one of his intentions ſhould not be hurtfull to the other, ſince one of the dangers came of the emba-

ſing and the feare, and the other of the greatneſſe and ſuretie of the *French* King. Therefore to deliuer the King from any neceſſitie to agree with them, he continued to perſwade the *Swiſſers* (to whom the truce that was made was ſuſpected) that they had reaſon to compound with him: and to the end to make the deſcent of the King into *Italy* in all euents more hard, he tooke more paines then euer he did to agree *Cæſar* with the Senate of *Venice*, who iudging that to make truce, would be to aſſure the matters of *Cæſar* in the townes that remained to him, ſtood reſolued with conſtancie of mind, either to make an abſolute peace, or to continue the warre, not giuing ouer ſo honorable a reſolution for any accident or miſhap whatſoeuer. For, beſides ſo many vnhappie ſucceſſes which they had in the warre, and the deſpaire that for that yeare the *French* king would ſend no army into *Italy*, hauing alſo againſt them either the anger of heauen, or the caſuall accidents which depend vpon the power of fortune, a great fire kindled in the night in *Venice*, in the beginning of the yeare, at the bridge *Rialto*, which being carried by the violence of the North winds, notwithſtanding all the diligence and trauell of men, continued a long time, and conſumed the moſt rich and populous part of that Citie.

But the Pope ſhewing ſuch forwardneſſe to haue them accorded, he was made arbitrator betweene them, with large and vnlimited power, and reſtrained to no time, and yet with a ſecret promiſe ſubſigned vnder his hand, to pronounce nothing but by the conſent of both the parties: and when the compromiſe was made, he commanded both the one and the other by a Briefe, to ſurceaſſe from armes, which was ſlenderly obſerued by the *Spaniards* and *Almaines*, for that thoſe companies of *Spaniards* which were in garriſon at *Poleſina* and in *Eſte*, made pillage of the whole countrey thereabout, and the Viceroy ſent men to *Vincenſa*, to the end to be in poſſeſſion at the time when the ſentence ſhould be giuen. Moreouer, Captaine *Frangipan* did many harmes in the countrey of *Friul*, and the *Venetians* not ſtanding vpon their guard, the Lanceknights, by an intelligence with certaine baniſhed men, tooke *Marano* a towne in *Friul* neare to *Aquilea*, and ſeated vpon the ſea; by reaſon whereof the *Venetians* ſent thither by land *Baltazar Scipion* with a certaine number of ſouldiers, and *Ierome Sauorgnano* with many other bands of the countrey people, who being there incamped, and holding the towne ſtrait by the army at ſea, there came to the ſuccours thereof fiue hundred *Almaine* horſemen, and a regiment of two thouſand footmen: by reaſon of whoſe coming, thoſe that were within the towne iſſuing out to aſſaile the *Venetian* companies, they put them to flight with a great ſlaughter and the loſſe of their artillery, beſides that with certaine ſhips they tooke from them a galley with many other veſſels. After this victory the *Almaines* tooke *Monſalcon* by force: and not many dayes after, foure hundred horſemen and twelue hundred Lanceknights that had bene at *Vincenſa*, came and vnited to them of *Marano*, who ioyning with the other bands of horſemen and footmen newly come into *Friul*, ouerranne the whole countrey. By reaſon of which oppreſſions, *Malateſta de Sogliano* Gouernor of that region with ſixe hundred horſemen and two thouſand footmen, together with *Ierome Sauorgnano* and two thouſand of the countrey men, who were now withdrawne into *Vdine*, ſeeing they were not able to make reſiſtance, paſſed to the other ſide of the riuer *Liquenza*, giuing ſuccours where they could. But the *Almaines* being deuided into two armies, one part of them tooke *Feltro*, and ouerranne all the countrey thereabout: and it came to paſſe that the *Venetians* that commanded all the paſſages, charged certaine bands of them at *Baſſano*, where they kept no guard; and albeit they were not ſo many in number, yet they put them to flight, and ſlue three hundred footmen of the fiue hundred that were there, and tooke priſoners many ſouldiers and two Captaines. The other part of the *Almaines* was gone to incampe at *Oſopo*, ſtanding vpon the top of a ſharpe mountaine, and after they had battered the Caſtle with their artilleries, and giuen many vaine aſſaults, they hoped to carry it by ſiege, being aſſured that thoſe within wanted water: but the benefite of heauen hauing remedied that want, for that there fell at that time ſundry great ſhowers, they began againe to giue the aſſault, but in vaine, ſo that deſpairing to get it, either by aſſault or by ſiege, they raiſed their campe. Theſe things were not a litle grieuous to the Pope, but that which troubled him more, was, that he could find no meanes of agreement to content both the parties: for that becauſe of the continuall variation of things, the hopes changing according to the ſucceſſe of the ſame, it fell out that when *Cæſar* had conſented to leaue *Vincenſa* keeping ſtill *Verona*, the *Venetians* refuſed vnleſſe they might be poſſeſſed of *Verona*: and when the *Venetians*, much embaſed by their calamities, would be contented with *Vincenſa* onely, *Cæſar* on the other

ſide,

ſide, not ſatisfied with *Verona*, required *Vincenſa* alſo. The Pope being wearied with theſe difficulties, and ſuppoſing that his declaration would not be accepted, yet to ſhew that it was not long of him that they were not reconciled, he pronounced a peace betweene them, with this clauſe, that armes ſhould preſently be layed downe on all ſides; reſeruing to himſelfe power to declare within a yeare the conditions of the peace: wherein, as alſo in the ſurceaſſing of armes, the King Catholike ſhould be comprehended: That *Cæſar* ſhould put *Vincenſa* into his hands; and all whatſoeuer either he or the *Spaniards* poſſeſſed in the countries of *Padua* and *Treuiſa*: and that the *Venetians* ſhould do the like for *Crema*: and touching other things, euery one ſhould hold what he poſſeſſed vntill the publication: That either partie ſhould ratifie his ſentence within a moneth, and vpon the ratification the *Venetians* to pay to *Cæſar* fiue and twentie thouſand duckats, and as much more within three moneths next after: and that if both the parties did not ratifie, the ſentence ſhould be of none effect. He choſe this vnaccuſtomed maner of iudgement, not to diſpleaſe either ſide. And becauſe there was no man that had power to ratifie for the King Catholike, although his Embaſſadour gaue aſſurance of his conſenting, he reſerued to either partie ſo much time to ratifie, as the commiſſion ſo to doe might conueniently be ſent. But the *Venetians* being reſolute not to ratifie it at all, (for they deſired that at the ſame time the conditions of peace might be pronounced) the ſentence tooke no effect. At this time the affaires of the *Venetians* ſtood in good caſe touching the defence of *Crema*, which was afflicted within with the plague and famine, and without with the campe of the enemies: for *Proſper Colonno* was come on the one ſide to *Efenenguo* with two hundred men at armes, two hundred and fiftie light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen: and on the other ſide *Siluio Sauello* was come to *Vmbriano* with his companie of horſemen and two thouſand footmen, both the places being not aboue two miles diſtant from *Crema*, from whence the ſouldiers made many ſallies to skirmiſh with the enemies: who as they were in their lodgings at *Vmbriano*, miſdoubting nothing, *Ranſe de Cere* with part of the companies that were within *Crema*, iſſued out one night, and aſſailing them in their lodgings, put them to flight, and ſlue many of their footmen; by reaſon whereof *Proſper* retired with his companies: and not many dayes after, occaſion being offered to *Ranſe* to paſſe the riuer of *Adda* by foord, by reaſon of the lowneſſe of the water; hauing drawne ouer his companies at *Chaſtillon de Lodigiano*, he ſtripped fiftie men at armes that lay there, winning ſuch reputation by theſe happie and induſtrious enterpriſes, that by an vniuerſall conſent he was now eſteemed for one of the principall Captaines in all the regions of *Italy*. Then the *Venetians* reſolued to proceed to the recouering of *Friul*, to which purpoſe they ſent thither *Aluiano* with two hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and ſeuen hundred footmen: who marching along the high way of *Portonon*, where lay part of the *Almaines*, his light horſemen that ſcoured before, met without the towne with Captaine *Riſſan* an *Almaine*, with two hundred men at armes, and three hundred light horſemen, and coming to blowes with him, were repulſed: but *Aluiano* coming to their reſcue with the reſidue of his companies, there began a furious combat, the iſſue whereof was doubtfull, vntil Captain *Riſſan* being wounded in the face, was taken priſoner by *Malateſta de Sogliano*. The ſouldiers of *Riſſan* being ouerthrowne, retired into *Portonon*; but fearing they ſhould not be able to defend it, they fled from thence, abandoning the towne, which immediatly was put to ſacke, and many of the countrey men ſlaughtered. After this *Aluiano* tooke the way to *Oſopo*, which *Frangipan* had newly beſieged with the other part of the *Almaines*, who hearing of the coming of *Aluiano*, raiſed their ſiege, but the light horſemen charging them vpon the taile, they loſt their baggage and artilleries. By reaſon of which ſucceſſe, almoſt all the whole country being reduced to the obedience of the *Venetians*, *Aluiano* when he had in vaine aſſayed to get *Goritia*, returned with his companies to *Padua*; hauing either ſlaine or taken priſoners (as he himſelfe certified to *Rome*) two hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen. But by reaſon of his departing, the nimber of the *Almaines* being increaſed, they tooke againe *Cremonio* and *Monfalcon*, and conſtrained the *Venetians* to breake vp their ſiege from before *Marano*, where not many dayes before Captaine *Frangipan* had bene taken by ambuſh, and lefte priſoner to *Venice*: for the *Venetians* perceiuing ſupplies to arriue, brake vp from thence in diſorder, and as it were diſcomfited: and a litle after their eſtradiots being put to flight, *Iohn Vittorio* their Agent was taken with an hundred horſemen: and ſuch alterations hapned oftentimes in *Friul*, by the neighborhood of the *Almaines*, who vſed in that

The Popes ſentence touching the controuerſies betweene Cæſar and the Venetians.

quarter no other ſouldiers then ſuch as were commanded, and who hauing ouerrunne and pilled the country, as ſoone as they perceiued the coming of the *Venetian* regiments (with whom many of the countrey ioyned) they retired immediatly to their houſes, returning againe as occaſion ſerued. The *Venetians* ſent thither a new ſupply of companies; by reaſon whereof the Viceroy gaue order, that *Alarcon* Captaine of the *Spaniſh* companies that lay betweene *Eſte*, *Montagnana* and *Cologna*, ſhould go to *Friul* with two hundred men at armes, an hundred light horſemen, and fiue hundred footmen: but vnderſtanding by the way that a truce was made in the countrey by reaſon of the harueſt, he brake off his purpoſe, and returned from whence he came.

The hopes of the French king.

Thus the warres of *Italy* proceeding ſlowly, the practiſes of peace and agreement were not diſcontinued: for the *French* king being not altogether depriued of hope that the *Swiſſers* would conſent to receiue recompence of money in place of reſignation of his rights, ſent to ſolicite them in that point with great inſtance. But the Communalties ſhewed themſelues ſo farre eſtranged, that after they had compelled with many threatnings the Gouernour of *Geneua* (when the hoſtages were fled) to deliuer them as priſoner the Preſident of *Grenoble*, whom the King had ſent to that Citie to negociate with them, they examined him with many torments, to know whether any of their nation receiued any penſions, or entertained ſecret intelligence with the *French* king: wherein no humanitie nor iuſtification could ſuffice to ſtop their barbarous crueltie. And alſo, the *French* king was not without ſuſpition, that the Pope (who for the diuerſitie of his plots and intentions, was conſtrained to ſaile with great warineſſe amongſt ſo many rockes) would ſecretly worke the *Swiſſers* not to couenant with him without his mediation: not to ſtirre them vp to make war, for he diſſwaded them from it as much as he could, but to remaine firme in the accord of *Dion*; or elſe for feare leſt with this beginning they might become eſtranged from him. Therefore the King threatned that he would ſpeedily come to accord with the reſidue, for that he alone would not ſtand expoſed to the battery of the whole world: and withall he was wearie of the intollerable expences and inſolencies of ſouldiers; for that hauing called into *France* twentie thouſand Lanceknights, whom he could not haue all together but when the King of *England* lay before *Tournay*, he would not ſend them backe againe, but retained them in *France*, to haue them readie hereafter in due time, if it ſhould be needfull: but they did infinite harmes in the countrey, and the King complained for that the Pope was vnwilling to haue them in *Italy*, and the other Princes to haue them in *France*. In theſe difficulties, and in ſo great confuſion of affaires, the matter that began to open to the *French* king the way to ſuretie and hope to returne to his former power and reputation, was, the incredible diſcontentment of the King of *England*, for the renouation of the truce which his father in law had made, contrary to that which he had ſo often promiſed him, to make no contract with the *French* king without his conſent: for complaining publikely hereof, and proteſting that this was the third time that his father in law had deceiued him, he began more and more to eſtrange his mind from the renewing of the warre againſt the *French*. Which being come to the knowledge of the Pope, he began to worke with the Cardinall of *Yorke*, to perſwade his King, that contenting himſelfe with the glorie he had gotten, and remembring what correſpondencie of faith he had found in *Cæſar*, in the King Catholike, and the *Swiſſers*, he would forbeare to trouble any more with armes the Realme of *France*: which he did, either for a feare he had that the *French* king (in caſe the King of *England* ſhould moleſt him) would make peace and affinitie with *Cæſar* and the King Catholike, as he alwayes threatned: or for that he thought that peace enſuing betweene them in what ſort ſoeuer, it were good for him interpoſing himſelfe, to winne ſome fauour with the *French* king in an action which was not in his power to let. It is moſt certaine, that when the Pope was told that the *French* king would take armes againſt the Duchie of *Millan*, when he ſhould be aſſured of the King of *England*, his anſwer was, that he knew well enough the eſtate of that danger, but on the other ſide was to be conſidered the perill that might grow of the diuiſion of thoſe Kings; and that in a matter of ſo great importance it was hard to ballance things ſo perfectly, and to find a counſel wholly cleare from theſe dangers: That in all euents the *Swiſſers* would defend the Duchie of *Millan*: and that it was neceſſary in deliberations ſo vncertaine and difficult, to referre ſomething to the arbitrement of aduenture and fortune. Howſoeuer it was, either by the authoritie of the Pope, or by the proper inclination of the parties, there began immediatly a practiſe of accord betweene

Treaty of peace betweene England & Fráce

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the King of *England* and the *French* king: the motions wherof were begun by the Pope with the Biſhop of *Yorke*, and with diligence carried into *England*, whither for that buſineſſe the King ſent the Generall of *Normandie*, but vnder colour to treate for the deliuerie of the Marquis of *Rothelin*: at whoſe arriuall there was proclaimed a ſurceaſſing of armes by land onely betweene both the Kings, for ſo long time as the Generall ſhould remaine in *England*. The King of *Englands* inclination to peace was increaſed by the occaſion of new iniuries: for *Cæſar* who had promiſed not to ratifie without him the truce made by the King Catholike, ſent notwithſtanding to the ſame King the inſtrument of ratification, ſo that by a letter which he wrote to the *French* king, he ratified in the name of *Cæſar*, and retained the inſtrument, the better to vſe his artificiall ſemblances and ſubtilties. The negociation being begun betweene the two Kings, the Pope who deſired to purchaſe grace with them both, ſent by poſt to the *French* king the Biſhop of *Tricaro*, to offer him all his authoritie and meanes, who paſſed into *England* by the conſent of the ſaid King for the ſame end. At the beginning of this practiſe there fell out many difficulties, for that the King of *England* demanded *Bulleine* in *Picardie*, and a great ſumme of money: but at laſt all the differences falling vpon the towne of *Tournay*, for that the King of *England* would retaine it, and the *French* king obiected ſome difficultie; the King of *England* diſpatched in poſt to the *French* king the Biſhop of *Tricaro*, whom he charged, without imparting wherein particularly conſiſted the difficultie, to declare to the King from him, that in regard of ſo great a benefite, he ſhould not ſtand vpon ſo many ſubtle difficulties. Whereupon the *French* king, becauſe he would not do wrong to his Crowne, nor diſcontent his people, for that *Tournay* was a noble Citie, and very loyall to the Crowne of *France*, cauſed the matter to be debated in full Councell, wherein were aſſiſtant all the principals of his Court, who aduiſed him with one voice to embrace peace, yea vnder the condition offered: although at the ſame time the king Catholike did what he could to breake it, making the King many offers, and ſpecially to miniſter to him any fauour in the conqueſt of the Duchie of *Millan*. Then the anſwer being returned into *England*, that the *French* king ſtood contented with the matter of *Tournay*, the peace ſucceeded, and was concluded in the beginning of Auguſt betweene the two kings during their liues, and for one yeare after their death, vpon condition that *Tournay* ſhould remaine to the king of *England*, to whom the *French* king ſhould pay ſixe hundred thouſand crownes, which ſhould be diſtributed in ſuch ſort, that the *French* king ſhould make paiment of an hundred thouſand Frankes euery yeare, till the full paiment was ſatisfied: That they ſhould be bound to defend the eſtate one of another with ten thouſand footmen, if warre were made by land, but with ſixe thouſand onely if the warre were made by ſea: That the *French* king ſhould be bound to ſerue the king of *England* in all his affaires with twelue hundred Lances, and the king of *England* likewiſe to miniſter to his ſeruices with ten thouſand footmen, at the expences of him that ſhall haue need of the men. Each of them named the *Scottiſh* king, the Archduke, and the Empire: but *Cæſar* and the king Catholike were not named. The *Swiſſers* alſo were named, but with a condition, that whoſoeuer would defend againſt the *French* king, the eſtate of *Millan*, *Genes* or *Aſt*, ſhould be excluded out of the nomination. This peace which was made with a wonderfull readineſſe, was confirmed by the marriage of the king of *Englands* ſiſter with the *French* king, vnder condition that he ſhould acknowledge to haue receiued foure hundred thouſand crownes for her dowrie. Their betrothing was ſuddenly made in *England*, where the king Catholikes Embaſſadour was not in preſence, for the great hatred the king of *England* bare to the king his maiſter: and this peace was ſcarcely concluded and eſtabliſhed when there came to the Court of *France* the inſtrument of ratification which *Cæſar* had made of the truce, together with his commiſſion and the king Catholikes, for concluſion of the mariage that was ſolicited betweene *Ferdinand d'Auſtrich* and the ſecond daughter of *France*, not yet foure yeares of age. But that practiſe vaniſhed preſently by reaſon of the peace that was eſtabliſhed: and the *French* king the better to ſatisfie the king of *England*, gaue order that the Duke of *Suffolke* Captaine generall of the Lanceknights that were in his pay, ſhould depart out of the Realme of *France*, whoſe departure notwithſtanding was without any diſcontent, by reaſon of the honour and good entertainment the king gaue him. Moreouer at this time the Pope had made new alliances, for that according to his diſſimulations, he wiſhed on the one ſide that the *French* king ſhould not recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, and on the other ſide he ſought to entertaine the King and the other Princes as much as he could with

The Fr. king maried the Lady Maria ſiſter to the king of England.

ſundry

ſundry deuices. Therefore he had propounded to the King, by the Cardinall *de S. Seuerin*, who managed his affaires in the Court of *Rome*, that ſeeing the times permitted not that there might be made betweene them a more great and open alliance, yet at leaſt there might be layed a beginning and foundation, whereupon it might be hoped that at another time they might come to make a more ſtraite amitie: and to theſe ends he ſent him a draught of the articles. Which practiſe notwithſtanding the *French* king made demonſtration to like well of, yet for that he did not anſwer ſo ſpeedily as was expected, (for he was fifteene dayes in reſoluing, either by reaſon of other impediments, or for that he expected ſome anſwer from another place, to the end to proceed according to the traine of affaires) the Pope entred into new capitulations for a yeare with *Cæſar* and the king Catholike, wherein neuertheleſſe was comprehended no other matter then the defence of their common eſtates: for the king Catholike was entred afore, not without cauſe, into ſuſpition that he aſpired to the Realme of *Naples* for *Iulian* his brother, about which matter he had already entertained ſome practiſe with the *Venetians*. Now this new confederation was ſcarcely concluded and eſtabliſhed when the *French* kings anſwer came, whereby he approued all that the Pope had propounded, with this addition onely, that ſince he was to bind himſelfe to the protection of the *Florentines*, of *Iulio de Medicis* his brother, and *Laurence* his Nephew, whom the Pope had aduanced to the adminiſtration of the affaires of *Florence*, he deſired that they likewiſe ſhould reciprocally be bound to his defence. Which anſwer being receiued, the Pope excuſed himſelfe touching the action of capitulation with *Cæſar* and the king Catholike, that ſeeing he deferred ſo long to make anſwer to a demand ſo reaſonable, he could not but enter into ſome doubt: and yet the confederation was but for a ſhort time, and contained no matter preiudiciall to him, nor that might hinder the perfection of the practiſe begun betweene them: which iuſtifications being accepted by the King, they paſſed the couenant betweene them, not by inſtrument authentike (to the end to keepe it the more ſecret) but by a writing ſubſigned by both their hands.

The peace between the king of *England* and the *French* king, being more ſuddenly and more eaſily made then was expected, (for it was thought impoſſible that ſo great hatred ſhould ſo ſoone be conuerted into amitie and alliance) was haply not very plauſible to the Pope, who, as well as others, was perſwaded, that there might grow betweene them rather a truce then a peace, or at leaſt if peace were made, it would intangle the King with harder conditions, or at leaſt with obligation not to aſſaile the Duchie of *Millan* for a certaine time. But it brought incredible diſcontentment to *Ceſar* and the king Catholike, who (as there is no euill in humane actions which hath not ioyned with it ſome good) aſſured notwithſtanding that he receiued by it in his mind two contentments: the one, for that the Archduke his Nephew being out of hope to giue his ſiſter for wife to the *French* king, and entring withall into diſtruſt of the king of *England*, would be now compelled to do nothing without his counſell and authoritie: the other, that the *French* king now ſtanding in good poſſibilitie of children, the ſucceſſion of *Monſieur d'Angouleſme* was put in doubt, to whom he bare no litle hatred, for that he nouriſhed a great deſire to reſtore the king of *Nauarre* to his eſtate. The *Swiſſers* onely gaue out, that they were all glad of that accord, notwithſtanding they retained againſt the *French* king the ſame hatred they did before: the reaſon hereof was, for that it was thought that the *French* king being now at libertie, would make warre in the Duchie of *Millan*, by which meanes they ſhould haue a new occaſion to declare to all the world their vertue and fidelitie. And indeed it was not to be doubted, that the *French* king, being now deliuered almoſt of all feare to haue warre at home, would not be touched with his old deſire to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*: but it was vncertaine whether he would preſently diſpoſe himſelfe to armes, or deferre it to the yeare following, for that the occaſion was preſent, but there was diſcerned no ſigne of preparations. In which vncertainty the Pope, although it was very grieuous vnto him that the King ſhould recouer that eſtate, ſtirred him vp notwithſtanding not to deferre, nor to loſe the preſent occaſions: giuing him to vnderſtand, that all things were ill prepared to make reſiſtance, for that the *Spaniſh* armie was diminiſhed and ill payed, the peoples of *Millan* very poore and reduced into deſpaire, and there was none that was able to aduance money to make the *Swiſſers* march: which perſwaſions carried the greater force and authoritie, for that a litle before the peace was made with the king of *England*, the Pope expreſſing a deſire that the *French* king ſhould recouer *Genes*, had giuen him a certaine hope to induce *Octauian Fregoſo* to compound with him.

Aſſu-

Assuredly the Pope in this action proceeded not with sincerities and good meaning, and it was beleeued, that that which moued him was, that seeing all things ill prepared, and doubting lest the *French* king would make that expedition without his counsell, since he had his men at armes in readinesse, and many leuies of Lanceknights, he would by this deuice preuent and winne his friendship: or else (wherein he proceeded with greater subtiltie) he was induced by the knowledge he had that the affirmation of the Emperour and the king Catholike, that it was not lawfull for the *French* king to inuade the Duchie of *Millan*, was true, although the *French* king denied it, auouching that he was not forbidden to take arms against the estate of *Millan* during the truce: and therefore perswading himselfe that the King would not enter into the enterprise, he purposed to expresse to him a good disposition of his will, and that that should serue him for an excuse, if another time he required succours of him: and the matter succeeded according to his opinion. For, the King hauing resolued, either for that cause, or for his present necessitie of money, or else for the neareneſſe of the Winter, not to enter into armes afore the Spring time, and making shew that he was confident, that at that time also the Popes fauour would not faile him; in his answer to the Pope, he alledged many excuses touching his deferring, but alwayes passing ouer with silence that of the truce yet enduring, which perhaps was the principall. Neuertheleſſe he had a desire to assay if he could get *Genes*, or at least succour the Lanterne, which the same yeare by his direction had bene reuictualled many times with certaine proportions of victuals by sundry small vessels, who making as though they wold enter the port of *Genes*, drew neare to it by stealth. But at last the extremitie of victuals was such, that that fortresse being no longer able to temporize and expect succours, the garrison within was constrained to yeeld it vp to the *Genowais*, who rased it to the ground, a matter not a litle displeasing to the King. The losse of the Lanterne tooke wholly from the King all cogitations for the present to make warre against the *Genowais*, but he turned all his thoughts to make preparations to assaile the Duchie of *Millan* the yeare following, hoping withall, that the Pope, both for the deuout intention he protested, and for the good disposition he had shewed in the negociations with the king of *England* and the *Swissers*, and also for that he had prouoked him to the enterprise, would ioyne with him and fauour the action; the rather for that he had made him great offers, and particularly had promised to aide him to recouer the Realme of *Naples*, either for the Church, or for *Iulio* his brother: but there hapned new occasions, for the which the king began to enter into some distrust of him. The Pope would neuer put an end to the affaires that the Duke of *Ferrara* had with him, notwithstanding in the beginning of his Popedome, he had giuen him many faire hopes at *Rome*, promising to render to him *Reggia*, at such time as his brother the Cardinall should be returned from *Hungaria*: but when he was returned, he alwayes vsed delayes with many excuses: and yet he forbare not to confirme to him the selfe same promises, not onely with words, but by a Briefe, and also consented that he should take the reuenues of *Reggia*, as of a thing which was presently to returne vnder his dominion, although indeede his intention was farre otherwise, for a desire which he had to occupie *Ferrara*; whereunto he was much incited by *Albert de Carpi Cæsars* Embassadour and great enemie to the Duke, as also by many others, who set before his eyes the glorie of *Iulio*, which would be perpetuall, for that he had so greatly augmented the dominion of the Church: and sometimes they proposed vnto him the occasion to bestow an honorable estate vpon *Iulio* his brother, who thirsting after too great things, and nourishing himselfe with hopes immoderate, had voluntarily consented that his nephew *Laurence* should retaine at *Florence* the authoritie of the house of *Medicis*. The Pope then following this counsell, obtained of *Cæsar*, who was alwayes needie of money, to deliuer to him in morgage the Citie of *Modena* for fortie thousand duckats, according to the capitulation made with him a litle afore the death of the late Pope; purposing to vnite that Citie to *Reggia*, *Parma* and *Plaisance*, and to giue them in Vicarship or in perpetuall gouernment to *Iulio*, and to adde thereto *Ferrara*, if euer the occasion serued him to get it. This maner of morgaging put the *French* king into great suspition, for that in his conceit it carried a manifest signe of straight alliance with *Cæsar*, and he was discontent that the Pope had giuen him money: whereof notwithstanding the Pope excused himselfe, alledging that *Cæsar* had deliuered *Modena* to him for assurance of the money which he had receiued of him afore. And that which augmented the kings suspition, was, that the Prince of the *Turkes* hauing obtained a great victory against the *Sophie* king

The Lanterne of Genes rased by the people.

king of *Perſia*, the Pope, as in a matter dangerous for all Chriſtians, wrote letters to all the Princes, whereby he aduiſed them to lay downe arms among themſelues, and to turne them againſt the common enemies of the faith. But the matter that almoſt altogether diſcloſed vnto him his purpoſe, was, that he ſent vnder the ſame pretence to *Venice*, *Peter Bembo* his Secretarie, who was afterwards a Cardinall, to diſpoſe that State to agree with *Cæſar*, wherein the ſame difficulties continuing that had bene before, the *Venetians* would not conſent, but declared vnto the *French* king the occaſion of his coming: by reaſon whereof the King (being diſcontent that the Pope ſought to depriue him of his ſuccours at a time when he was ſo ready to aduance armes) renewed eftſoones with the King Catholike the ancient practiſes, either to the end the Pope ſhould be touched with that feare, or at leaſt if he were careleſſe, to conclude abſolutely: ſo hote was he aboue all other things, in the recouery of the Duchie of *Millan*.

Emotions againſt the Venetians, and of the Venetians.

In theſe times there was not in *Italy* any other war then againſt the *Venetians*, againſt whom were raiſed many ſecret ambuſhes and conſpiracies: for (if that which the *Venetians* haue left in writing be true) certaine *Spaniſh* footmen being entred *Padua*, vnder colour that they were fled from the campe of the enemies, ſought to kill *Aluiano*, by direction of their Captains, who hoped, by approching *Padua* on a ſudden, which would be in trouble and diſorder for the death of ſuch a Captaine, to take it eaſily: ſo different at this day are the ſtratagemes of warre from the vertue of the ancients, who would haue bene ſo farre from ſuborning any man to do ſuch a wicked act, that of the contrary if any ſuch thing came to their knowledge, they would lay it open to the enemie, whom they eſteemed themſelues able to vanquiſh by their valour: but the conſpiracie being detected, the Magiſtrates cauſed ſuch varlets to die the death they had deſerued. The *Spaniſh* armie, being now well diminiſhed in numbers, lay incamped betweene *Montagnana*, *Cologna* and *Eſte*: and the *Venetians*, to conſtraine them to returne to the kingdome of *Naples*, prepared an armie by ſea, whereof they made *Andrew Gritti* their Captaine generall, with intention to inuade *Powilla*: but for many difficulties that happened, that expedition went no further. Afterwards the *Spaniards* came to the Tower neare *Vincenſa*, by the perſwaſion of the *Almaines* that were within *Verona*, to the end to ioyne with them to ſpoile the corne of the *Paduans*. But after the *Spaniards* had in vaine expected them many dayes in that place, becauſe they were reduced to a very ſmall number, and could not accompliſh the promiſes for the which they had called them, they left off their purpoſe to ſpoile the corne: and after they had got of the *Almaines* fifteene hundred footmen, they marched with ſeuen hundred men at armes, ſeuen hundred light horſemen, and three thouſand and fiue hundred *Spaniſh* footmen, to incampe before *Ciuitella*, wherein were three hundred light horſemen. Being come thither within two houres after day light (for they marched all night with great diligence) they began preſently to batter it with their artilleries, and carried it the ſame day at the ſecond aſſault, taking priſoners all the light horſemen that were there, and ſo returned to their firſt lodging within three miles of *Vincenſa*, *Aluiano* not ſtirring at all: who for that he had receiued commandement from the Senate not to fight, lay incamped vpon *Brenta* with ſeuen hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and ſeuen thouſand footmen, in a ſtrong place, from whence he continually troubled the enemies with his light horſemen. Neuertheleſſe a litle after, to the end to put his armie into a place of more ſuretie, he retired to *Barſillon* almoſt afore the gates of *Padua*. But the whole countrey being ſpoiled and waſted by the pillages that were made by both the armies, the *Spaniards* hauing want of victuals, retired to their firſt lodgings from whence they were come, leauing abandoned the Citie of *Vincenſa* and the Rocke of *Brendola*, which is about ſeuen miles from *Vincenſa*: and relieued themſelues with no other ſubſidies or paiments, then with the taxations which they impoſed vpon *Verona*, *Breſſia*, *Bergama*, and other places thereabouts. The *Spaniards* being retired, *Aluiano* beſtowed himſelfe with the armie betweene *Batallia* and *Padua*, in a very ſtrong place: and there, vnderſtanding that there was within *Eſte* a very ſmall and negligent garriſon, he ſent thither by night foure hundred horſemen and a thouſand footmen, who being entred afore they were diſcerned, tooke foure ſcore light horſemen of Captaine *Coruera*, who ſaued himſelfe in the Caſtle; and ſo retired to the armie. But the *Venetians* hauing ſent to the armie freſh bands of ſouldiers, *Aluiano* drew neare to *Montagnana*, and preſented battell to the Viceroy, who refuſed to accept it, becauſe he was farre inferiour in forces, and withdrew himſelfe to *Poleſina de Rouigna*: ſo that *Aluiano* hauing now no more impediments beyond *Adice*, made dayly incurſions euen to the gates of

Verona:

Verona: which was the cause that the Viceroy fearing the losse of that Citie, leauing within *Polesina* three hundred men at armes and a thousand footmen, he put himselfe thereinto with the residue of the armie.

Far greater difficulties began to appeare towards *Crema*, which was in a maner besieged by the companies of the Duke of *Millan*, bestowed in the towns and villages thereabours: for that within there was great want of victuals, the plague maruellous hote, great disorder of souldiers for want of pay, vniuersall lacke of munitions, with other particular prouisions which had bene many times demanded: by reason whereof *Ranse* distrusting to be able any longer to hold out, had certified so much vnto the *Venetians* with a protestation. And yet the same Fortune shewing her selfe somewhat fauorable vnto him, he set vpon *Stuio Sauello*, who had two hundred men at armes, an hundred light horsemen, and fifteene hundred footmen, and charging him vpon the sudden, ouerthrew him incontinently, so that he fled into *Lode* with fiftie men at armes. After this the *Venetians* reuictualled *Crema* the second time, and the Count *Nicholas Scot* put into it fifteene hundred footmen: by reason whereof the forces and courage of *Ranse* being increased, he entred a few dayes after into the Citie of *Bergamo*, being called thither by the townesmen, but the *Spaniards* fled into the Chappell. At the same time also *Mercurio* and *Malatesta Baillon* tooke three hundred horsemen that were lodged without the Citie: but not long after, as *Nicholas Scot* going from *Bergamo* to *Crema* with fiue hundred *Italian* footmen, he was encountred by two hundred *Swissers*, who ouerthrew his companies, tooke him prisoner, and led him to the Duke of *Millan*, who caused his head to be striken off. The losse of *Bergamo* towzed vp the Viceroy and *Prosper Colonno*, who went and incamped there with fiue thousand footmen, ioyned to the regiments of the *Spaniards* and to the bands of the Duke of *Millan*, and planted their artilleries against *S. Katherines* gate, which when it had performed much, *Ranse* being within, and seeing no possibilitie of long defence, left the towne to discretion, cõpounding to depart with the liues & goods of all his soldiers, but without sound of trumpet, and with their enfignes wrapped vp: and the Viceroy taxed the inhabitants of *Bergamo* at fourescore thousand duckats. But whilest these things were doing at *Crema* and *Bergamo*, *Aluians* performed another act, very famous and full of great industrie and celeritie, at the town of *Rouigna*, wherein there were more then two hundred men at armes *Spanish*, who thought themselues safe enough there, for that they had the riuer of *Adice* betweene them and the *Venetian* bands. *Aluiano* when no man had any doubt of him, cast a bridge neare the towne of *Anguillaro*, and with great diligence passed ouer the riuer, with a cõpanie of souldiers, very resolute, and without baggage: and as he was arriued at the towne, and had seized vpon the gate by the stratageme of an hundred footmen attired like paisants, whom he had sent before, vnder the occasion of the market that was kept there that day, he easily made himselfe Lord of the whole, and tooke prisoners all the men at armes that he found there. By reason of this aduenture, the residue of the *Spaniards* that were lodged at *Polesina*, retired into the Abbey as to the strongest place in the countrey, and afterwards leauing abandoned all *Polesina* and *Legnaguo*, they fled towards *Ferrara*. *Rouigna* being taken, *Aluiano* marched with the armie to *Oppiano* neare to *Legnaguo*, whither he caused to be brought by the riuer certaine armed barkes: and so he went on to *Villutero* neare to *Verona*, with this resolution, that if from that place he could not take *Verona*, wherein was a strength of two thousand *Spanish* footmen, and a thousand Lance-knights, at least he would torment them all the Winter long. But being aduertised that three hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horsemen, and sixe thousand footmen of the enemies, were gone vp towards *Legnaguo*, he came out of that place, fearing lest they would either stop his victuals, or constraine him to fight: and he accoasted them going towards *Adice*, which they passed at *Alberetto* with no small difficultie of victuals, by reason of the impediments which the light horsemen and the armed barkes gaue them: and hearing there that the *Spanish* armie after the recouery of *Bergamo*, returned towards *Verona*, he determined not to attend them, for which cause he sent the companies of men at armes by land into *Padua*, and passed himselfe by night the riuer of *Adice* with the footmen, the artilleries and baggage, to auoide the raines and mires which were great, and not without feare to be charged by the enemies, to whom the waters that were then risen very high, gaue great impediments: and assoone as he had taken land, he retired with his accustomed celeritie to *Padua*, where the men at armes

were entred two dayes before. Afterwards he diſtributed his armie betweene *Padua* and *Treuiſa*: and the Viceroy and *Proſper Colonno*, after they had ſent their men to lie in garriſon at *Poleſina de Rouigna*, went to *Inſpruch* to conſult with *Ceſar* of matters incident.

This ſame yeare the countrey of *Friul* remained in tranquillitie more then was wont, by the taking of Captaine *Frangipan*, who was the man that afflicted it more then any other: and therfore the *Venetians* knowing how much it imported them to retaine him, had refuſed to render him in exchange for *John Paul Baillon*; who, for that ſolicitation had bin made before to exchange him for *Caruaial*, had got leaue of the *Spaniards* to go to *Rome*, giuing his faith to returne priſoner, if the permutation could not be agreed vpon: but for that during the treatie, it happened that *Caruaial* died, *John Paul* affirmed, that by the benefite of the accident he was ſet at libertie, and ſo holding himſelfe acquitted, he would no more returne to him whoſe priſoner he was. Alſo at the ſame time, which was towards the latter end of the yeare, the *Adorneys* and *Fieſquoys* who were ſecretly fauoured, as was ſuppoſed, by the Duke of *Millan*, being entred by night into *Genes*, and come by intelligence as farre as the Pallace greene, were chaſed out again by *Octauian Fregoſo*, who meeting them beyond the barriers, accompanied with the footmen of his guard, fought valiantly in his owne perſon aboue all others, and put them to flight, being no otherwiſe hurt then a litle in the hand, and *Sinibauld de Fieſque*, *Hierome Adorno*, and *Iohn Camilla* of *Naples*, remained his priſoners. Beſides that which hath bene ſaid before, it ſeemes to me a matter worthy of memory, to report that this yeare there were Elephants ſeene at *Rome*, a beaſt which haply had not bene ſeene in *Italy* ſince the triumphs and publike playes of the *Romanes*: for *Emmanuel* king of *Portugal* ſending to the Pope a very honorable Embaſſage to declare his obedience, preſented him with many faire preſents, and among the reſt, with two Elephants which his ſhips had brought by ſea from *India*, whoſe entry into *Rome* was celebrated with a very great concourſe of people.

But at the ſame time the *French* king, who had other matter in his mind then pompes and publike ſhews, gaue order to make prouiſion for the war: and deſiring to be aſſured of the Popes will (fully reſolued notwithſtanding to follow his determined enterpriſe whatſoeuer happened) he prayed him to declare himſelfe in his fauour, and confirmed the offers he had made vnto him afore, aſſuring him, that if he were diſappointed of his amitie, he would accept of *Ceſar* and the King Catholike the conditions which he had already refuſed. He ſet before his eyes the power of his kingdome, the confederation with the *Venetians*, and the ſuccours promiſed by them: how, at that time the forces of *Ceſar* and the King Catholike were ſmall in *Italy*, and how both the one and the other of them were very needie of money, hauing no meanes to pay their owne ſouldiers, much leſſe to ſtirre the *Swiſſers*, who would not deſcend from their mountaines without pay: That all the people of *Millan* ſince they had proued the hard yoke of others, deſired nothing more then to returne vnder the iuriſdiction of the *French*: and that the victorie ought not to giue cauſe to the Pope to band againſt him, for that the greatneſſe of the Kings of *France* in *Italy*, and his owne in particular, had bene in all ſeaſons profitable to the Sea of *Rome*; and becauſe ſtanding alwayes contented with the things that of right appertained to them, they neuer had any thought to ſeize vpon *Italy*; a matter well teſtified by ſo many experiences: That the intention of *Ceſar* and the King Catholike was farre other, who ſtudied nothing more, then to ſeize vpon the Empire of all *Italy*; and either by armes, alliances or policies, to bring into ſeruitude the Sea and Popes of *Rome*, no leſſe then the other States; a deſire which all the world knows to be very ancient in *Ceſar*: That he ſhould therfore at one time prouide for the ſurety of the Church, for the common libertie of *Italy*, and for the greatneſſe of the family of *Medicis*, and make vſe of the occaſion, which would neuer be preſented at any other time, or with other alliance then his. On the contrary, on the behalfe of *Ceſar* and the King Catholike, there wanted no perſwaſions full of efficacie, to vrge him to ioyne with them for the defence of *Italy*: wherein they admoniſhed him, that if conioyned all together, they had bene able to chaſe the *French* King out of the Duchie of *Millan*, they were much more able to defend it againſt him: and alſo that he was to remember the wrong he had done to the King the yeare paſt, ſending money to the army of the *Swiſſers* at ſuch time as the *French* armie marched into *Italy*; and to conſider, that if the *French* king obtained the victorie, he would not be vnmindfull at one and the ſame time to reuenge himſelfe of all the wrongs he had receiued, and to aſſure himſelfe of all dangers and ſuſpitions to come. But the Pope was much more moued by the authoritie and offers of

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the *Swiſſers*, who, continuing in their firſt obſtinacies, offered to command and defend with ſixe thouſand footmen the paſſages of the mount *Senis*, of the mount *Geneura*, and *Finalo*, receiuing ſix thouſand florins of *Rhein* by the moneth: and in caſe their payes might be aduanced to fortie thouſand florins by the moneth, they offered to inuade *Burgundie* with twentie thouſand footmen. The Pope being doubtfull in himſelfe by reaſon of ſuch diuers propoſitions (his feare withdrawing him from the thing whereunto his deſire incited him,) deferred as much as he could, to declare his intention, giuing to euery one generall words and anſwers. But ſeeing himſelfe now almoſt importuned by the *French* king, at laſt he made this anſwer, that no man knew better then himſelfe, how much he was inclined to his affaires, being not ignorant with what affection he had perſwaded him to paſſe into *Italy*, in a time when he might haue obtained the victory without danger or great effuſion of bloud: That his perſwaſions, for that things were not kept ſecret, as he had oftentimes required him, were come to the knowledge of others, to the detriment of them both, in as much as for his part, he ſaw himſelf in danger to be aſſailed by others; and the difficulties were become greater for the enterpriſe of the King, ſince others had giuen ſuch order to their affaires, that he could not now ouercome without manifeſt perill, and without the effuſion of much bloud: And that the power of the Prince of the *Turkes* being newly increaſed by ſo great a ſucceſſe, it was neither conformable to his nature, nor conuenient for the office of a Pope, either to fauour or counſell Chriſtian Princes to make warre amongſt themſelues: And that he could do no otherwiſe then exhort him to ſurceaſſe, expecting ſome other facilitie and better occaſion, which when it happened, he ſhould find in him the ſame diſpoſition to his glorie and greatneſſe, which he had ſo well diſcerned certaine moneths paſt. Which anſwer, (albeit it did no otherwiſe expreſſe his conception) if it had come to the knowledge of the King, had not onely depriued him of all hope of the Popes fauour, but alſo had certified him that the Pope was banded againſt him, both with counſell and with armes. Theſe were the accidents of the yeare 1514.

But death, whoſe cuſtome is oftentimes to cut off the vaine counſels of men euen in their greateſt hopes, was the cauſe that the warre which was ſo forward in apparence, began not with that ſpeed that was expected: for, as the *French* king was too hote in taking his pleaſure in the excellent beautie of his new wife, who was but eighteen yeares of age, not conſidering his owne yeares, and the weakneſſe of his complexion, he was taken with a feauer, with the which a ſudden fluxe coming vpon him, he died ſuddenly, and made the firſt day of the yeare 1515, memorable by his death. He was a iuſt King, and much beloued of his people, but neither afore he was King, nor after he had the Crowne, did euer find conſtancie either in good or ill fortune: ſeeing that from a ſmall Duke of *Orleance* as he was, being happily come to the Crowne by the death of King *Charles* yonger then he, and of two of his ſonnes, he conquered with very great facilitie the Duchie of *Millan* and the kingdome of *Naples*, all *Italy* being gouerned for many yeares almoſt according to his will. He recouered with great proſperitie the ſtate of *Genes* that was in rebellion, and vanquiſhed with no leſſe glorie the armies of the *Venetians*, being in perſon at both thoſe victories. But on the other ſide, when he was yet but yong, he was conſtrained by *Lewis* the eleuenth to marry his daughter that was both both barren and deformed, and yet could neuer get the good will nor countenance of his father in law: after whoſe death, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the Ladie of *Bourbon*, he could not obtaine the gouernment of the new King being then in minoritie, and was in a maner compelled to retire himſelfe into *Brittaine*: and afterwards being taken in the battell of *S. Albin*, he remained two yeares in priſon. To theſe afflictions may be added the ſiege and famine of *Nouaro*, the many diſcomfites in the Realme of *Naples*, the loſſe of the eſtate of *Millan*, *Genes*, and all the townes which he had taken from the *Venetians*: and likewiſe the warre he had in *France* againſt very mightie enemies, at what time he ſaw his Realme brought into very great dangers. Neuertheleſſe at the time of his death, it ſeemed that good fortune returned vnto him, for that he had defended his kingdome, and had eſtabliſhed peace and alliance with the King of *England*, with whom he was in good amitie, which gaue him great hope to be able to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*.

1515. *The death of king Lewis the twelfth.*

After *Lewis* the twelfth, ſucceeded *Francis d'Angouleſme*, who was the next heire male of the bloud royall, and of the ſame line of the Dukes of *Orleans*. He was preferred to the ſucceſſion of the kingdome before the daughters of the dead King, according to the order of the law Salike, a law very ancient in the Realme of *France*, which excludeth from the royall dignitie

Francis the firſt comes to the Crowne.

all women, ſo long as there is any iſſue male of the ſame line. The world had ſuch an opinion of his vertues, of his magnanimitie, and of his vnderſtanding and generous ſpirit, that of very long time there had not any come to the Crowne of whom there was greater hope then of this Prince: whereunto was much helping the conſideration of his age, being then but two and twentie yeares old, his excellent beautie, his great liberalitie, the great humanitie he vſed towards all men, together with the ripe knowledge he had in many things: but aboue all he was much pleaſing to the Nobilitie, to whom he ſhewed great fauour. He tooke vpon him together with the title of the *French* king, the name of Duke of *Millan*, as appertaining to him not onely by the ancient rights of the Dukes of *Orleans*, but alſo as comprehended in the inueſtiture that was made by *Ceſar* in the treatie of *Cambray*: and likewiſe he had the ſame deſire to recouer it as had his predeceſſor: whereunto not onely he, but alſo all the noble yong Gentlemen of *France* were induced by the glorie of *Gaſton de Foix*, and by the memorie of ſo many victories which the Kings reigning next afore had obtained in *Italy*: although (not to warne others afore the time to prepare to reſiſt him) he diſſembled the matter, as he was aduiſed by his Councel, and in the meane while (as is vſuall in the beginning of Kings reignes) he fell to practiſe the amities of other Princes: from whom were ſent to congratulate him many Embaſſadours, whom he receiued with countenance affable and gracious, but ſpecially the Embaſſadours of the King of *England*, who deſired to continue with him the amitie begun with King *Lewis*, (the iniuries he had receiued from the King Catholike being yet freſh in memorie.) There came alſo at the ſame time an Embaſſage from the Archduke, whereof the Lord of *Naſſau* was chiefe: and in this Embaſſage, for the regard of the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereof the Kings of *France* are ſoueraignes, were diſcerned demonſtrations of great ſubmiſſion, in acknowledging of ſuperioritie. Both the one and the other of theſe Embaſſages had a readie and happie expedition: for touching the King of *England*, the confederation made betweene him and the late King, was confirmed vnder the ſame conditions, ſo long as either of them ſhould liue, reſeruing a reſpite of three yeares for the *Scottiſh* king to enter into it: and touching the Archduke, ſundry differences ceaſſed, which many men ſuppoſed would haue hindered the peace. But the Archduke, who being no longer in minoritie had newly taken vpon him the gouernment of his eſtates, was moued hereunto for many cauſes, to wit, by the inſtance of the peoples of *Flanders*, who would in no wiſe haue warre with the Realme of *France*; by a deſire he had to be aſſured of ſuch impediments as might be oppoſed againſt him by the *French* in the ſucceſſion of the Realme of *Spaine*, when the death of his grandfather ſhould happen: and for that he thought it dangerous to dwell without any league of amitie in the midſt betweene the Kings of *England* and *France* being conioyned together. And on the other ſide, the King deſired greatly to remoue all occaſions that might conſtraine him to be gouerned by the authoritie and counſell of his grandfather, either by the fathers or mothers ſide. So that at laſt there was made between them in the towne of *Paris*, a perpetuall peace and confederation, reſeruing facultie for *Ceſar* and the King Catholike (without whoſe authorities the Archduke contracted) to enter within three moneths. In this capitulation was promiſed the accompliſhment of the mariage betweene the Archduke and the Ladie *Renee* daughter to King *Lewis*, which had bene ſo often ſolicited: and that the King ſhould giue in mariage with the Lady *Renee* ſixe hundred thouſand crownes, and the Duchie of *Berry* to her and her children for euer; who being then very yong, ſhould haue it aſſigned to her as ſoone as ſhe ſhould come to the age of nine yeares, with this condition notwithſtanding, that ſhe ſhould renounce all rights of inheritance either by the father or mother, and namely ſuch as might appertaine to her in the Duchies of *Millan* and of *Brittaine*: That the King ſhould be bound to aide the Archduke with men and ſhips to go to the kingdom of *Spaine*, after the death of the King Catholike. At the requeſt of the King, the Duke of *Guelders* was named; and ſome affirme, that beſides the matters afore rehearſed, it was agreed that in both their names ioyntly, Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent within three moneths to the King of *Aragon*, to require him to proclaime the Archduke Prince of the Realmes of *Spaine* (ſuch is the title of him to whom the ſucceſſion appertaineth,) and to cauſe the people to be bound to him by oath: that he would render the kingdome of *Nauarre*, and abſtaine from the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*. And it is not to be doubted, that each of theſe two Princes making this confederation, had more reſpect to the preſent commoditie that appeared, then to the obſeruation of the ſame in time to come. For what foundation could be layed vpon the mariage that was promiſed, the Ladie *Renee* being as yet ſcarcely foure yeares of age?

The Fr. king aſſumeth the title of Duke of Millan.

Ratification of peace betweene the kings of England and France.

And

And how could it pleaſe the *French* king that Madame *Renee* ſhould be the wife of the Archduke, who (her eldeſt ſiſter being the Kings wife) had her action prepared for the Duchie of *Brittaine?* for that the *Britons* deſiring once to haue a particular Duke, at ſuch time as *Anne* their Ducheſſe maried the ſecond time, agreed that the Dukedome ſhould appertaine to the yongeſt of the children and deſcendents of her, if the eldeſt were preferred to the Crowne of *France*. The *French* king in like ſort treated with the King Catholike to prolong the truce made with his predeceſſor, but to leaue out the condition not to moleſt the Duchie of *Millan* during the truce; and he hoped he ſhould afterwards eaſily compound with *Ceſar:* for which reaſon he kept the *Venetians* in ſuſpence, who offered to renew the league made with his predeceſſor; becauſe he would be at libertie to accord with *Ceſar* againſt them. But the King Catholike, notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtill poſſeſſed of his deſire not to haue warre in the frontiers of *Spaine*, conſidering how great ſuſpition the prolongation of the truce would giue to the *Swiſſers*, and that the ſame would be the cauſe (his words being not credited, and his counſels deſpiſed) that the Pope, who till that time had bene in doubt, might turne to the *French* amitie, refuſed at laſt to prolong the truce, vnleſſe with the ſame conditions wherewith it had bene renewed with the late King: ſo that the King excluded from that hope, and not expecting any more to be able to contract with *Ceſar* againſt the will and counſels of that King, confirmed the league with the Senate of *Venice*, in the ſame forme it had bene made with his predeceſſor. Now there remained the Pope and the *Swiſſers*. Touching the *Swiſſers*, he required that they would admit his Embaſſadours; but they vſing the ſame rudeneſſe they had done before, refuſed to giue them ſafe conduct. And for the Pope, vpon whoſe will depended wholly the *Florentines*, he required no other thing of him, then that he would keep himſelf out of all bond, to the end that when the traine of affaires ſhould induce him to reſolue, it might be in his power to make choiſe of the better part; perſwading him that he ſhould neuer find, either for himſelfe or for the aduancement of his houſe, in any other, a greater amitie, a more aſſured faith, nor with better and more honorable conditions.

After the King had layed theſe foundations for his affaires, he began with great care to gather together great prouiſion of money, and to increaſe the bands of his men at armes to the number of foure thouſand, publiſhing that he did theſe things not with intention to make any warre for that yeare, but onely to make head againſt the *Swiſſers*, who threatned him to inuade *Burgundie* or *Dauphiney*, in caſe he refuſed to accompliſh the couenants made at *Dyon* in the name of the late King. Many beleeued this ſemblance, the rather for the example of former Kings, who had alwayes forborne to intangle the firſt yeare of their reigne with new warres: but that coniecture made no ſuch impreſſion in the minds of *Ceſar* and the King of *Aragon*, to whom the Kings youth was ſuſpected, and the facilitie he had (more then other Kings) to command the forces of the kingdome of *France*, where he was ſo much loued and eſteemed of all men; and beſides, they were not ignorant of the great preparations that King *Lewis* had left, by reaſon whereof (ſeeing he was aſſured of the King of *England*) he ſeemed not to determine to make a new warre, but rather that he recontinued the deliberation that was layed by his predeceſſor. Therefore becauſe they would not be taken vnprouided, they fell to ſolicite a confederation with the Pope and the *Swiſſers*: but the Pope vſing towards both the parties very gracious words, and ſtudying to entertaine them all with diuers hopes, deferred ſtill to make any certaine declaration. And touching the *Swiſſers*, their former heate did not onely continue ſtill, but alſo was more kindled: the cauſes that had taken their beginning of publike griefes; for the deniall of the augmentation of their penſions; for that King *Lewis* had entertained the Lanceknights into his pay; for the diſdainfull and iniurious words deliuered againſt their nation; being increaſed by the ſorrowes, diſpleaſures, and priuate ambition, riſing of enuie which the Commons bare to many particulars, who receiued gifts and penſions of the King, and for that thoſe that moſt hotly oppoſed themſelues againſt ſuch as followed the *French* amities, (which at that time were cõmonly called *Gallizzanti*,) being by that meanes aduanced, with the fauour of the Commons, into reputation and greatneſſe, feared a diminution of their authoritie, if the Commonweale were againe reallied with the *French*: in ſo much as matters being diſputed and conſulted vpon not with publik zeale, but with ambition & ciuil diſſention, and theſe men being in more credit then the *Gallizzanti*, they obtained that the great or rather vnmeaſurable offers of the *French* king ſhould be refuſed. In this diſpoſition of minds and affaires, the

Embaſſadours of *Ceſar*, of the King of *Aragon*, and the Duke of *Millan*, being aſſembled with the *Swiſſers*, contracted with them in the name of their Princes, a confederation for the defence of *Italy*, reſeruing a reſpite of fiftie dayes for the Pope to enter: in which capitulation it was agreed, that to compell the *French* king to diſclaime all right to the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Swiſſers*, receiuing monethly of the other Confederates thirtie thouſand duckats, ſhould inuade either *Burgundie* or *Dauphiney*: and the King Catholike with a mightie armie ſhould make warre vpon the Realme of *France*, either vpon the coaſt of *Perpignan* or of *Fontaraby*, to the end that the *French* king being compelled to defend his owne Realme, (although haply he ſhould determine otherwiſe) might not moleſt the Duchie of *Millan*. The deliberation of the King was kept ſecret vntill the moneth of Iune, but at laſt, by reaſon of the greatneſſe and ſolicitude of the ſeueral preparations, it was no longer poſſible to diſſemble ſo great & apparent ſtirres: for the prouiſion of money was vnmeaſurable; he leuied many bands of Lanceknights; he cauſed to be drawne towards *Lions* great ſtore of artilleries; and had a litle before ſent into *Guyen* to leuie ten thouſand footmen in the confines of *Nauarre*, vnder *Peter* of *Nauarre*, who was newly entred into his pay, for that the King of *Aragon* being diſcontented with him, by reaſon the ill ſucceſſe of the battell of *Rauenna* was much attributed to him, would not pay his ranſome which was twentie thouſand duckats, which the late King had giuen to the Marquis of *Rottelin* to recompence in ſome part the hundred thouſand crownes which he had payed in *England*; the new King determining to make vſe of him, defrayed his ranſome at his firſt coming to the Crowne, and afterwards tooke him into his pay, when the ſaid *Peter* of *Nauarre* for the ſauing of his honour, had ſent to the King of *Aragon* to excuſe himſelfe, for that being abandoned of him, he gaue place to neceſſitie, renouncing the eſtates which he had giuen him in the kingdome of *Naples*. It being then manifeſt to all the world, that thoſe preparations tended to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, and that the King determined to go thither in perſon; the King began openly to require the Pope to ioyne with him, vſing to this end (beſides many other inſtruments and perſwaſions) the helpe of *Iulian* his brother, who had newly taken for wife *Philibert* ſiſter to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the King by the mothers ſide, aſſigning him for dowrie an hundred thouſand crownes of the money which the Pope gaue him: which put him in ſome hope that the Pope in reſpect of the ſtraight alliance he had with him, would readily incline to his amitie; and the rather for that he hauing before treated with the King Catholike to marry *Iulian* with one of his kindred which was of the houſe of *Cardona*, it ſeemed that he had preferred that alliance before the other, more in regard of him thē for any other reaſon. And likewiſe he doubted not but *Iulian* would willingly helpe forward, by a deſire to get by that meanes ſome eſtate, by the which he might furniſh the expences conuenient for ſo great a mariage, and the better to eſtabliſh the perpetuall gouernment which the Pope had newly giuen him of the Cities of *Modena*, *Reggia*, *Parma* and *Plaiſance*: which being not ſupported by the fauour of mightie Princes, there was litle hope that he could keepe them after the death of his brother. But the King began quickly to giue ouer his hope, for that the Pope had transferred to the King of *Aragon* for two yeares the moneys of the Realme of *Spaine* appointed for the holy warres, which as was thought would amount to aboue a million of duckats: and for that he heard with great willingneſſe *Albert Carpy* and *Ierome Vich* Embaſſadours of *Ceſar* and the King Catholike, who were almoſt alwayes about him, and to whom it ſeemed the Pope did communicate all his counſels. Neuertheleſſe the Pope held the King in ſuſpence, giuing faire words, and making ſhew of a good intention to thoſe that negociated for the King, but without any reſolution: as one that deſired aboue all other things that the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould not be poſſeſſed by forreine Princes. Therefore the King purpoſing to be better aſſured of his intention, addreſſed to him new Embaſſadours, amongſt whom was *William Buda* of *Paris*, a man in humane learning, as well *Greeke* as *Latine*, of moſt abſolute and onely erudition of all the learned men of our time: and afterwards he ſent to him in the ſame Legation *Anthonie Maria Paluoiſin*, a man very acceptable to the Pope. But all this was loſt labour, for that before his coming, euen from the moneth of Iuly, he had very ſecretly contracted with others for the defence of the eſtate of *Millan*: notwithſtanding ſeeking to keepe cloſe that reſolution vntill the neceſſitie of affaires conſtrained him to declare himſelfe, and deſiring withall to publiſh it with ſome excuſe, ſometimes he required the King to conſent that the Church might retaine *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and ſometimes he preferred other demands, to the end that any one of the things which

Preparations of the French king againſt the Duke of Millan.

which he demanded being refuſed, it might ſeeme that neceſſitie more then will, had incited him to ioyne with the Kings enemies: and at that time, diſtruſting that he ſhould not be denied ſome one of thoſe things, which all together he would not propound without ſome honeſt colour, he made diuers doubtfull anſwers, and irreſolute. But there were others that vſed towards him likewiſe the ſame ſleights and ſubtilties: for *Octauian Fregoſa* Duke of *Genes*, fearing the great preparations of the *French* king, and on the other ſide holding for ſuſpected the victorie of the Confederates, for the inclination of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swiſſers* to his aduerſaries, had made a ſecret contract with the *French* king by the meanes of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and yet very firmely aſſured the contrary to the Pope, both in the time of the debating of it, and after it was reſolued. And becauſe *Octauian* was one of the ancient friends of the Pope, and of his brother *Iulian*, and that they had fauoured him at ſuch time as he was created Duke of *Genes*, the Pope did in ſuch ſort beleeue him, that the Duke of *Millan* ſuſpecting things for the rumors that went, and hauing determined to inuade him with foure thouſand *Swiſſers* already come to *Nouaro*, together with the faction of the *Adorneys* and the *Fieſquois*, the Pope was the cauſe that the enterpriſe paſſed no further.

Octauian Fregoſa Duke of Genes compounds with the French king.

This was the capitulation of *Octauian Fregoſa*: That the towne and iuriſdiction of *Genes* ſhould be rendred to the King, together with the Caſtle: That *Octauian* ſhould beare no more the name of Duke, but take vpon him the name of perpetuall Gouernor of *Genes* for the King, with power to diſpoſe of the offices of *Genes*: That the King ſhould giue vnto him an hundred men at armes, the Order of *Saint Michael*, and a yearely penſion during his life: That the King ſhould not reedifie the fortreſſe of *Codifa*, which was very hatefull to the *Genowayes*, and ſhould grant to that Citie all thoſe capitulations and priuiledges which had bene reuerſed and burned by King *Lewis*: That he ſhould giue a certaine proportion of Eccleſiaſticall reuenues to *Federike* Archbiſhop of *Salerne* brother to *Octauian*, and to himſelfe certaine places in *Prouence*, if euer it hapned that he were driuen out of *Genes*. When theſe matters were ſpread abroad, it was not hard for *Octauian* to iuſtifie his reſolution, for that it was diſcerned of all men, that he had great reaſon to feare the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swiſſers*: and that which herein was onely found euill, was, that he had ſo many times denied the truth to the Pope, of whom he had receiued ſo many good turnes, and had broken his promiſe, in entring into couenants without his priuitie. And yet in a long letter which he wrote to him afterwards for his iuſtification, wherein he diſcourſed at large the cauſes that had moued him, together with all the excuſes wherewith he might defend his honour with him, and that which he had done; and declared vnto him that it was not done in contempt of the reſpect and deuotion which he owed him, as being Pope, and his benefactor: his concluſion was, that it would be more hard for him to be iuſtified, if he ſhould write to perſons priuate, or to any Prince that meaſured the affaires of eſtate according to priuate regards; but that writing to a Prince as wiſe as any that liued at that time, and who in his wiſedome knew that he could not otherwiſe ſaue his Eſtate, that it was a matter ſuperfluous to offer excuſes to him that ſo well vnderſtood and knew what was lawfull to Princes, or at leaſt what they haue bene wont to do, not onely when they were reduced to ſuch a neceſſitie, but alſo when there was queſtion of the increaſing or making better the condition of their Eſtate.

But now matters were come from words and counſels to deeds and executions. For the King who was come to *Lions* accompanied with all the Nobilitie of *France*, and with the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Gueldres*, cauſed his armie to march towards *Italy*, which was the moſt mightie and flouriſhing hoaſt that had bene ſeene of a long time: and he was aſſured to haue no troubles beyond the Mounts, for that the King of *Aragon*, who fearing at firſt leſt ſo great preparations might be turned againſt him, had armed his frontiers, and perpetually vnited the Realme of *Nauarre* to the kingdome of *Caſtile*, to the end that his peoples might be the more ready to defend it: and as ſoone as he had credible vnderſtanding, that the warre ſhould be made in *Italy*, he diſmiſſed all the companies he had leuied, holding no more reckoning of his promiſe made the ſame yeare to the Confederates to make warre vpon *France*, then he had done of all other couenants and contracts made to them the yeares before. At the bruite of the deſcent of the *French* king, the Viceroy of *Naples*, who hauing bene many moneths as it were in truce with the *Venetians*, being come into the countrey of *Vincenſa*, to draw neare to the enemies that lay incamped in a very ſtrong place neare to *Ormes* which is not farre from *Vincenſa*: he remoued

his armie to *Verona*, to go (as he ſaid) to the ſuccours of the Duke of *Millan*: and the Pope diſpatched into *Lombardie* his companies of men at armes, with the regiments of the *Florentines*, vnder the gouernment of his brother, choſen Captaine of the Church, to miniſter aide likewiſe to the ſame State, according to his reſolution not many dayes before with the other Confederates: although continuing ſtill in his accuſtomed faire ſhewes, he gaue out that he ſent them onely for the guard of *Plaiſance*, *Parma* and *Reggia*; and he had proceeded ſo farre with the Embaſſadours of the *French* king, that the King vndoubtedly perſwading himſelfe that he would fall to accord with him, had diſpatched from *Lions* to his Embaſſadours, commiſſion and authoritie to conclude, conſenting that the Church ſhould retaine *Plaiſance* and *Parma* vntill ſuch time as he ſhould giue ſuch a recompence as the Pope ſhould hold himſelfe contented. But for the cauſes that ſhall be ſhewed hereafter, all theſe remedies were to no end: for it was deſtinated that the defence or loſſe of the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be performed onely with the danger and bloud of the *Swiſſers*, who not ſtaying for any negligence, or ſmall quantitie of money, deſcended continually into the Duchie of *Millan*, ſo that there was already arriued aboue twentie thouſand, of whom ten thouſand were drawne neare to the mountaines, according to a counſell amongſt them, to keepe againſt the *French* the ſtraight paſſages of thoſe valleys, which being at the foote of the *Alpes* that deuide *Italy* from *France*, come to open themſelues vpon the plaines of *Lombardie*. This counſell of the *Swiſſers* troubled greatly the mind of the King, who afore had promiſed to himſelfe an aſſured victory by reaſon of the greatneſſe of his forces, which was ſuch, that he had in his armie two thouſand and fiue hundred lances, two and twentie thouſand Lanceknights led by the Duke of *Gueldres*, ten thouſand *Baſques* (ſo were the footmen of *Peter Nauarre* called,) eight thouſand *French* men, and three thouſand labourers that were payed according to the rate of the other footmen. The King conſidered with his Captains, that in regard of the valour of the *Swiſſers*, it was impoſſible to driue them from thoſe ſtraight and ſtrong paſſages, but with a farre greater number: of whom notwithſtanding ſmall vſe could be made in thoſe ſtraight places, and it would be very hard to do any matter of conſequence in ſhort time, and more difficult to remaine any long ſeaſon with ſo great an armie, in a countrey ſo barren, although there came continually towards the mountaines great ſtore of victuals. Amid theſe difficulties, ſome of the Captaines that were of opinion rather to diuert and draw them away then to ſet vpon them, gaue counſell to ſend out eight hundred lances through *Prouence*, and *Peter Nauarre* by ſea with his ten thouſand *Baſques* which ſhould all ioyne together at *Sauona*. Others were of opinion that to go ſo farre about were to loſe too much time, that it would weaken the armie, and increaſe too much the reputation of the enemies, for that it would be giuen out that they had not the courage to encounter with them. Then it was reſolued, that retiring not much from the ordinary way, they ſhould ſeeke out ſome other paſſage, that was not guarded by the enemies, or at leaſt not ſo carefully: and that *Emard de Prio* with foure hundred lances and fiue thouſand footmen ſhould take the way to *Genes*, not in hope to diuert them, but to make warre vpon *Alexandria* and the other townes beyond the riuer of *Po*.

The Swiſſers ſeek to ſtop the paſſage of the Frenchmen.

The French armie.

There be two wayes in the *Alpes* that leade ordinarily from *Lions* into *Italy*; that of *Montſenis* (this mountaine is in the iuriſdiction of the Duke of *Sauoy*) which is the ſhorteſt, the ſtraighteſt, and the moſt beaten way: and that of mount *Geneura* (this mountaine is in the iuriſdiction of *Dauphiney*) which is the longer way, and leades by turnings to *Grenoble*. Both the one and the other direct to *Suſa*, where the plaine beginneth to enlarge: but the *French* armies are alwayes wont to paſſe by the mount *Geneura*, notwithſtanding it be ſomewhat the longer way, becauſe it is more eaſie to paſſe, and more conuenient to draw the artilleries. Now the *Swiſſers* being carefull to keepe theſe two wayes, and the other paſſages thereabouts, were lodged at *Suſa*, for that the paſſages which be lower drawing towards the ſea, were ſo ſtraight and rough, that it being very hard for the horſes of ſo great an armie to paſſe thereby, it ſeemed the artilleries could by no meanes be carried. On the other ſide, *Triuulce*, to whom the King had giuen that charge, being followed with a great multitude of pioners, and hauing about him men induſtrious and experienced in drawing of artilleries, whom he ſent to view thoſe places, went ſearching theſe paſſages, if any meanes could be found to paſſe without impediment of the *Swiſſers*: by which occaſion, the armie that for the moſt part was diſperſed betweene *Grenoble* and *Brianſon*, marched ſlowly, expecting what would be determined, whereunto

unto they were alſo conſtrained by a neceſſitie to attend the prouiſions of victuals.

About this time a Gentleman ſent by the King of *England*, came to the *French* king, who was now departed frō *Lions*, to exhort him on the behalf of his King, that he ought not to paſſe into *Italy* for feare to trouble the vniuerſall peace of Chriſtendome. The cauſe of this alteration was, that that King being diſcontent with the alliance made by the *French* King with the Archduke, fearing leſt his affaires would take too happie a courſe, had ſince begun to lend an yeare to the Embaſſadours of the King Catholike, who ceaſſed not to put into his mind how hurtfull the greatneſſe of the *French* king would be to him, who, both by a naturall hatred, and for that he had made his firſt actions of warre againſt him, could be no other then a great enemy to him. But that which moſt moued him, was the emulation & enuie of his glorie, which he thought would be much raiſed if he got the victory in the State of *Millan*: remembring that he, notwithſtanding he found his kingdome in reſt, and very rich for the long peace it had enioyed, together with ſo great a maſſe of treaſure which his father had gathered, that he neuer had not for all ỹ the courage til within certain yeares, to inuade the *French* king, alone & enuironed with ſo many enemies, and wearied with ſo many aduerſities: That now the *French* King, ſomewhat yonger then he was at ſuch time as he came to the Crowne, although he found his kingdome ouerwearied and made poore with ſo many warres, durſt yet in the firſt moneths of his reigne, go to an enterpriſe, for the which ſo many Princes were banded againſt him: That touching himſelfe, with all his huge preparations, and ſo many occaſions, he had brought into *England* no other profite then the Citie of *Tournay*, and that with expences intollerable and infinite: but that the *French* king would returne with great glorie into his kingdome, by the conqueſt of ſo faire a Duchie, whereof it was thought he would carry the victory, and would alſo open a way to paſſe further, and haply take the occaſion afore he retired his armie out of *Italy* to inuade the Realme of *Naples*. Theſe were the motions that eaſily renewed in his mind the ancient hatred: but becauſe he could not as yet giue impediment to the *French* king with armes (whereof haply he ſought ſome occaſion or colour) he thought good to ſend him this meſſage: for the which the King not forbearing to march, tooke his way from *Lions* to *Dauphiney*, where he met with the armie of the Lanceknights, otherwiſe called the blacke bands, guided by *Robert de la Marche*, together with all the low *Almaines*, ſo greatly eſteemed for their valour, and for the loyaltie which they had alwayes ſhewed in the *French* ſeruices.

The king of England ſends to the French king not to paſſe into Italy

The king of England ſends to the French

At this time *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* aduertiſed the King that his artilleries might be carried ouer the Mounts, betweene the maritime Alpes and the Coctien hils deſcending towards the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa*: and that although the paſſage was full of maruellous great difficulties, yet by the ſtrength of men and inſtruments it might in the end be accompliſhed: and becauſe there was not on that ſide, nor on the tops of the mountaines, nor in the entrie of the valleys any guard, that it was better to aſſay to ouercome the ruggedneſſe of the mountains and the ſteepnes of the valleys, which was a matter that might be done with paine, but without any danger of men, then to aſſay to winne the paſſages from the *Swiſſers*, who were ſo much redoubted, being reſolued either to vanquiſh or die, ſeeing withall they could not ſtay there many dayes, if any reſiſtance were made, for that no power or preparation was able to bring through places ſo impaſſable and barren, ſufficient prouiſion of victuals to feed ſo many mouthes. Which counſell being allowed and followed, the artillery that lay in a place conuenient to be turned on all parts, began immediatly to march that way. *Triuulce* had aduertiſed the King that the difficultie to paſſe the artilleries was very great, but when it was put to action, it was found yet more hard: for firſt they muſt of neceſſitie mount vpon very rough and high mountaines, and that not without extreme difficultie, for that there were no paths or wayes, and ſometimes not ſo much largeneſſe of roomth as was capable of the artilleries, but ſuch as was made by the aide of pioners from hand to hand, of whom there were a great number that marched before, whoſe ſeruice was readie, ſometimes to enlarge the ſtraits, and ſometimes to digge vp the hillocks and lumpes of earth that gaue impediment. From the tops of thoſe mountaines they deſcended by very ſteepe cliffes, whoſe onely aſpect gaue feare to the beholders, into moſt deepe valleys of the riuer of *Argentiero*. By the difficultie of theſe cliffes oftentimes the artilleries could not be ſuſtained, neither with the horſes that drew them, whoſe number was great, nor with the ſhoulders of the labourers that guided them, and therefore very often they were

driuen

driuen to diſmount them, and faſtening them to great cables, they found a way to make them deſcend by the hands of the footmen, who in ſo great difficulties tooke maruellous paines, refuſing no trauell. And yet the labour ceaſſed not when they had ouercome the firſt mountaines and the firſt valleys, for that they found others, which of neceſſitie they muſt paſſe with the ſame difficulties. At the laſt, about the end of fiue dayes, the artillerie was brought ouer the mountaines into the open places of the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa:* but with ſo many difficulties, that it is moſt certaine, if they had found any reſiſtance, or if the mountaines had bene couered with ſnowes, as they were wont to be the moſt part of the yeare, they had taken in vaine ſo great trauell. But that which deliuered them from the reſiſtance and impediments of men, was, that no man beleeued that euer they could bring the artilleries by ſuch troubleſome and impaſſable mountaines; and the *Swiſſers* lodged at *Suſa*, were carefull to guard the places which muſt be paſſed by ſuch as deſcend the mount *Senis*, the mount *Geneura*, or the mountaines adioyning to them: the ſeaſon of the yeare alſo, being then vpon the tenth of Auguſt, had taken from them the impediment of ſnowes which were already melted. At the ſame time paſſed the men at armes and bands of footmen, not without the ſame difficulties, ſome by that way, and ſome by the paſſage called *la Dragoniera*, and the reſidue by the high tops of the rocke *Perotta* and of *Cunie*, paſſages more lower towards *Prouence:* by the which *Monſieur de Paliſſa* being paſſed, an occaſion was offered him to do an act worthy of memory. For, departing frō *Singlaro* with foure cornets of light horſemen, after he had marched long and with great diligence by the guiding of the countrey men, he arriued before they had ſuſpition of him at *Villefranch*, a towne ſeuen miles from *Saluſſa*, and of which there goeth a fame farre greater then the qualitie of the towne requireth, for that the head of that notable riuer of *Po* riſeth out of a place very neare it. In that towne lay lodged with his companies *Proſper Colonno*, fearing nothing for the farre diſtance of the enemies, in whom he expected not that diligence & celeritie, which himſelfe being of nature ſlow and heauie, had not wont to vſe; and ſome ſay that he meant to haue departed the ſame day to ioyne himſelfe with the *Swiſſers*. But howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that he was ſet at the table at dinner, when the ſouldiers of *Monſieur de Paliſſa* arriued, who were not diſcerned of any till they were neare the houſe: for as much as thoſe of the towne, with whom *Monſieur de Paliſſa*, thirſting after ſo goodly a prey, had firſt ſecretly conſpired, had with as much ſilence as they could, ſeized vpon the ſcouts & ſentinels. And thus *Proſper Colonno*, a Captaine of ſo great name, and who as well for his authoritie, as for the credite he had in the Duchie of *Millan*, was of great importance for this warre, was made priſoner the fifteenth day of Auguſt, farre otherwiſe then appertained to his ancient glorie. *Peter Margano* a *Romane* was taken with him, and part of his companie, and the reſidue at the firſt bruit diſperſed themſelues and fled into diuers places.

The paſſage of the *French* and the taking of *Proſper Colonno*, changed the counſels of euery one, and the whole eſtate of all affaires, cauſing new diſpoſitions in the minds of the Pope, the Viceroy of *Naples*, and the *Swiſſers*. For the Pope, who conſtantly perſwaded himſelfe, that the *French* king could not paſſe the Mounts for the impediments of the *Swiſſers*, and truſted much in the vertue of *Proſper Colonno*, being now quite diſcouraged, commanded his nephew *Laurence*, Captaine generall of the *Florentines*, to march but ſlowly, to whom he had giuen in charge to leade the armie into *Lombardie*, for that *Iulian* his brother was conſtrained to abide at *Florence* by reaſon of a long feuer which came vpon him. Who being come to *Modena* three dayes after the taking of *Proſper*, tooke occaſion to recouer the Rocke of *Rubiera* that had bene occupied by *Guido Rangon*, for the which he payed him at laſt two thouſand ducats, and conſumed many dayes in the countrey of *Modena* and *Reggia*. Moreouer, the Pope hauing recourſe to his accuſtomed ſubtilties, diſpatched very ſecretly to the *French* King, *Cintio* his familiar friend, to excuſe himſelfe of the things that had bene paſſed till that day, and to begin, by the meanes of the Duke of *Sauoy*, to ſolicite a compoſition with him, to the end that by that beginning he might haue more facilitie to paſſe further, if the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* ſucceeded not well. But the Cardinall of *Bibiena* and certaine others who were caried more by their priuate paſſions then by the intereſts of their Prince, induced him to take a very raſh counſell. For declaring vnto him that there was danger, leſt by the fame of the happie ſucceſſe of the *French*, and by the perſwaſions and haply by the aide of the King, the Duke of *Ferrara* would now ſtirre to recouer *Modena* and *Reggia*, and the *Bentiuoleis* to returne into *Bolognia*:

lognia: and that amid ſo many other troubles, it would be very hard to contend againſt ſo great a number of enemies: but that it was a farre better and without doubt a more wiſe counſell, to labour to winne them with ſome propertie of benefite, and in all euents to make them his aſſured friends: they aduiſed him to reeſtabliſh the family of the *Bentiuolois* in *Bologna*, and to reſtore to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena* and *Reggia*: which he had preſently put in execution; if *Iulio de Medicis* Cardinall and Legate of *Bologna* (whom the Pope had ſent thither, to the end that in ſo great troubles he might ſuſtaine things in thoſe parts, and was as it were moderator and counſellor of the youth of *Laurence*,) had not bene of a contrary opinion: who being touched with diſpleaſure, for the reproch that would haue fallen vpon the Pope by a counſell ſo full of cowardiſe, which no doubt would haue bene greater then had bene the glorie of *Iulio* in getting to the Church ſo great a iuriſdiction, and being moued with griefe, for that it would make the memory of his legation infamous, for that being ſcarcely entred thereinto, he ſhould reſtore *Bologna*, the principall Citie of all the Eccleſiaſtike State, into the power of her ancient tyrants, leauing as a prey ſo great a Nobilitie, which in fauour of the ſea of *Rome* had openly conſpired againſt them: and therefore hauing diſpatched an expreſſe meſſenger to the Pope, he brought him again with reaſons and requeſts, to a counſell more honorable and ſafe. Although *Iulio* was a baſtard, yet he was made Cardinall by *Leo* in the firſt moneths of his Pontificacie, following the example of *Alexander* the ſixt in the effect, but not in the maner. For, *Alexander* at ſuch time as he created *Ceſar Borgia* his ſonne Cardinall, cauſed to be proued by witneſſes that depoſed the truth, that his mother at the time that ſhe was conceiued of him, had an husband, inferring thereupon, that according to the meaning of the lawes, the ſonne ought to be iudged to be begotten rather by the husband then by the adulterer: but touching *Iulio*, the witneſſes preferred the fauour of men afore the truth, for that it was proued that the mother of whom he was begotten, being yet a damzell and not married, afore ſhe conſented to the will of his father *Iulian*, had obtained of him a ſecret promiſe of marriage.

Theſe new accidents were likewiſe the cauſe that the Viceroy behaued himſelfe farre otherwiſe then he would haue done: who being not yet departed from *Verona*, for that he could not make his ſouldiers march without money, and becauſe he expected new companies promiſed by *Ceſar* who was now come to *Inſpruch*, to the end to leaue ſufficient garriſon within *Verona* and *Breſſia* as need required, he began with theſe and other excuſes to temporize and deferre, to ſee what would happen to the Duchie of *Millan*. Theſe matters alſo moued the *Swiſſers*, who retired to *Pinaruolo* immediatly after the paſſage of the *French* armie: and albeit vnderſtanding afterwards that the King who was paſſed the Mounts, muſtered his people at *Thurin*, they were gone to *Ciuas*, and had taken and ſacked it, for that they refuſed to furniſh them with victuals, and afterwards done the like at *Verceil* almoſt afore the Kings eyes, who was then at *Thurin*: yet being at laſt drawne into *Nouara*, and thoſe factions of them that were not ſo farre eſtranged from the *French* amities, taking courage and diſcloſing themſelues the more for their aduerſities, they began to treate of peace with the *French* king. About this time, thoſe regiments of the *French* which came by the way of *Genes*, with whom were ioyned foure thouſand footemen waged by the *Genowayes* by the working of *Octauian Fregoſa*, entring firſt into the towne of *Caſtellaccio*, and then into *Alexandria* and *Tortona*, in which townes there was not one ſouldier, became Lords of the whole countrey on this ſide *Po*: and the King who was come to *Verdait*, and had there the firſt aduertiſement that the Pope was declared againſt him, which the Duke of *Sauoy* ſignified vnto him in his name; albeit he chafed extreamely, yet (counſell and iudgement being not troubled and hindered by diſdaine) to the end not to prouoke him, he cauſed to be proclaimed publikly, as well through his armie, as amongſt the regiments that had taken *Alexandria*, that no man ſhould be ſo bold as to moleſt or inuade in any ſort the lands of the Church. Afterwards the King remained many days at *Verceil* expecting the iſſue of thoſe things that were treated with the *Swiſſers*, who intermitted not the debating of matters, but on the other ſide ſhewed themſelues full of varietie and confuſion. For at *Nouara*, they began to fall into tumult, becauſe the money which the King of *Aragon* was bound to pay them was not yet come, and tooke by force from the officers of the Pope the money which he had ſent them, and with the ſame fury departed from *Nouara*, with intention to returne into their countrey: a matter which many among them deſired, who hauing bene already three moneths

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in *Italy*, and laden with money and bootie, desired to conuey in safetie to their houses the riches they had gotten. But they were scarcely gone out of *Nouaro*, when the money which was due for the King of *Aragons* portion, was sent: the which although they had seized vpon as soone as it came, yet when they considered how shamefull such rash deliberations were, and being somewhat returned to themselues, they restored both the one and the other summes, to receiue them according to the accustomed manner at the hands of the officers. Afterwards they went to *Galera*, expecting another strength of twentie thousand footmen which was said to be newly arriued, and three thousand went with the Cardinall of *Sion* to be employed for the guard of *Pauie*. By which occasion, the King (the hope of agreement diminishing by these variations) departed from *Verceil* to go towards *Millan*, leauing in *Verceil* with the Duke of *Sauoy*, the bastard brother of the Duke, *Monsieur de Lautrech*, and the General of *Millan*, to continue the parley begun with the *Swissers*: and after the departing of the *Swissers* out of *Nouaro*, the Citie being brought to his obedience, he left the Castle besieged, which being battered by the artilleries, yeelded within few dayes, reseruing the liues and goods of those that kept it. Afterwards the King, to whom *Pauie* yeelded, passed the riuer of *Thesin*, and the same day *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* ran vp with part of his companies to *S. Christopher* neare to *Millan*, & afterwards euen to the suburbes of the gate of *Thesin*, hoping to be receiued by them of the towne, who being ill contented with the pillages and oppressions of the *Swissers* and *Spaniards*, desired to returne vnder the iurisdiction of the *French*: and also for that the towne was naked of souldiers. But the people of *Millan* stood in great feare of the *Swissers*, and the memory was yet fresh of the afflictions they had suffered the yeare before, when for the retrait of the *Swissers* from *Nouaro*, they mutined in fauour of the King. Therefore reioluing to expect the issue of things, notwithstanding they wished the victory to fal to the King, they sent to *Triuulce* to desire him to passe no further, and the next day dispatched Embassadors to the King being yet at *Busaloro*, to beseech him, that resting contented with the disposition of the people of *Millan*, wel affected to his Crowne, and readie to furnish him with victuals, he would not demand of them a more manifest declaration, which would stand him in no stead for the substance of the warre, no more then their declaratiõ the yeare before had helped his predecessor, which brought vpõ them great domages: That he should march on happily, and vanquish his enemies, assuring himself that the towne of *Millan* should be readie to open their gates to receiue him when he should be maister of the field: whereunto the King, receiuing them with good countenance, albeit at the first he was displeased that they had not receiued *Triuulce*, answered, that he was content to yeeld vnto their demands.

From *Busaloro* the King marched with his armie to *Biagrassa*, and whilest he remained there, the Duke of *Sauoy*, (after he had giuen audience to twentie Embassadours of the *Swissers* that were sent vnto him at *Verceil*, and going afterwards to *Galera* accompanied with the Bastard and others deputed by the King,) contracted a peace with the *Swissers* in the Kings name, vnder these conditions: That there should be betweene the *French* king and the nation of *Swisserse* a perpetuall peace during the Kings life and ten yeares after his death: That the *Swissers* and the *Grisons* should make restitution of those vallies appertaining to the Duchie of *Millan* which they had occupied: and that they should discharge and acquit that Estate of a bond to pay yearely a pension of fortie thousand duckats: That the King should endue *Maximilian Sforce* with the Duchie of *Nemours*, with a yearely pension of twelue thousand frankes, a companie of fiftie Lances, and a wife of the blood royall: That he should restore to the *Swissers* the ancient pension of fortie thousand franks, and defray the pay of three moneths to all the bands of *Swisserse* that were then in *Lombardie*, or on the way to come thither? That he should pay to the Cantons (at certaine termes) the sixe hundred thousand crownes promised in the accord of *Dyon*, and three hundred thousand for the restitution of the valleys: That he should entertaine continually in his pay foure thousand of them. In this peace were named by common consent, the Pope, so farre forth as he would render *Parma* and *Plaisance*, the Emperour, the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Marquis of *Montferrat*, without making any mention of the King Catholike, nor of the *Venetians*, nor of any other *Italian*. But this peace was made and broken almost in one and the same day, by the coming of new bands of *Swissers*, who being insolent and confident for the memory of the victories past, hoped to carry away by that warre no lesse riches, then such as they saw their countrimen loaden withall; and for that cause would in no wise

The treatie betweene the King and the Swissers broken.

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heare ſpeake of peace, but to hinder and breake it, they refuſed to reſtore the valleys: in ſo much as the firſt *Swiſſers* being not able to withdraw them from this eagerneſſe, fiue and thirtie thouſand of them drew to *Monſo* to lie in the ſuburbes of *Millan*, *Alberto Peter* a notable Captaine going from them with many enſignes by the way of *Coma*, which way the King of purpoſe had left free and open. Thus the peace being almoſt as ſoone broken as made, things returned to the ſame difficulties and doubts, yea farre greater, by reaſon of the new armies and forces that were approched neare the Duchie of *Millan*. For, the Viceroy leauing for the guard of *Verona* *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with an hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand Lanceknights; and twelue hundred Lanceknights in *Breſſia*, was come at laſt to lodge vpon *Po* neare to *Plaiſance*, hauing in his armie ſeuen hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen, with a bridge prepared to paſſe the riuer. And to leaue him no occaſion to complaine, *Laurence de Medicis* who had with great induſtrie remained many daies at *Parma* with the armie, wherein there was ſeuen hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, was come to *Plaiſance*: who had ſent afore foure hundred light horſemen to the *Swiſſers* whileſt they treated of the accord, to ſerue them to fetch in victuals; which he did at their requeſt, which foure hundred light horſemen were guided by *Marco Colonno* and *Lodowike* Count *de Petillano*, the one a Captain of the Church, and the other a Commander of the *Florentines*; whom he ſent not ſo much for any deſire he had to aide the common cauſe, as to giue no occaſion to the *Swiſſers* not to comprehend the Pope within the peace if they accorded with the *French* king. On the other ſide, *Bartlemew Aluiano*, who had ſent word to the King that he would ſo intangle the *Spaniſh* armie, that they ſhould haue no meanes to hurt him, as ſoone as he vnderſtood the Viceroy was departed from *Verona*, he went from *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and paſſed the riuer of *Adice*; and marching all along *Po* with nine hundred men at armes, foureteene hundred light horſemen, nine thouſand footmen, and with ſufficient prouiſion of artillerie, he came with great diligence neare the walls of *Cremona*: of which diligence, vnuſuall among the Captaines of our time, *Aluiano* himſelfe tooke ſuch glorie, that in his vaunting he was wont to compare it with the celeritie of *Claudius Nero*, when, to make head againſt *Aſdrubal*, he led the ſwifteſt part of his armie vpon the riuer of *Metauro*. Thus the ſtate of the warre was not onely diuers and variable, but alſo confuſed and much intangled. On the one ſide, the *French* king was neare vnto *Millan* with an army appointed and furniſhed of all things, who was come to *Marignan* to giue facilitie to *Aluiano* to ioyne with him, and to let the vniting of the Eccleſiaſtike and *Spaniſh* companies with the enemies: and on the other ſide lay fiue and thirtie thouſand *Swiſſers*, which was a force of footmen full of valour, who till that day could neuer be vanquiſhed by the *French*. The Viceroy kept along the ſhores of *Po* neare to *Plaiſance*, and vpon the way adioyning that leades to *Loda*, hauing a bridge readie dreſſed to paſſe the riuer, to the end to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*: and *Laurence de Medicis* was gotten into *Plaiſance* with the regiments of the Pope and the *Florentines*, to ioyne with the Viceroy to the ſame ends: and *Aluiano* a circumſpect and reſolute Captaine, lay with the *Venetian* armie vpon the territories of *Cremona*, almoſt vpon the banke of *Po*, to aide the *French* king, either by ioyning with him, or by drawing away the Eccleſiaſtike and *Spaniſh* regiments. The Citie of *Loda* which ſtandeth in the mid way betweene *Millan* and *Plaiſance*, and of an equall diſtance from them both, ſtood abandoned of each part. It had bene ſacked before by *Ranſe de Cere* who had entred into it as a ſouldier to the *Venetians*, and who for quarrels ariſing betweene him and *Aluiano*, had afore, with proteſtations and almoſt with threats, got leaue of the Senate to depart, and was entred into the Popes pay with two hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horſemen. But for that his ſouldiers could not follow him with that ſpeed, by reaſon the *Venetians* would not ſuffer many of them to depart from *Padua* where they lay, he went from *Loda*, to fill vp his numbers with thoſe companies wherewith he had bene retained. And the Cardinall of *Sion*, who being amazed with the practiſes which his people held with the *French* King, and by the wauering eſtate of the Citie of *Millan*, was fled to *Plaiſance* with a thouſand *Swiſſers* and with part of the regiments of the Duke of *Millan*, and afterwards went to *Cremona* to ſolicite the Viceroy to march on: and being on the way towards *Millan*, before that ſide was occupied by the *French* king, he left certaine of his companies for the guard of *Loda*; who when they heard that the *French* king was come to *Marignan*, abandoned the place for feare. But whileſt the Viceroy lay vpon the riuer of *Po*, and

before *Laurence de Medicis* came to *Plaiſance*, *Cintio* whom the Pope had ſent to the *French* King, was taken by the ſouldiers of the Viceroy, who finding about him Briefes and letters of credite, although he let him ſuddenly paſſe, for the reuerence he bare to him that ſent him, yet he entred into great doubt, that the hope that had bene giuen him, that the Church armie that was ioyned with him would paſſe the riuer of *Po*, was but vaine: and ſo much the more, for that at the ſame time *Laurence de Medicis* was detected to haue ſent ſecretly to the *French* king one of his men; which he did either of his owne motion, or by the commandement of the Pope; to excuſe himſelfe for that he led the armie againſt him, being conſtrained by a neceſſitie to obey the Pope; but that as much as he might, without incenſing his vnkle, or ſtaining his owne honour, he would endeuour himſelfe to content him, and giue him ſatisfaction, as he had alwayes had a deſire to do, and now more then euer. Now when *Laurence* was come to *Plaiſance*, there began a diſputation betweene the Viceroy and him, with others that ſate with them in counſell, whether it were beſt to paſſe ouer the riuer of *Po* all together to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*, amongſt whom were produced diuers reaſons. Such as perſwaded to paſſe the riuer, ſaid, there was no reaſon to diſſwade them from going into *Loda*, for that being there, they might let *Aluiano* for ioyning with the *French* armie; and for their owne parts, they ſhould haue good oportunitie to vnite themſelues with the *Swiſſers*, either in going to *Millan* to meet them, or elſe the *Swiſſers* coming towards them: and if the *French* men came to get it (as the bruite went they would) being already vpon the way betweene *Loda* and *Millan*, they ſhould haue vpon their backes both their armies ioyned together, which would put them in trouble and danger: and that haply it would not be hard to find meanes to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*, notwithſtanding they ſhould be driuen to make a greater circuite: That this reſolution was very profitable, yea neceſſary to the enterpriſe, both to take from the *Swiſſers* all occaſions of new practiſes of accord, and to increaſe their forces with ſuch things as they ſtood in need of againſt ſo great an armie, and chiefly of horſes: That beſides this, the faith and honour as well of the Pope as of the King Catholike did ſo require, both for that the capitulations bound them to ſuccour the Eſtate of *Millan*, and that they had often promiſed no leſſe to the *Swiſſers*, who finding themſelues diſappointed of aſſured friends, might take occaſion to become moſt dangerous enemies: That it was neceſſary for the intereſt and regard of their owne Eſtates, for that the *Swiſſers* either loſing the battell, or making accord with the *French* king, there would remaine no force in *Italy* able to let him from ouerrunning the whole eſtate of the Church, euen to *Rome* it ſelfe. On the contrary were produced many reaſons, whereof this was the chiefe, that it was not credible that the *French* king had not alreadie ſent a great ſtrength of ſouldiers to *Loda*; and if it were ſo, they would be driuen to retire with ſhame, and haply not without danger, ſince they ſtood ſubiect to haue at one time the *French* and the *Venetians* either in front or in flanke: and that they could not repaſſe the bridge without confuſion & long tract of time: That ſuch a danger were not to be reiected, if the prize & the recõpence were very great. But although they ſhould be entred into *Loda* being abandoned, what profite could grow by the enterpriſe? how could they lay their plot, either to go and vnite themſelues with the *Swiſſers*, or the *Swiſſers* to come and ioyne with them, there being ſo mightie an armie between *Millan* and *Loda*? And beſides, haply it was not a counſell aſſured, to put into the hands of men ſo raſh and vnreaſonable, all the forces of the Pope and the King Catholike, ſeeing the greateſt part of them had made peace with the *French* king, and were at diſcord with their companions. At laſt it was reſolued, that the firſt day both the armies ſhould paſſe ouer *Po* without any baggage or cariage, leauing ſufficient garriſon within *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, for feare of the *Venetian* armie, whoſe light horſemen euen at that time had made incurſions and pillages through the countrey. But this reſolution was not ſincerely executed by any of the parties, for that each of them thought in making ſhew to be willing to paſſe, to lay the fault vpon another without putting himſelfe in danger. For the Viceroy that was already entred into ſuſpition for the going away of *Cintio*, and knowing well enough with what cunning the Pope proceeded in his affaires, was of opinion, that his will was that *Laurence* ſhould paſſe no further: and *Laurence* conſidering how hardly the Viceroy was drawne to commit his armie to the power of fortune, gaue of another the ſame iudgement that others gaue of him. In the afternoone the *Spaniſh* bands began to paſſe the bridge, whom the Church armie was appointed to follow with ſpeed: but by reaſon of the night that came vpon them, they deferred by neceſſitie vntill the next morning, and not onely they

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paſſed not, but alſo the Viceroy retired with his armie on this ſide the riuer, being aduertiſed by a ſcout of foure hundred light horſemen ſent out from both the armies to eſpie the enemies and their doings, that an hundred *French* lances were entred into *Loda* the day before: ſo that the Viceroy and *Laurence* returning to their firſt lodgings, *Aluiano* went with his armie to *Loda*.

About this time the *French* King departed from *Marignan* to lodge at Saint *Donato*, and the *Swiſſers* retired to *Millan*, one part whereof being vnwilling to heare of warre, and the other of peace, there aroſe oftentimes amongſt them diſputes and tumults. But at laſt, as they were one day aſſembled all together, the Cardinal of *Sion* began with words ful of affectiō & vehemency, to incite them without any more deferring to iſſue out ẏ ſame day to aſſaile the *French* king, & ẏ they ſhould not ſtand ſo much vpon the number of horſmen & artilleries of the enemy, as thereby to forget the ancient valour of the *Swiſſers*, and the victories which they had obtained againſt the *French*. Hath our nation (ſaid he) ſuſtained ſo many paines, bene expoſed to ſo many dangers, powred out ſo much bloud, to the end to leaue (in one day) ſo great glorie, and ſuch a reputation, to the enemies that haue ſo often bene vanquiſhed by vs? Are not theſe the ſame *French* men who being ioyned with vs haue obtained ſo many victories, but ſeparate frō vs, haue bene continually vanquiſhed of euery one? Are not theſe the very ſame who the laſt yeare were ouerthrown at *Nouaro* with ſo great glory by a ſmal cōpany of vs? Be not theſe they, who aſtoniſhed at our valour, & confuſed for their owne cowardize, haue exalted to the heauens the name of the *Swiſſers*? famous when we were conioyned with them, but more famous being ſeparate from them? Thoſe that were at *Nouaro* had neither horſes nor artilleries, and yet without expecting the ſuccours that were to come, they ranne with Captaine *Motin* (the ornament and glorie of the *Swiſſers*) to charge the *French* men euen in their tents, and without fearing their artilleries, ouerthrew them, and ſlue together with them ſo many Lanceknights, as they blunted their weapons and wearied their armes: and do you beleeue that now they wil haue the courage to abide fortie thouſand *Swiſſers*, an armie ſo valiant and ſo puiſſant, that it is able to meete in the field with all the reſidue of the world ioyned together? Be you aſſured, they will flie at the very noiſe of your coming, and that their coming to *Millan* is not in confidence of their owne valour, but onely through an hope they haue of your diuiſions. The perſon and preſence of their King cannot ſtay them, for as much as being in feare to put his life and Eſtate in danger, he will be the firſt that will looke to his ſafetie, and will ſerue as example to the reſidue to do the like. If with this armie, that is to ſay, with the forces of the whole countrey of *Swiſſerland*, you haue not the courage to ſet vpon them, with what forces can you haue hope to be able to reſiſt them? To what end are we deſcended into *Lombardie*? & wherfore come to *Millan*, if we ſhall be feareful to go charge our enemies? What ſhall become of the braue words and proud threats which we haue vſed all this yeare, when we vaunted that we would deſcend into *Burgundie*, and reioyced for the accord of the *Engliſh* King, and the Popes inclination to confederate with the *French* King, eſteeming our glorie would be ſo much the greater, by how much all thoſe great Princes were ioyned in conſpiracie againſt the State of *Millan*? It had bene better we had not enioyed the yeares before ſo many honorable victories, nor chaſed the *French* out of *Italy*, and to haue contained our ſelues within the termes of our ancient renowne, if now deceiuing the expectation of all men, we ſhall proceed with an vniuerſall cowardiſe. Now is the world to iudge, whether our vertue was the cauſe of our victorie at *Nouaro*, or our fortune. If we ſhew our ſelues fearfull of our enemies, euery one will aſcribe it either to chance or to temeritie: but if we ſhal vſe the ſame vertue, all men wil confeſſe, that it was our valor, and hauing (as doubtleſſe we ſhall) the ſame ſucceſſe, we ſhall not onely be feared and redoubted by the people of this age, but alſo be admired and recommended by poſterities to come, by the iudgement and praiſes of whom the name of the *Swiſſers* ſhall be raiſed aboue that great name of the *Romanes*, for that it is not read of them, that they haue euer vſed ſuch a reſolute hardineſſe, nor gotten any victory with ſo great valour, nor that euer without neceſſitie they ſet vpon their enemies with ſo great diſaduantage: but of vs may be read the battell we gaue neare to *Nouaro*, where, with a few ſouldiers, without artilleries, and without horſes, we put to flight a mightie armie, furniſhed with all neceſſary prouiſions, and guided by two moſt notable Captaines, the one the moſt renowmed in all *France*, and the other the chiefe of all *Italy*. We ſhall leaue behind vs alſo the memory of the encounter at *S. Donato*, executed on our parts with the ſame difficulties,

The Cardinall of Sion perſwadeth the Swiſſers.

before *Laurence de Medicis* came to *Plaiſance*, *Cintio* whom the Pope had ſent to the *French* King, was taken by the ſouldiers of the Viceroy, who finding about him Brieſes and letters of credite, although he let him ſuddenly paſſe, for the reuerence he bare to him that ſent him, yet he entred into great doubt, that the hope that had bene giuen him, that the Church armie that was ioyned with him would paſſe the riuer of *Po*, was but vaine: and ſo much the more, for that at the ſame time *Laurence de Medicis* was detected to haue ſent ſecretly to the *French* king one of his men; which he did either of his owne motion, or by the commandement of the Pope; to excuſe himſelfe for that he led the armie againſt him, being conſtrained by a neceſſitie to obey the Pope; but that as much as he might, without incenſing his vnkle, or ſtaining his owne honour, he would endeuour himſelfe to content him, and giue him ſatisfaction, as he had alwayes had a deſire to do, and now more then euer. Now when *Laurence* was come to *Plaiſance*, there began a diſputation betweene the Viceroy and him, with others that ſate with them in counſell, whether it were beſt to paſſe ouer the riuer of *Po* all together to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*, amongſt whom were produced diuers reaſons. Such as perſwaded to paſſe the riuer, ſaid, there was no reaſon to diſſwade them from going into *Loda*, for that being there, they might let *Aluiano* for ioyning with the *French* armie; and for their owne parts, they ſhould haue good oportunitie to vnite themſelues with the *Swiſſers*, either in going to *Millan* to meet them, or elſe the *Swiſſers* coming towards them: and if the *French* men came to get it (as the bruite went they would) being already vpon the way betweene *Loda* and *Millan*, they ſhould haue vpon their backes both their armies ioyned together, which would put them in trouble and danger: and that haply it would not be hard to find meanes to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*, notwithſtanding they ſhould be driuen to make a greater circuite: That this reſolution was very profitable, yea neceſſary to the enterpriſe, both to take from the *Swiſſers* all occaſions of new practiſes of accord, and to increaſe their forces with ſuch things as they ſtood in need of againſt ſo great an armie, and chiefly of horſes: That beſides this, the faith and honour as well of the Pope as of the King Catholike did ſo require, both for that the capitulations bound them to ſuccour the Eſtate of *Millan*, and that they had often promiſed no leſſe to the *Swiſſers*, who finding themſelues diſappointed of aſſured friends, might take occaſion to become moſt dangerous enemies: That it was neceſſary for the intereſt and regard of their owne Eſtates, for that the *Swiſſers* either loſing the battell, or making accord with the *French* king, there would remaine no force in *Italy* able to let him from ouerrunning the whole eſtate of the Church, euen to *Rome* it ſelfe. On the contrary were produced many reaſons, whereof this was the chiefe, that it was not credible that the *French* king had not alreadie ſent a great ſtrength of ſouldiers to *Loda*; and if it were ſo, they would be driuen to retire with ſhame, and haply not without danger, ſince they ſtood ſubiect to haue at one time the *French* and the *Venetians* either in front or in flanke: and that they could not repaſſe the bridge without confuſion & long tract of time: That ſuch a danger were not to be reiected, if the prize & the recõpence were very great. But although they ſhould be entred into *Loda* being abandoned, what profite could grow by the enterpriſe? how could they lay their plot, either to go and vnite themſelues with the *Swiſſers*, or the *Swiſſers* to come and ioyne with them, there being ſo mightie an armie between *Millan* and *Loda*? And beſides, haply it was not a counſell aſſured, to put into the hands of men ſo raſh and vnreaſonable, all the forces of the Pope and the King Catholike, ſeeing the greateſt part of them had made peace with the *French* king, and were at diſcord with their companions. At laſt it was reſolued, that the firſt day both the armies ſhould paſſe ouer *Po* without any baggage or cariage, leauing ſufficient garriſon within *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, for feare of the *Venetian* armie, whoſe light horſemen euen at that time had made incurſions and pillages through the countrey. But this reſolution was not ſincerely executed by any of the parties, for that each of them thought in making ſhew to be willing to paſſe, to lay the fault vpon another without putting himſelfe in danger. For the Viceroy that was already entred into ſuſpition for the going away of *Cintio*, and knowing well enough with what cunning the Pope proceeded in his affaires, was of opinion, that his will was that *Laurence* ſhould paſſe no further: and *Laurence* conſidering how hardly the Viceroy was drawne to commit his armie to the power of fortune, gaue of another the ſame iudgement that others gaue of him. In the afternoone the *Spaniſh* bands began to paſſe the bridge, whom the Church armie was appointed to follow with ſpeed: but by reaſon of the night that came vpon them, they deferred by neceſſitie vntill the next morning, and not onely they

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passed not, but also the Viceroy retired with his armie on this side the riuer, being aduertised by a scout of foure hundred light horsemen sent out from both the armies to espie the enemies and their doings, that an hundred *French* lances were entred into *Lode* the day before: so that the Viceroy and *Laurence* returning to their first lodgings, *Aluiano* went with his armie to *Lode*.

About this time the *French* King departed from *Marignan* to lodge at Saint *Donato*, and the *Swissers* retired to *Millan*, one part whereof being vnwilling to heare of warre, and the other of peace, there arose oftentimes amongst them disputes and tumults. But at last, as they were one day assembled all together, the Cardinal of *Sion* began with words ful of affectiō & vehemency, to incite them without any more deferring to issue out ẏ same day to assaile the *French* king, & ẏ they should not stand so much vpon the number of horsmen & artilleries of the enemy, as thereby to forget the ancient valour of the *Swissers*, and the victories which they had obtained against the *French*. Hath our nation (said he) sustained so many paines, bene exposed to so many dangers, powred out so much bloud, to the end to leaue (in one day) so great glorie, and such a reputation, to the enemies that haue so often bene vanquished by vs? Are not these the same *French* men who being ioyned with vs haue obtained so many victories, but separate frō vs, haue bene continually vanquished of euery one? Are not these the very same who the last yeare were ouerthrown at *Nouaro* with so great glory by a final cōpany of vs? Be not these they, who astonished at our valour, & confused for their owne cowardize, haue exalted to the heauens the name of the *Swissers*? famous when we were conioyned with them, but more famous being separate from them? Those that were at *Nouaro* had neither horses nor artilleries, and yet without expecting the succours that were to come, they ranne with Captaine *Motin* (the ornament and glorie of the *Swissers*) to charge the *French* men euen in their tents, and without fearing their artilleries, ouerthrew them, and slue together with them so many Lanceknights, as they blunted their weapons and wearied their armes: and do you beleeue that now they wil haue the courage to abide fortie thousand *Swissers*, an armie so valiant and so puissant, that it is able to meete in the field with all the residue of the world ioyned together? Be you assured, they will flie at the very noise of your coming, and that their coming to *Millan* is not in confidence of their owne valour, but onely through an hope they haue of your diuisions. The person and presence of their King cannot stay them, for as much as being in feare to put his life and Estate in danger, he will be the first that will looke to his safetie, and will serue as example to the residue to do the like. If with this armie, that is to say, with the forces of the whole countrey of *Swisserland*, you haue not the courage to set vpon them, with what forces can you haue hope to be able to resist them? To what end are we descended into *Lombardie*? & wherfore come to *Millan*, if we shall be feareful to go charge our enemies? What shall become of the braue words and proud threats which we haue vsed all this yeare, when we vaunted that we would descend into *Burgundie*, and reioyced for the accord of the *English* King, and the Popes inclination to confederate with the *French* King, esteeming our glorie would be so much the greater, by how much all those great Princes were ioyned in conspiracie against the State of *Millan*? It had bene better we had not enioyed the yeares before so many honorable victories, nor chased the *French* out of *Italy*, and to haue contained our selues within the termes of our ancient renowne, if now deceiuing the expectation of all men, we shall proceed with an vniuersall cowardise. Now is the world to iudge, whether our vertue was the cause of our victorie at *Nouaro*, or our fortune. If we shew our selues fearfull of our enemies, euery one will ascribe it either to chance or to temeritie: but if we shal vse the same vertue, all men wil confesse, that it was our valor, and hauing (as doubtlesse we shall) the same succesſe, we shall not onely be feared and redoubted by the people of this age, but also be admired and recommended by posterities to come, by the iudgement and praises of whom the name of the *Swissers* shall be raised aboue that great name of the *Romanes*, for that it is not read of them, that they haue euer vsed such a resolute hardinesse, nor gotten any victory with so great valour, nor that euer without necessitie they set vpon their enemies with so great disaduantage: but of vs may be read the battell we gaue neare to *Nouaro*, where, with a few souldiers, without artilleries, and without horses, we put to flight a mightie armie, furnished with all necessary prouisions, and guided by two most notable Captaines, the one the most renowmed in all *France*, and the other the chiefe of all *Italy*. We shall leaue behind vs also the memory of the encounter at *S. Donato*, executed on our parts with the same difficul-

The Cardinall of Sion perswadeth the Swissers.

« ties, againſt the perſon of a *French* King, and againſt ſo many Lanceknights, who by how much « they are many in number, by ſo much will they fill and ſatisfie our hatred, and giue vs ſo « much the better occaſion to extinguiſh for euer the name of their armes, and by ſo much the « more ſhall they for euer abſtaine raſhly to compare themſelues with the *Swiſſers* in matters of « warre. It is not a matter certaine, but rather ſuch as ſeemes impoſſible, for many difficulties, « that we ſhould be ſuccoured by the Viceroy, or the bands of the Church, to what end then « ſhall we attend them? And beſides, their coming is not neceſſary, yea this impediment ought to « be acceptable to vs, for ỳ the glorie wil be wholy ours, together with the great ſpoiles & wealth « which are in the armie of our enemies. It is very vnlikely that Captain *Motin* wil cõmunicate his « glorie to ſtrangers, ſeeing he would not do it to his owne countrimen. And ſhall we be ſo « cowardly, and make ſo ſmall account of the fame of our valour, as, though they could ioyne « with vs, to attend them, to the end to communicate ſo great an honour to ſtrangers? The repu- « tation of the *Swiſſers* cannot endure, neither doth the eſtate of affaires require, that we ſhould « deferre, or ſtand vpon any more counſels. Let vs take the field, and preſently aſſaile « the enemies. It belongs to cowards, to whom dangers are fearfull, to conſult and ſpend « the time in counſell, and not to a nation of ſuch warlike minds as we beare, to whoſe glorie it « appertaines to make triall of the enemie as ſoone as he is diſcloſed. Therefore truſting in God, « who iuſtly purſueth the pride of the *Frenchmen*, take your pikes in your hands with your accu- « ſtomed courage, ſound vp your drummes, and let vs go, without loſing of time, and without « deferring an houre onely, to aduance our enſignes and ſatisfie our thirſt with the bloud of « thoſe, who by their pride ſeeke to trouble the whole world, but by their cowardiſe are alwayes « left a prey to euery one.

The battell of Marignan.

The *Swiſſers* encouraged and incited by theſe ſpeeches, ſuddenly armed themſelues with great furie: and as ſoone as they were iſſued out of the gate towards *Rome*, they fell into battell array; and albeit the day was almoſt ſpent, they marched with their ſquadrons towards the *French* armie, with ſuch cheerfulneſſe, and ſo great ſhouts, that ſuch as knew not the cauſe, might certainly haue beleeued that they had obtained ſome glorious victorie. The Captaines encouraged the ſouldiers, telling them that at what houre ſoeuer they came neare the campe of the enemies, they would ſuddenly giue the ſigne of battell, aſſuring them that they would couer the field with dead bodies, and vtterly raze out the name of the Lanceknights, and chiefly of thoſe, who prognoſticating their death, bare the blacke Enſignes. Now as in this furie they were come neare the place where the *French* men lay, albeit there remained no more then two houres of that day, they began the battell with a deſperate courage, charging the artilleries and fortifications of the enemies, breaking and diſperſing at this firſt charge, the bands that made head againſt them, and with their incredible valour won part of their artilleries. But the horſe- men with a great part of the armie, and the King himſelfe who was enuironed with a valiant troupe of Gentlemen, coming againſt them, their great furie was ſomewhat abated, and there began a cruell fight betweene them, which, with diuers chances, and great danger of the men at armes of *France*, who began to ſtagger, continued till foure houres within night, diuers *French* Captains lying dead on the ground, and the King himſelf, receiuing many wounds with a pike: and then, both the parties being ſo wearied, that they were no more able to hold their weapons in their hands, they ſeparated, and withdrew themſelues frõ the conflict without ſound of trum- pet, or commandement of their Captaines, and the *Swiſſers* incamped in the ſame place, expe- cting the next Sunne or day light, in the meane ſpace neither partie offending the other, as if there had bene a ſecret truce betweene them. But the firſt aſſault of the *Swiſſers* (to whom the Cardinall cauſed victuals to be brought from *Millan* whileſt their bodies tooke reſt) hauing ſuc- ceeded ſo happily, that there ranne a bruite throughout all *Italy*, that the *Swiſſers* had put to flight the armie of the enemies, the King conſumed not vnprofitably the reſidue of the night; for, knowing the greatneſſe of the perill, he laboured to range his artilleries into places conue- nient, to reaſſemble his horſemen, and put in order his ſquadrons of Lanceknights and *Gaſcons*. By this time it was day, at the beginning whereof, the *Swiſſers*, who not onely deſpiſed the *French* armie, but alſo made no reckning of al the forces of *Italy* knit together, recontinued their charge vpon the enemies with the ſame furie, and very raſhly: who entertaining them valiantly, but with more diſcretion and better order, the *Swiſſers* found themſelues beaten partly by the artilleries and partly by the crosbowes of the *Gaſcons*, and withall charged by the horſemen,

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ſo that they were battered both in front and in flanke. Beſides, at the riſing of the Sunne came *Aluiano*, whom the King had ſent for ouer night, bringing with him his light horſemen and the moſt ſpeedie part of his armie: he arriued at ſuch time as the fight was moſt cloſe and furious, and all things reduced into greateſt trauell and danger: and hauing the reſidue of his armie coming on in due courſe, he ſet furiouſly vpon the backes of the *Swiſſers*; who, notwithſtanding they alwayes maintained the fight with great valour and reſolution, yet ſeeing the braue reſiſtance that was made, and that the *Venetian* armie was now arriued, they began to deſpaire of the victory, ſo that the Sunne hauing now ſhined many houres vpon the earth, they ſounded the retrait, and charging vpon their ſhoulders the artilleries they had brought with them, they withdrew their ſquadrons, and retired, keeping alwayes their accuſtomed order, and marched faire & ſoftly towards *Millan*, with ſo great aſtoniſhment of the *French*, that of the whole armie neither horſman nor footman had the courage to follow them: onely there were two companies of them, who being fled into a farme hourſe, were burned therein by the *Venetian* light horſemen. The reſidue of the armie returned to *Millan*, not breaking their order, retaining ſtill in their apparence and countenance, the ſame conſtancie and aſſurance: and ſome ſay that they buried fifteene peeces of great artilleries which they wonne at the firſt charge, for that they had no oportunitie to carry them away. All men with one common conſent do affirme, that there had not bin ſeene in *Italy* of long time a battell more furious and dreadful: for that, what by the deſperate valour wherewith the *Swiſſers* began the charge, and after by the errors of the night the order of the whole armie being confuſed, and the fight ſo mixed, that they could not obſerue any commandement nor perceiue any ſigne, all things were wholly expoſed to fortune. The King himſelfe who was many times in danger, might well diſcerne, that his preſeruation came more by his owne vertue and good fortune, then by the aide of his people, from whom he was oftentimes ſeparate by the confuſion of the battell and by the darkneſſe of the night: ſo that *Triuulce* (a Captaine who had ſeene ſo many things) affirmed, that this battell was fought by Giants and not by men, and that eighteene battels wherein he had bene preſent, were but combats of litle children, in compariſon of this; and was of opinion, that without the aide of the artilleries the victory had remained to the *Swiſſers*, who being entred at the firſt charge within the fortifications of the *French*, and recouering from them the moſt part of the artilleries, had alwayes wonne further into their campe. And likewiſe the arriuing of *Aluiano* was to great purpoſe for the *French*, who coming vpon them when the battell was yet doubtfull, he gaue courage to the *French*, and terrified the *Swiſſers*, who ſuppoſed that the whole *Venetian* armie was with him. Touching the number of the dead, if euer it was vncertaine in a battell (as almoſt alwayes it is) it was moſt vncertaine in this, men ſpeaking diuerſly, ſome by paſſion, and ſome by error. Some affirme more then foureteene thouſand *Swiſſers* to be ſlaine, others ſay more then ten thouſand; and thoſe that ſpeake more moderatly, eight thouſand; and there wanted not ſuch as would reduce them to three thouſand, all men of litle worth. But on the *French* part, in the encounter that was giuen ouer night, were ſlaine *Francis* brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, *Monſieur d'Imbercourt*, the Count of *Sancerre*, and many other men of worth: in that of the next day, the Prince of *Tallemont* ſonne to *Monſieur Trimouille*, *Buſſi d'Amboiſe*, *Chaſtelart* of *Sauoy*, and *Mony* Enſigne-bearer to the Kings band; all perſonages of marke, either for their nobilitie and greatneſſe of eſtate, or for the honorable places they managed in the armie: and touching the number of their dead, whereof men ſpake diuerſly for the ſame cauſes, ſome hold that there died ſixe thouſand, others that there was not aboue three thouſand, amongſt whom were certaine Captaines of the Lanceknights.

When the *Swiſſers* were retired to *Millan*, they fell into great diſagreement, for that ſome were deſirous to come to accord with the *French* King, and others that they ſhould continue the defence of *Millan*: and thoſe Captaines that afore had ſolicited the accord, ſeeking ſome cauſe leſſe diſhoneſt to be gone, demãded mony of *Maximilian Sforce*, knowing wel inough y he was not able to pay them: and then the bands of footmen at the perſwaſion of *Roſt* their Colonell, departed the day following to returne into their country by the way of *Coma*, giuing hope to the Duke that they would returne ſpeedily to ſuccour the Caſtle, wherein remained fifteene hundred *Swiſſers* and fiue hundred *Italians*. With this hope, *Maximilian Sforce* accompanied with *Iohn Gonzaga*, and *Ierome Moron* with other Gentlemen of *Millan*, incloſed himſelfe in the Caſtle, after he had with great difficultie conſented that his brother *Francis* Duke of *Bary*

ſhould go into *Germany*: and the Cardinall of *Sion* tooke his iourney towards *Ceſar* to ſolicite for ſuccours, hauing giuen his faith to returne ſuddenly. The Citie of *Millan* thus abandoned, yeelded to the *French* King, agreeing to pay him a great ſumme of money: but the King would not enter into the towne ſo long as the Caſtle was held by the enemies, holding it a matter vnworthy the maieſtie of a King, to enter into a towne that is not wholly in his power. The King cauſed Maſſes to be ſong ſolemnely for three dayes in the place where he had wonne the battell. The firſt was to thanke God for his victorie; the ſecond to pray vnto him for the ſoules of thoſe that were ſlaughtered in the battell; and the third for peace: and in perpetuall memory of his victory, he built in the ſame place a Chappell. All the townes and Caſtles of the Duchie of *Millan* followed the fortune of the victory, except the Caſtle of *Cremona* and that of *Millan*, to the ſiege whereof *Peter* of *Nauarre* being ſent, he aſſured that he would carry it in leſſe then a moneth, not without the maruell of all men, foraſmuch as the Caſtle was very ſtrong, and plentifull of all things neceſſary for to defend and keepe it, and for that there were within it more then two thouſand men of warre. The Viceroy hauing receiued aduertiſement of the victory of the *French*, remained a few dayes in the place where he was incamped, and that more by neceſſitie then by will, by reaſon that he could not eaſily remoue his armie for want of money. But hauing at laſt receiued a certaine ſumme, and borrowed ſixe thouſand duckats of *Laurence de Medicis*, he retired himſelfe to *Pontenuro*, with intention to go to the Realme of *Naples*. For, albeit the Pope vnderſtanding what was hapned, had from the beginning expreſſed to the world the conſtancie of his predeceſſor, the Embaſſadours of the Confederates perſwading him to make head againſt fortune, and to endeuour to hold the *Swiſſers* in good diſpoſition, or at leaſt if they would reuolt, to take in their place the Lanceknights: yet he was of opinion, that the remedies and prouiſions would fall out too ſlow for his perils, and that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould be aſſailed: for that though the reuerence of the Church held the King from moleſting the Eccleſiaſtike State, yet he could not beleeue, that it was able to retaine him from aſſailing *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, as members depending on the Duchie of *Millan*, and from moleſting the State of *Florence*; a matter wherein all regards did ceaſſe, and for the which he would thinke himſelfe as deeply offended, as if violence were directly offered to the State of the Church. And certainly it was not without cauſe that he was in feare, for that the King had already giuen order to caſt a bridge ouer the riuer of *Po* neare to *Pauie*, to ſend to take *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and after the taking of thoſe Cities, if the Pope refuſed his amitie, to ſend by the way of *Pontreſmo* to chaſe the *Medices* from the Citie of *Florence*. But now according to his commiſſion, the Duke of *Sauoy* and the Biſhop of *Tricaro* his Nuncio, treated with the King, who fearing leſt he ſhould make new alliances againſt him, and bearing great reuerence to the Sea Apoſtolik, for the terror that was through the whole Realme of *France* by reaſon of the perſecutions receiued by *Iulio*, he deſired much to be at vnitie with him. Therefore there was concluded betweene them a preſent confederation for the defence of the States of *Italy*, wherein was particularly expreſſed, that the King ſhould take vpon him the protection of the perſon of the Pope, the State of the Church, *Iulian* and *Laurence de Medicis*, and the State of *Florence*: That the King ſhould giue an Eſtate in *France* and a penſion to *Iulian*, and to *Laurence* a penſion and a companie of fiftie Lances: That he ſhould conſent that the Pope might giue paſſage to the Viceroy through the ſtates and iuriſdiction of the Church, to returne with his armie to the kingdome of *Naples*: That the Pope ſhould be bound to cauſe the ſouldiers to depart out of *Verona* that were there, and withall, to countermand the companies ſent to the ſuccours of *Ceſar* againſt the *Venetians*: That he ſhould giue vp to the *French* King the Cities of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and in recompence thereof, the King to agree, that from thence forward the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be bound to furniſh it ſelfe with the ſalt of *Ceruia*, a matter of great profite to the Church, and wherein the Pope had already agreed with the Duke of *Millan* in the confederation he made with him: That a compromiſe ſhould be committed to the Duke of *Sauoy*, to iudge whether the *Florentines* had broken the confederation made with King *Lewis*; and if they had offended that way, then he to haue power to impoſe ſuch penaltie as they had deſerued: which the King ſaid, he demanded more for his honour, then for any other reſpect. As ſoone as this concluſion was made, the Biſhop of *Tricaro* went to *Rome* in poſt to perſwade the Pope to ratifie it, and *Laurence* withdrew to *Parma* and *Regge* the companies that were within *Plaiſance*, to giue occaſion to the Viceroy to depart the ſooner; and him-

himſelfe went to the King to obtaine his good fauour, and to perſwade him (according to the artificiall inſtruction of his Vnkle) that in all euents he would depend vpon him. The Pope was hardly induced to this ratification, for that it diſpleaſed him much to loſe *Parma* and *Plaiſance*: and he could willingly haue temporized to ſee what the *Swiſſers* would firſt determine, who hauing called a Diot at *Zurich* (the principall Canton of all the *Swiſſers*, and enemie to the *French*) debated to giue reſcue to the Caſtle of *Millan*, although they had abandoned the valleys and the townes of *Bellinzona* and *Lugarno*, but not the Caſtles, of whom neuertheleſſe the King obtained that of *Lugarno*, by giuing ſixe thouſand crownes to the Captaine: but the *Griſons* would not abandon *Chiauenna*. At laſt the Biſhop of *Tricaro* laying afore him the danger leſt the King ſhould preſently inuade *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and ſend men of warre into *Tuſcane*, and aggrauating much the harmes the *Swiſſers* had receiued at the battell of *Marignan*, the Pope was content to ratifie the peace, albeit vnder this moderation, that neither he nor his Agents ſhould be bound to giue vp into the Kings hands *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, but by leauing them voide of men and officers, to giue libertie to the King to enter vpon them: That the Pope ſhould not be bound to reuoke his people from *Verona*, for that he would not commit ſuch an iniurie againſt *Ceſar*: which notwithſtanding he promiſed to do as ſoone as any conuenient occaſion was offered; and that the *Florentines* ſhould be abſolued of the pretended breaking of the league. The accord bare alſo that the King ſhould not take vpon him the protection of any feodarie or ſubiect of the State of the Church, and that not onely he ſhould not hinder the Pope to proceed againſt them as their ſupreme Lord with correction, but alſo that he ſhould be bound to miniſter aide to him in that action when he ſhould be required. Moreouer it was agreed that the Pope and the *French* King ſhould haue an enteruiew together in ſome place conuenient; which was a matter propoſed by the King, but deſired indifferently by them both: by the King, the better to eſtabliſh that amitie, to aſſure the eſtates of ſuch friends as he had in *Italy*, and for that he hoped with his preſence, and by offering great aduancements to the Popes brother and nephew, to obtaine, that with his conſent he might inuade the Realme of *Naples*, a matter which he deſired moſt ardently: by the Pope, to the end that by this office, and maner of dealing, moſt fit to winne grace and amitie with euery one, to entertaine the King whileſt he ſtood in ſo great proſperitie: although many approued not of this deliberation, as an action vnworthy the maieſtie of a Pope, and as though it had bene fit that the King ſhould haue come to him to *Rome*, if he would haue had any conference with him. But the Pope affirmed, that he condeſcended hereunto for a deſire he had to induce the King not to moleſt the Realme of *Naples* during the life of the King Catholike, which to the iudgement of man could not long endure, for that it was more then a yeare ſince he was very ill diſpoſed. In the meane while *Peter* of *Nauarre* was labouring to get the Caſtle of *Millan*, and hauing won a murdring houſe which ſtood on the right hand at the entrance of that gate of the Caſtle which is towards *Coma*, and afterwards approching nearer the ditch and the Caſtle wall by the helpe of pauiſſes and engines of wood, he began to worke a mine within the ſaid ditch; and all other defences being ouerthrowne, he began to labour more mines, taking away with the helpe of his Engines a great pane of the wall in a corner of the Caſtle, and applied his hooks and rammes to make it fall at the ſame inſtant that he put fire to his mines: matters which albeit in common iudgement ſeemed not ſufficient to carry the Caſtle but with great difficultie and long time, and that already there was certaine knowledge that the *Swiſſers* according to that which had bene reſolued at the Diot of *Zurich*, prepared to ſuccour it: yet a practiſe being begun between *Iohn Gonſaga* the Duke of *Millans* Captaine which was within the Caſtle, and the Duke of *Bourbon* his kinſman, and *Ierome Moron*, with two other *Swiſſer* Captaines interpoſing, who were alſo in the Caſtle, the reſolution was concluded the fourth day of October, to the great admiration of all men: and there wanted not ſuch as blamed *Ierome Moron* ſpecially for this concluſion, for that either through too great feare, or with very litle faith, he had vſed his authoritie to perſwade the Duke to ſuch an agreement: whereof he excuſed himſelfe by the diſcord that was among the footmen of the *Swiſſers* and *Italians*. The accord was, that *Maximilian Sforce* ſhould immediatly giue vp into the hands of the *French* King, the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona*: That he ſhould yeeld vnto him all the rights and intereſts he had in that State, and receiue of the King a certaine proportion of money to pay his debts, and that he ſhould go into *France*, where the King ſhould giue him a yearely penſion of thirtie thouſand duckats, or

Peter Nauarre afore the Caſtle of Millan.

procure him to be made Cardinall with the like reuenue: That the King ſhould pardon *Galeas Viſconte* with certaine other Gentlemen of that Duchie, who had done their beſt endeuours for *Maximilian*: That he ſhould giue ſixe thouſand crownes to the *Swiſſers* that were within the Caſtle: That he ſhould confirme to *Iohn Gonzaga* the goods that he held in the State of *Millan* by the gift of the Duke, and enlarge his liuing with ſome yearely penſion: That he ſhould in like ſort ratifie to *Moron*, as well the goods that appertained to him in propertie, as others that he had of the Dukes gift, together with the offices he exerciſed, and ſhould make him Maiſter of Requeſts in the Court of *France*. Vpon the publication of this accord, *Maximilian* ſurnamed the *More*, according to the name of his father, departed out of the Caſtle, and went into *France*, ſaying, he was deliuered from the ſeruitude of the *Swiſſers*, the ill dealings of *Cæſar*, and the deceits of the *Spaniards*: and yet all men praiſed Fortune more for hauing ſo ſpeedily depoſed him from ſuch a degree, then for that ſhe had afore exalted a man, who, for his incapacitie, extrauagant thoughts, and moſt foule manners of life, was vnworthy of all greatneſſe.

But afore the Caſtle of *Millan* was giuen vp, there were ſent to the King as Embaſſadours foure of the moſt principall and honorable perſons of the Senate of *Venice*, to wit, *Anthonie Grimani*, *Dominicke Treuiſan*, *George Cornaro*, and *Andrew Gritti*, to congratulate his victorie, and to beſeech him to aide them to recouer their townes, as he was bound by the capitulations of the confederation: an enterpriſe wherein they had no other impediments then the forces of *Cæſar*, and the Popes regiments that were within *Verona* vnder the charge of *Marke Anthonie Colonno*: for, the Viceroy after he was gone from the territories of *Plaiſance*, and had repoſed ſome few dayes vpon the frontiers of *Modena*, expecting whether the Pope would ratifie the accord with the *French* King; as ſoone as he heard of the ratification, he returned with all diligence to the Realme of *Naples* by the way of *Romagna*. The King gaue ſpeedie order, that the baſtard of *Sauoy* and *Theodore Triuulce* ſhould go to their ſuccour with ſixe hundred Lances and ſeuen thouſand Lanceknights: who, whileſt they deferred to depart, either to ſee what would become of the Caſtle of *Millan*, or for that the King had a meaning to ſend out the ſame bands againſt the Caſtle of *Cremona*; *Aluiano* drew with his armie towards *Breſſia*, for that the *Venetians* would not conſent that he ſhould follow the Viceroy, becauſe they deſired to recouer *Breſſia* and *Verona* (if it were poſſible) without forreine ſouldiers. But becauſe that Citie was newly reſupplied with a thouſand Lanceknights, (*Bergamo* being rendred to the *Venetians* many dayes before) *Aluiano* reſolued to go firſt to beſiege *Verona*, as being the leaſt fortified, hauing there greater commoditie of victuals; and for that *Verona* being taken, *Breſſia* being alone, and the ſituation bearing no oportunitie to be eaſily ſuccoured by the *Almaines*, was eaſie to be taken. But he forbare to giue beginning to his enterpriſe, for feare leſt the Viceroy and the Popes bands that were in the countries of *Reggia* and *Modena*, ſhould repaſſe ouer *Po* at *Oſtia*, to reſcue *Verona*: of which doubt when he was deliuered by the departure of the Viceroy, he fell into another impediment of ſickneſſe, whereof he died in the beginning of October at *Gueda* in the countrey of *Breſſia*, hauing not yet attained threeſcore yeares of age. The *Venetians* were much grieued for his death, but much more the ſouldiers, who being not ſatisfied with grieuing for him, kept his bodie in the armie the ſpace of fiue and twentie dayes, carying it about with them with very great pompe, at ſuch time as they were to march: and when he ſhould be conueyed to *Venice*, *Theodore Triuulce* would not ſuffer that ſafeconduct ſhould be demanded of *Marke Anthonie Colonno* to carry him by the marches of *Verona*, as many aduiſed him to do; ſaying, it was not conuenient that he who in his life had neuer feare of enemies, ſhould now being dead make ſhew of fearing them. He was buried at *Venice* by publike decree, with very great honour in *S. Stephens* Church, where yet remaineth the monument of his ſepulcher; and *Andrew Nauaier* a very eloquent yong Gentleman of *Venice*, made his funerall Oration. He was a Captaine (in all mens opinion) of great reſolution and courage, and a diligent executioner of things determined: and yet, either by the malice of fortune, or (as many thinke) for that he was ſudden and raſh in counſell, he receiued many foiles by his enemies; yea haply, when he was ỹ chief cõmander in ỹ armie, he neuer obtained any victory. By reaſon of the death of *Aluiano*, the *French* King being required by the *Venetians*, gaue to them for Gouernour of their armie, *Triuulce*, whom they deſired much, as well for his experience, as for his reputation in the ſcience of warre: and withall for that by the common inclination of the faction of

The death of Aluiano.

the

the *Guelfes*, there had bene alwayes a ſetled amitie and goodwill betweene him and that Commonweale. Whileſt he went to the armie, to take his charge, the *Venetian* bands tooke *Peſquiero*, but a litle before they ouerthrew certaine troupes of horſemen, and three hundred *Spaniſh* footmen that went to their reſcue, recouering alſo *Aſola* and *Lona*, which the Marquis of *Mantua* had abandoned. As ſoone as *Triuulce* was come to the armie, they beſieged *Breſſia* at the inſtance of the Senate, notwithſtanding it ſeemed a matter of great difficultie to carry it without the *French* armie, for as much as the towne was ſtrong, and well manned with two thouſand footmen as well Lanceknights as *Spaniards*, and for that a great number of the *Guelfes* had bene conſtrained to go away, the Winter alſo drawing on, and the ſeaſon much diſpoſed to raine. Neither did the ſucceſſe of the matter beguile the iudgement that the Generall gaue. For as they had begun to batter the walls with their artilleries, which they had planted vpon the brinke of the ditch, on that ſide where iſſueth the ſmall riuer of *Garzetta*, thoſe within making many ſallies, brake forth at laſt with fifteene hundred Lanceknights and *Spaniards*, to charge the guard of the artillerie, which was an hundred men at armes and ſixe thouſand footmen: and beating them alſo with the ſhot that for that end was ranged vpon the towne wall, they put them eaſily to flight, notwithſtanding *John Paul Manfron* with thirtie men at armes ſuſtained ſomewhat their furie. They ſlue about two hundred footmen, burnt the powders, and drew into *Breſſia* ten peeces of artilleries: by reaſon of which diſorder, *Triuulce* thought good to retire and incampe more at large, expecting the coming of the *French* men, and withdrew himſelfe to *Coccaio*, which is ten miles from *Breſſia*, the *Venetians* looking in the meane while to make new prouiſions of artillerie and munitions. But as ſoone as the *French* men were come to the campe, they returned to beſiege the towne, and began to batter it in two ſundry places, on that ſide of the gate of Piles towards the Caſtle, and on that ſide of the gate of *S. Iohn*. In one of thoſe quarters the *French* men were incamped, and after they had giuen leaue to the Lanceknights, for that they refuſed to do ſeruice againſt the townes of *Caſars* obedience, *Peter* of *Nauarre* arriued at the campe with fiue thouſand *Gaſcons* and *French* men: and in the other quarter lay with the *Venetian* regiments, *Triuulce*, in whom reſted almoſt the whole ſuperintendencie of thoſe affaires, for that the baſtard of *Sauoy* being fallen ſicke, was gone from the army. When they had battered the wall, they went not to the aſſault, for that thoſe within had made ſundry rampiers, and with great care and valour had prouided all things neceſſary for defence: but *Peter* of *Nauarre* hauing recourſe to his accuſtomed remedies, began to vndermine the walls. At which time *Marke Anthonie Colonno* iſſuing out of *Verona* with ſixe hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen, encountred in the plaine *John Paul Manfron* and *Marke Anthonie Bua*, who were beſtowed in garriſon within *Valegge* with foure hundred men at armes and foure hundred light horſemen, & ouerthrew them: in which skirmiſh was taken *Iulio* the ſon of *John Paul*, his horſe being killed vnder him as he fought, and his father fled to *Goito*. Immediatly after, *Marke Anthonie* occupied *Legnago*, where were taken priſoners certaine Gentlemen of *Venice*. At laſt the taking of *Breſſia* appearing dayly more difficult, for that the mines made by *Peter* of *Nauarre* did not anſwer the hopes that he had giuen, and vnderſtanding that eight thouſand footmen were to come out of *Germany*, which the Captains that lay about *Breſſia* had no confidence to be able to hinder; the *Venetians* were content, ſomwhat to couer the ignominy of their retrait, to agree with thoſe within *Breſſia*, that if they were not ſuccoured within thirtie dayes, they ſhould abandon the Citie, and go out of it with their enſignes diſplayed, their artilleries, and what elſe appertained to them; a promiſe which euery one knew would ſerue to no purpoſe for the aſſurance they had of ſuccours: onely it was a thing profitable to them of *Breſſia*, to be deliuered in the meane while from aduerſities and afflictions. Afterwards the *Venetians* put eight thouſand footmen within *Bre*, a towne ſubiect to the Counts of *Lodron*; but as ſoone as they heard that the Lanceknights marched, to whom the borough of *Anfo* was rendred, they retired cowardly to the armie. The Captaines themſelues ſhewed no greater courage; for fearing to be charged at one time by theſe bands, and by thoſe that were within *Breſſia*, and alſo by *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with the regiments that were within *Verona*, they retired to *Gueda*, whither likewiſe, being already aſſured of this accident, they had ſent their greateſt artillery and almoſt all their baggage: and the Lanceknights that entred into *Verona* without impediment, returned into *Germanie*, after they had refurniſhed it with victuals, and reenforced the garriſon.

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In the meane while the Pope and the *French* King had agreed to meet together at *Bologna*, a place which the King accepted afore *Florence*, becauſe he would not be far remoued frō the Duchie of *Millan*, and chiefly for that the Duke of *Sauoy* managed continually the negociation of accord betweene him and the *Swiſſers*, and for that (as he ſaid) in paſſing into *Tuſcane* he ſhould be conſtrained to leade with him a great traine of ſouldiers, for that it was not for his honour to enter into *Florence* with leſſe pompe then the late King *Charles* had done before: for the preparing whereof, it behoued him to deferre for certaine dayes; a matter grieuous to the King, as well for other reſpects, as for that he was conſtrained to retaine yet longer the whole armie, whereof albeit the expences were very great, yet he had not till that day determined, nor as yet made any reckoning to ſend away any part, ſo long as he remained in *Italy*. The Pope then entred into *Bologna* the eight day of December, and the King made his entrie within two dayes after, to receiue whom, the Cardinall *de Fieſque* and the Cardinall *de Medicis*, Legates Apoſtolike, were gone to the confines of the country of *Reggia*: and he entred without many bands of ſouldiers, and not with any great Court; and being conueyed, according to the cuſtome, into the publike Conſiſtorie afore the Pope, he offered in his owne perſon (his great Chancellor deliuering the ſpeech for him) the obedience which he had not as yet till then lent him. Then they were lodged three dayes together in one Pallace, ſhewing one to another right great ſignes of good will and amitie: in which time they not onely confirmed with words and promiſes, the obligations and contracts paſſed afore, but debated beſides of many things touching the Realme of *Naples*, which the King being not then ready to aſſaile, he contented himſelfe with the great hope and aſſurances which the Pope gaue him to be fauourable to him in that enterpriſe whenſoeuer the King of *Aragon* ſhould happen to die, which in the iudgement of all men would be very ſhortly; or when the confederation which he had with him ſhould be ended, which endured yet for ſixteene moneths. The King intreated him to render to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena* and *Reggia*, and the Pope condeſcended therein vnto him, the Duke paying fortie thouſand duckats which he had giuen to *Cæſar* for *Modena*, and repaying likewiſe a certaine ſum of money for the expences which he had bene at in both the Cities. The King was a ſuter alſo for *Franciſco Mario* Duke of *Vrbin*, who being entertained by the Church with two hundred men at armes, and appointed to go with *Iulian de Medicis* to the armie, when that charge was afterwards transferred to *Laurence*, by reaſon *Iulian* was ſick, he had not only refuſed to go thither, alledging that he would not condeſcend to *Laurence* to go with him as a ſimple Captaine, and vnder the authoritie of another, in the armie of the Church, wherein he had ſo often bin General and ſuperiour to them all, although by reaſon of the long friendſhip he had had with *Iulian*, he had againſt his dignitie conſented thereunto; but alſo had reuoked the ſouldiers that were in his pay, as they were on the way, notwithſtanding his promiſe to ſend them: for that he had already ſecretly compounded, or at leaſt was in the way of compoſition with the *French* King, and euer ſince the Kings victorie, had not ceaſſed by the working of particular men, to kindle him againſt the Pope, as much as he could. But the Pope calling to minde thoſe iniuries, and ſtudying more to make that Duchie fall into his houſe, he refuſed the King this demand, declaring vnto him with ſweete words, of what conſequence it would be for the affaires of the Church, by ſo pernicious an example to giue boldneſſe to his ſubiects to rebell. The King tooke theſe reaſons for payment, and accommodated himſelfe to the Popes will, although in regard of his honour, he would gladly haue purchaſed ſafetie for him that was fallen into danger for adhering vnto him: whereunto he was perſwaded by many of his Councell and of his Court, who ſhewed vnto him, how vnwiſe a deliberation it was of the late King to haue ſuffered the Duke *Valentinois* to oppreſſe the inferiour Lords of *Italy*; which had raiſed him to ſuch a greatneſſe, that if his father *Alexander* had enioyed longer life, he had without doubt bene very preiudiciall to the affaires of *France*. The Pope promiſed the King to giue him power to leuie for one yeare the tenth part of the reuenues of the Churches of *France*. Alſo it was agreed, that the King ſhould haue the nomination of Benefices, which alwayes afore appertained to Colledges and Chapters of Churches; a matter that fell out well for the Kings of *France*, who haue by that meanes power to diſpoſe of ſo many rich Benefices to whom they pleaſe; and on the other ſide, that the Annates of the *French* Churches ſhould afterwards be payed to the Pope, according to the true value, and not according to the ancient taxations, which are farre leſſe, wherein the Pope found himſelfe deceiued: for, when his Deputies and Com-

Enterview of Pope Leo and the Frēch king in Bologna.

Commiſſaries for the Realme of *France*, ſought to proceed againſt thoſe that concealed the true value, they could find no proofe nor teſtimonie, nor get execution againſt the parties, ſo that diſpatches went out ſtill according to the old rates. The King alſo promiſed not to take into his protection any of the Cities of *Tuſcane*: and yet ſhortly after he made inſtance vnto him to conſent that he might take the people of *Lueques* into his protection, who offered him fiue and twentie thouſand duckats, ſaying; he was bound thereunto by the obligation of his predeceſſors; but the Pope would giue no conſent, but promiſed for his part that he would forbeare to moleſt them in any ſort. Beſides theſe things, they agreed to ſend Frier *Giles* Generall of the *Auguſtine* Friers and an excellent Preacher, to *Ceſar* in the Popes name, to diſpoſe him to render to the *Venetians*, *Breſſia* and *Verona*, taking a recompence of money. Which things being diſpatched, but not ſet downe by writing, except that which concerned the nomination of Benefices and paiment of the firſt fruites according to the true value, the Pope in fauour of the King, pronounced *Adrian de Boiſi* Cardinall, brother to the great Maiſter of *France*, who in matter of gouernment was in greateſt authoritie next the King. At laſt the King departed very well contented, and in great hope of the good will of the Pope, who for his part expreſſed no leſſe with all poſſible demonſtrations, but in his mind nouriſhed other impreſſions: for that it was yet no leſſe grieuous to him then afore, that the Duchy of *Millan* ſhould be poſſeſſed by the *French* King, and yet more to haue releaſed *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and likewiſe to render to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena* and *Reggia*; although not long after all this came to nothing, for as much as the Pope hauing receiued in *Florence* (where after he departed from *Bologna* he remained about a moneth) a promiſe of the money that ſhould be payed as ſoone as he ſhould enter into poſſeſſion, and the inſtruments that were to paſſe betweene them being there ſet downe in writing by common conſent, the Pope not denying, but interpoſing many excuſes and delayes, and alwayes promiſing, refuſed to giue perfection thereunto. The King being returned to *Millan*, preſently diſmiſſed his armie, except ſeuen hundred Lances, ſixe thouſand Lanceknights, and foure thouſand *French* men of thoſe which are called aduenturers, whō he left for the guard of that State. And for his owne perſon he returned into *France* with great ſpeed about the firſt beginning of the yeare 1516, leauing behind him as his Lieutenant, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, perſwading himſelfe that he had left his affaires in *Italy* in good ſuretie, both for the alliance contracted with the Pope, and alſo for that about that time he had newly compounded with the *Swiſſers*, who, notwithſtanding the King of *England* perſwaded them to take armes againe againſt the *French* king, renewed with him the alliance, by the which they bound themſelues to furniſh alwayes for his ſeruice and at his pay, both in *Italy* and out of *Italy*, for defence and offence, and againſt all nations, ſuch numbers of footmen as he would require, vnder their publike name and enſignes, except againſt the Pope, the Empire and the Emperour: and on the other ſide, the King confirmed to them of new their ancient penſions, with promiſe to pay vnto them within a certaine time the ſixe hundred thouſand duckats agreed vpon at *Dion*, with three hundred thouſand if they gaue vp to him the villages and valleys appertaining to the Duchie of *Millan*: a matter which the fiue Cantons that poſſeſſed thoſe places refuſing to do, as alſo to ratifie the accord, the King began to pay to the other eight Cantons that part and portion of the money that appertained to them: who accepted it, but vnder this expreſſe condition, that they would not be bound to take his pay againſt the fiue Cantons. About the beginning of this yeare, the Biſhop *Petruccio* an ancient familiar of the Pope, hauing by the aide of the Pope and the *Florentines*, chaſed out of *Sienna*, *Borgueſo* ſonne to *Pandolfe Petrucci* his couſin, in whoſe hand was the gouernment, he tooke the ſame authoritie vpon himſelfe: and that which induced the Pope, was, that that Citie ſtanding betweene the Eſtate of the Church and the dominion of the *Florentines*, might be gouerned by a man wholly at his deuotion: and haply much more for that he hoped with the fauor of ſome good occaſion, to make it fall into the gouernment of his brother or his nephew, by the conſent of the Biſhop himſelfe. The warre continued ſtill in *Italy* betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, who deſired to recouer by the aide of the *French* king, *Breſſia* and *Verona*: and in regard of other things, they ſeemed peaceable enough. But there began ſpeedily to burſt out motions of new troubles that were ſtirred vp by the King of *Aragon*, who fearing leſt the greatneſſe of the *French* king would bring ſome aduerſities to the Realme of *Naples*, dealt with *Ceſar* and the King of *England*, to renew the warre with him: a matter not onely of no great difficultie to draw *Ceſar* vnto, being deſirous al-

1516. *The French king returneth into France.*

always of new things, and who of himſelfe could not eaſily keep the townes which he had taken from the *Venetians*: but alſo it was agreed vnto by the King of *England*, the remembrance of the late breach of promiſe of his father in law, being of leſſe power in him, thē the iealouſie or ỹ preſent hatred againſt the *French* King: beſides, that he was deſirous that the *Scottiſh* King being in minoritie, ſhould be gouerned by people of his appointment, or ſuch as depended of him. Theſe matters had bene followed both with better counſell and greater forces, if during the negociation, the death of the King of *Aragon* had not hapned; who, after he had bene vexed with a long indiſpoſition, died in a paltrie village called *Madrigalegio*, as he was going to *Sinile* with his Court. He was a King excellent in counſell and vertue, and in whom, if he had bene conſtant to keepe his promiſe, there could hardly be found any matter worthy of reprehenſion: for, touching the imputation of niggardneſſe, or the report that went of him to be ſtrait in expences, it was proued vntrue by the diſcouery of his eſtate after his death, who, notwithſtanding he had reigned two and fortie yeares, left behind him no maſſe of treaſure. But it happeneth for the moſt part, by the corrupt iudgement of men, that prodigalitie is more praiſed in a King, though the racking and oppreſſion of ſubiects be ioyned therewith, then frugalitie, whereunto is ioyned abſtinence from the goods of others. The excellent vertue of this Prince, was accompanied with a moſt rare and perpetuall felicitie during the whole courſe of his life, excepting the death of his onely ſonne: for the accidents of his wiues and his ſonne in law, were the cauſe that he kept his greatneſſe vntill his death; and the neceſſitie to depart with *Caſtile* after his wiues death, was rather a ſport then a blow of Fortune. In all other things he was right happie. For, being the ſecond ſonne to *Iohn* king of *Aragon*, he came to the Crowne by the death of his elder brother: he was King of *Caſtile* by *Iſabel* his wife: he ſubdued the Competitors of the ſame kingdome, and expulſed them: he recouered afterwards the Realme of *Granado*, which the enemies of the Chriſtian faith had vſurped almoſt eight hundred yeares: he annexed to his Empire the Realmes of *Naples* and *Nauarre*, with the principalitie of *Orano*, and many other places of importance vpon the coaſt of *Africa*: he bare alwayes the victory and vpper hand of his enemies: he couered almoſt all his ambitions and couetouſneſſe vnder the colour of an honeſt zeale to Religion, and of an holy affection to the publike good, wherein fortune appeared manifeſtly conioyned with induſtrie. About a moneth afore his death, died the great Captaine, both abſent from the Court, and ill contented with him: and yet the King gaue order, in remembrance of his valour, that there ſhould be done to him both in the Court and through the whole Realme, thoſe honours that in *Spaine* are not accuſtomed to be done, but at the death of Kings; a matter much approued and applauded by all his ſubiects, who bare great reuerence to the name of the great Captaine, for his ſingular liberalitie, for the opinion of his great wiſedome, and for that in the militarie ſcience he excelled all the Captaines of his time.

The death of the King Catholike.

The death of the great Captaine.

The death of the King Catholike enflamed the mind of the *French* king to the enterpriſe of *Naples*, to the which he was in mind to ſend forthwith the Duke of *Bourbon* with an army of eight hundred Lances, and ten thouſand footmen; perſwading himſelfe, that the kingdome being in ſome tumult vpon the death of the king, and ill prepared for defence, and for that the Archduke could not come thither in time conuenient to ſuccour it, he might eaſily conquer it: and he made no doubt of the Popes fauour; for the hopes he had giuen him at the enteruiew of *Bologna*; for the alliance contracted with him; and no leſſe for his owne intereſt, as though he ſhould be iealous of the wonderfull greatneſſe of the Archduke, heire preſent to ſo many kingdomes by the death of the king Catholike, and future ſucceſſor of *Caſar*. He hoped beſides, that the Archduke would giue him no great impediment, knowing how hurtfull his ill will might be to him touching the Realme of *Spaine*, but ſpecially for that of *Aragon*, whereunto ſome of the ſame family would haue aſpired, if their power had bene as great as their right. For albeit in the life of the late king and *Iſabel* his wife, it was interpreted in an open and generall aſſembly of the whole Realme, that the ancient conſtitutions of that kingdome, which admit not women to the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, were not preiudiciall to the iſſue males borne of them, when in the line maſculine was to be found neither brother, vncle, nor nephew of the dead king, or any that was more neare to him then they that were deſcended of the womans ſide, or at leaſt in equall degree: and that for this reaſon it was declared, that after the death of *Ferdinand*, the ſucceſſion appertained to the Archduke *Charles*, producing for example, that after the death of *Martin* king of *Aragon*, who died without iſſue male, by the ſentence of

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the Iudges deputed to that matter by the whole kingdome, *Ferdinand* grandfather to this *Ferdinand* was preferred, notwithstanding he came of the womans side, afore Count *Vrgello* and others ioyned to *Martin* by the masculine line, but in degree further off then *Ferdinand*: neuertheleſſe the people had alwayes ſecretly complained, euen to that very time, that in that interpretation and declaration the power and authoritie of *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel* had bene of more power then iuſtice and equitie, for that it ſeemed to many an vniuſt interpretation, that the women being excluded, ſuch as deſcended of them might be admitted, and that in the ſentence giuen on the behalfe of old *Ferdinand*, the feare of his armies was of more force then reaſon. Which things being well knowne to the *French* king, and manifeſt likewiſe that the peoples of the prouince of *Aragon*, of *Valence*, and of the Earledome of *Catelognia*, (all theſe are comprehended vnder the kingdome of *Aragon*) were very deſirous to enioy a King of their owne: he hoped that the Archduke, not to bring into danger ſo great a ſucceſſion, and ſo many Eſtates, would in the end not make ſtrange to leaue vnto him the kingdome of *Naples* vnder ſome reaſonable compoſition. At which time, to the end to preuaile by benefites as well as by forces, he commanded that *Proſper Colonno* who had conſented to pay for a ranſome fiue and thirtie thouſand duckats, ſhould be ſet at libertie paying one moytie onely: which cauſed many to beleeue, that *Proſper* had made ſecret promiſe not to beare armes againſt him, and haply to aide him in the warre of *Naples*, albeit with ſome limitation or reſeruing of his honour. The Kings mind being occupied with theſe thoughts, and now determining to deferre no longer to raiſe armes, he was driuen by new accidents to looke to his owne defence: for that the Emperour hauing receiued an hundred and twentie thouſand duckats, according to the former negociation begun with the King of *Aragon*, made preparation (as he had accorded with the ſaid King) to inuade the Duchie of *Millan*, as ſoone as he had giuen ſuccours to *Verona* and *Breſſia*. For the armie of the *Venetians* (commanded by *Theodore Triuulce*, who was made Gouernour when the other *Triuulce* was returned to *Millan*) lying incamped within fixe miles of *Breſſia*, their eſtradiots made incurſions through the whole countrey: who being one day charged by thoſe within the towne, and either partie running to the ſuccour of their friends, they repulſed them and draue them into *Breſſia*, hauing long fought for the victory, and ſlue many of them, taking priſoner the Gouernours brother of the Citie. Not many dayes after *Monſieur Lautrech* Generall of the *French* armie and *Theodore Triuulce* vnderſtanding that a ſtrength of three thouſand Lanceknights came to *Breſſia* to conduct the money that was ſent thither for the pay of the ſouldiers, ſent *Ianus Fregoſo* and *John Conrado Vrſin*, with certaine bands as well of the one as of the other armie, to the Caſtle of *Anſo* to hinder their paſſage, who ſlue about eight hundred of them, and the reſidue ſaued themſelues flying with the mony into *Lodron*. Afterwards the *Venetians* ſent a regiment of fiue and twentie hundred footmen into the valley of *Sabia* to fortifie the Caſtle of *Anſo*, who burnt *Lodron* and *Aſtorio*. The danger leſt *Breſſia*, ſo diſtreſſed, and in ſo great troubles, ſhould yeeld, compelled *Ceſar* to aduance, who came by *Trent* to *Verona* with fiue thouſand horſemen, fifteene thouſand *Swiſſers* ſent to him by the fiue Cantons, and ten thouſand footmen as well *Spaniſh* as Lanceknights. By reaſon whereof, the *French* armie and the *Venetians* leauing ſufficient garriſons within *Vincenſa* and *Padua*, went to *Peſquiero*, reſoluing to hinder *Ceſar* in paſſing the riuer of *Mincia*. But (as it often hapneth) the execution was not correſpondent to the counſell: for when they ſaw the enemies approch, they had not the heart to performe that in the field which they had ſo reſolutely aduiſed in their pauillions, but paſſing *Oglia*, they retired to *Cremona*, augmenting the reputation and courage of the enemie, and diminiſhing their owne. But *Ceſar*, either carried by an vndiſcreete counſell, or puſhed on by his euill fortune, incamped before *Aſolo*, which was guarded by an hundred men at armes, and foure hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, where he conſumed vnprofitably many dayes; and it was aſſuredly beleeued that the reſpite which he gaue to the enemies by that meanes to prouide for themſelues, tooke from him the oportunitie of the victory. As ſoone as he brake vp from before *Aſolo*, he paſſed the riuer of *Oglia* at *Orcinous*, and the enemies leauing in *Cremona* three hundred lances & three thouſand footmen, retired on the other ſide the riuer of *Adda*, with intention to ſtop his paſſage: by whoſe retiring, all the countrey betweene *Oglia*, *Po* and *Adda*, was at the deuotion of *Ceſar*, except *Cremona* and *Cremis*, whereof the one was guarded by the *French*, and the other kept by the *Venetians*. The Cardinall of *Sion* with many of the baniſhed people of the

Duchie of *Millan*, followed *Cæſar*, *Marke Anthonie Colonna* doing the like with two hundred men at armes of the Popes pay: by reaſon whereof the feare of the *French* was ſo much the more increaſed, whoſe hopes were reduced to this, that the ten thouſand *Swiſſers* who had bin payed for ten moneths, would no more deferre their comming. After *Cæſar* had paſſed the riuer of *Oglia*, he drew neare to the riuer of *Adda*, to make his paſſage at *Piſqueton*, but finding many difficulties to paſſe in that place, he came to *Riuolta*, the *French* men lying at *Caſciano* on the other ſide of the riuer, who for that the *Swiſſers* were not come, and the riuer of *Adda* had many foords that yeelded facilitie of paſſage, retired the day after to *Millan*, not without infamie to *Monſieur Lautrech*, who had publiſhed, and written to the King, that he would ſtop *Cæſars* paſſage at that riuer. But *Cæſar* being paſſed without any impediment, the Citie of *Lode* rendred to him forthwith: and when he was within a few miles of *Millan*, he ſent an Herald to ſummon the Towne, threatning the inhabitants, that if within three dayes they expulſed not the *French* armie, he would deale worſe with them then did *Federike Barberoſſo* his predeceſſor, who not ſatisfied to haue waſted and burnt *Millan*, cauſed ſalt to be ſowed there, in memory of his anger, and of their rebellion. But among the *French* men that were retired to *Millan* in great feare, the counſels were diuers: ſome were of opinion to abandon *Millan*, for that they thought themſelues vnable to reſiſt the enemie, and withall they had no great confidence in the coming of the *Swiſſers*, although they knew they were already vpon the way; and for that they had aduertiſement that the Cantons either had already ordered, or were at point to command, that the ſouldiers of the *Swiſſers* ſhould depart from the ſeruice of both the one and the other: and it was thought very likely, that thoſe bands that were vpon the way, would be more readie to obey then thoſe that were already in the campe of the enemie. Others were not of opinion that they ſhould depart, and reproued that counſell as a matter full of infamie: and hauing better hope in the coming of the *Swiſſers* and their owne abilitie to defend *Millan*, they aduiſed to ſticke to the defence of the towne, and that to that end they ſhould keepe retained in *Millan* all the footmen, and eight hundred Lances, making diſtribution of the reſidue, together with the *Venetians* and the light horſemen, into places adioyning, to keepe them, and to cut off victuals from the enemies. Neuertheleſſe the firſt counſell had bene followed, if *Andrew Gritti* and *Andrew Trewiſan*, *Venetian* Commiſſioners, had not ſtrongly perſwaded the contrary, who preuailed ſo much by their authoritie (for otherwiſe they could obtaine nothing) that they haſted not ſo much to deliberate of departing: ſo that euen as they would haue bene gone, there came certaine newes, that the day following *Albert Peter* would be in *Millan* with ten thouſand *Swiſſers* and *Gaſcons*. By this occaſion their courages reuiued, and yet hauing no confidence to be able to defend the ſuburbes, they burnt them, by the counſell of the *Venetian* Commiſſioners, who aduiſed them ſo, either for that they ſuppoſed it neceſſary for the ſafetie of the towne, or elſe vnder that occaſion to ſatisfie the ancient hatred remaining of long time between them of *Millan* and *Venice*. They expulſed likewiſe out of the Citie, or retained vnder honeſt guard, many of the chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction, as inclining to the name of the Empire, by affection of the partie, and for that there were in the armie many of the ſame faction. In this meane while *Cæſar* incamped with his army at *Lambra* two miles from *Millan*, where he was no ſooner arriued, then the *Swiſſers* arriued at *Millan*, who ſhewing themſelues ready for the defence of that Citie, refuſed to fight againſt the other *Swiſſers*. Their coming gaue new life to the *French* men, and no leſſe terror to *Cæſar*, who conſidering the ancient hatred of that nation againſt the houſe of *Auſtria*, and calling to mind what had hapned to *Lodowike Sforce* by hauing *Swiſſers* in his armie and the *French* armie his enemies, he began to feare leſt they ſhould play him the ſame pranke: for that it ſeemed to him very likely, that they would rather practiſe ſome trechery againſt him, who wanted money to pay them, then againſt the *French* men, to whom was wanting no mony, either to pay their wages, or to corrupt their minds. And that which brought him into greateſt doubt, was, that *Iames Staffler* Generall of the *Swiſſers*, had asked him his pay with great arrogancie, which neuertheleſſe was deferred, beſides many other difficulties, becauſe the treaſure that was ſent to him out of *Germanie*, was retained by the *Spaniſh* regiments that were within *Breſſia*, for the paiment of that which was due vnto them. The Emperour then being much moued with the feare of this danger, cauſed his campe ſuddenly to be raiſed, and retired towards the riuer of *Adda*: and it was not doubted that if he had approched *Millan* but three dayes afore (a time which he vainly conſumed afore *Aſola*) the *French* men that liued

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in great doubt & vncertaintie of the coming of the *Swiſſers*, had returned beyond the Mounts: and it was not doubted likewiſe that (if he had not ſo ſoone diſcamped) either the *French* men, not repoſing fully in the *Swiſſers*, for the reſpect they ſeemed to haue of their countrymen that ſerued in *Ceſars* campe, had followed their firſt counſell; or that the *Swiſſers* themſelues taking their excuſe vpon the commandement of their ſuperiours, would haue abandoned the *French* men. The Emperour paſſed the riuer of *Adda*, and was not followed of the *Swiſſers*, who remained at *Loda*, proteſting that if their payes came not within foure dayes, they would depart and leaue his ſeruice: but *Ceſar* making his abode vpon the territories of *Bergama*, gaue them continuall hopes to be ſatisfied, for that he expected a new ſupply of money to be ſent him out of *England*, threatning to returne to *Millan*; which held the *French* men in great doubt, who were now more then euer vncertaine of the fidelitie of the *Swiſſers*, for that beſides that they had willingly prolonged their coming, with proteſtation that they would neuer lift vp their weapons againſt their countrymen in the other campe, there was come to them a commandement from the Cantons to forſake the pay of the *French*: by reaſon whereof there were already two thouſand of them gone away, and there was great feare leſt the reſidue would do the like, although the Cantons on the other ſide had aſſured the King that they had giuen ſecret commandement to their footmen to the contrary. At laſt *Ceſar*, after he had drawne from the towne of *Bergama* ſixteene thouſand duckats, and was gone towards *Crema* vnder hope of an intelligence, returning eftſoones vpon the territories of *Bergama* without doing any thing, he determined to withdraw himſelfe to *Trent*. Therefore when he had communicated his deliberation with the Captaines of the armie, and aſſured them that his principall intention was to take order for money, whereof he meant to make a new leuie, with the which, and with the treaſure of *England* that was vpon the way, he would make a ſhort returne, he exhorted them to expect his coming: and they hauing ſacked *Loda*, and forced the Caſtle without artillerie, retired to *Guiaradadda* for want of victuals, after they had alſo made pillage of the towne of *S. Angel*. After the departing of *Ceſar*, there was ſome hope that the *Swiſſers*, with whom was ioyned the whole armie at *Romans*, would eftſoones paſſe the riuer of *Adda*, the rather for that the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* was come to the campe, and the Cardinall of *Sion* to *Bergama* with thirtie thouſand duckats which the King of *England* had ſent: for feare whereof, the Duke of *Bourbon* whom almoſt all the *Swiſſers* and the *Venetian* ſouldiers had forſaken, was come vpon the ſhore of the riuer. But the determination of the enemies was ſuddenly changed, for that the *Swiſſers*, the money not ſufficing to ſatisfie their whole pay, returned into their countrey by the valley of *Voltolina*. And for the ſame cauſe a regiment of three thouſand footmen, part *Spaniſh* and part *Almaines*, came and rendred themſelues to the campe of the *French* men and *Venetians*, who being paſſed the riuer of *Adda*, had not ceaſſed to trouble the enemies with ſundry incurſions, and to skirmiſh with them with diuers fortunes & accidents: the *French* men hauing ſometimes the worſe, who in a hote skirmiſh made neare *Bergama*, loſt about two hundred horſe: and ſometimes the aduerſitie fell vpon the contrary part, of whom in a like encounter *Ceſar Fieramoſquo* fell into the fortune of a priſoner. The reſidue of the armie drew neare to *Breſſia*, hauing receiued euery man a duckat: but for the impediment that the light horſemen gaue him, *Marke Anthonie Colonno* entred into *Verona* with the Lanceknights and certaine bands of *Spaniſh* footmen, and all the others ſeparated themſelues.

This was the end of the mouing of *Ceſar*, wherein the *French* king had great ſuſpition of the Pope, for that hauing required him that according to the bond of the league made betweene them, he ſhould ſend to the defence of the Eſtate of *Millan* fiue hundred men at armes, or at leaſt bring them neare the confines, and that he ſhould wage three thouſand *Swiſſers*, according to his offer made to *Anthonie Maria Palauiſin*: the Pope anſwering but coldly touching the paiment of the *Swiſſers*, and excuſing himſelfe that his men were ill appointed, he promiſed to ſend him the bands of the *Florentines*, who with ſome of his ſouldiers marched very ſlowly towards *Bologna* and *Reggia*. And his ſuſpition that he was participant and conſenting to the coming of *Ceſar*, was yet more increaſed, for that as ſoone as he vnderſtood that *Ceſar* was entred into *Italy*, he had created Legate with him *Bernard de Bibiena* Cardinall of Saint *Maria* in *Portico*, who vſed alwayes to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the *French* in their affaires with the Pope; and much more for that he ſuffered *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with the regiments to follow *Ceſars* armie. But the truth was, that the Pope in reſpect of his owne intereſt, was not a litle diſpleaſed

for the deſcending of *Ceſar* with ſo great forces, fearing if he remained victor, leſt he would aſſay to oppreſſe all *Italy*, according to his ancient inclination: but both for doubt, and that ſuch a maner of proceeding was conformable to his nature, he concealed his thoughts, laboring to make himſelfe as litle hatefull as he could to either partie. This was the cauſe why he was bold to call home againe *Marke Anthonie*, and that he durſt not ſend to the King the ſuccours he had promiſed: that he created a Legate with *Ceſar*; and on the other ſide, that *Ceſar* being departed from *Millan*, the Legate vnder a fained colour of ſickneſſe ſtayed at *Rubiero*, to ſee afore he paſſed further, what would be the iſſue of ſuch an enterpriſe: and afterwards to pacifie the Kings mind, he thought good, that his nephew *Laurence* (continuing in the ſame demonſtration to depend of the King that he ſhewed when he went to him at *Millan*) ſhould cauſe money to be giuen him by the *Florentines* to pay 3000 *Swiſſers* for one moneth: the which money although the King accepted, yet (diſcloſing that he knew the Popes drifts) he ſaid, that ſince he was always againſt him in the war, and that the alliance made with him had ſerued him to no vſe in times of danger, he wold make a new confederation, wherin he wold not be bound, but in peace and times of ſuretie. The armie of *Ceſar* being diſperſed, the *Venetians* without tarrying for the *French* men, approched *Breſſia* ſuddenly one night to ſcale the walls, preſuming of the ſmall number of defendants, ſince there remained no more but ſixe hundred footmen *Spaniſh*, and foure hundred horſemen; but their ladders not being long enough, and thoſe within defending themſelues valiantly, they could not take it. Afterwards the *French* armie arriued vnder the charge of *Odet de Foix*, whom the King had newly created his Lieutenant in the place of the Duke of *Bourbon*, who of his owne motion had willingly reſigned that gouernment into the Kings hands. Theſe armies aſſailed *Breſſia* with the artilleries in foure quarters, to ſ end the defendants might not be able to make reſiſtance in ſo many places: who maintained themſelues ſo long as they had hope that a regiment of ſeuen thouſand footmen of the country of *Tyrol*, being come by *Ceſars* commandement to *Montagnana*, would come forward: but that reſcue being diſappointed by the impediments which the *Venetians* beſtowed in the Caſtle of *Anſo* and other paſſages, and the defendants not willing to abide the aſſault which was to be giuen the next day (a great pane of the wall being already beaten downe to the ground) the ſouldiers couenanted to leaue the towne and Caſtle, onely with their goods ſaued, if they were not reſcued within a day.

The Venetians recouer Breſſia

About theſe times the Pope preparing to take the Duchie of *Vrbin* from *Franciſco Maria de la Rouera*, began to proceed againſt him with Church cenſures, cauſing an admonition to be publiſhed, wherein was expreſſed, that being in the pay and wages of the Church, he had denied him thoſe regiments of men for the which he had receiued pay, and had ſecretly compoumded with the enemies: That long before he had killed the Cardinall of *Pauie*, of the which he was abſolued by grace and not by iuſtice, together with many other murders committed by him: That in the greateſt heate of the warre betweene Pope *Iulio*, to whom he was nephew, ſubiect, and Captaine, he had ſent *Baltaſar de Chaſtillon* to take the Kings pay: and that at the ſame time he had denied paſſage to certaine bands that marched to ioyne with the armie of the Church; and in the iuriſdiction which he poſſeſſed as freeholder of the Sea Apoſtolike, he had purſued the ſouldiers of the Church that fled from the battell of *Rauenna*. The Pope was determined many moneths before to make warre vpon him, whereunto, beſides the late iniuries, he was puſhed on by a diſdaine for that he refuſed to aide him and his brother to returne to *Florence:* and yet the ſhame that he had to perſecute the nephew of him by whoſe meanes the Church was riſen to ſuch a greatneſſe, did ſomewhat retaine him; but much more the intreaties of his brother *Iulian*, who in the time of their exile, hauing remained many yeares in the Court of *Vrbin*, with Duke *Guido*, and after his death, with the preſent Duke, could not endure to ſee him depriued by them, of the Duchie wherein he had bene entertained and honored. But *Iulian de Medicis* being dead at *Florence* of a long ſickneſſe, and the ſtirres of *Ceſar* being come to nothing, the Pope at the perſwaſion of his nephew *Laurence* and his mother *Alfonſina*, thirſting after that Eſtate, reſolued to deferre no longer, alledging for excuſe of his ingratitude (which many reproched him withall, and caſt in his teeth) not onely the treſpaſſes he had receiued by him, and the penalties which the rigour of the lawes impoſe vpon a ſubiect that offends in contumacie againſt his Lord, or a Captaine who contrary to his bond denieth to leade the men for the which he is waged and entertained: but much more that it was to him a

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matter very dangerous, to endure in the intrals of his Eſtate, a man hauing already begun to offend him without all regard to faith and honour; he might be certaine, that by how much a greater occaſion ſhould be offered, by ſo much the more would he be readie to do the like hereafter. The progreſſe of that warre was this: as ſoone as *Laurence* ſhewed himſelfe vpon the frontiers of the Duchie, with an armie compounded of the ſouldiers and ſubiects of the Church and the Eſtate of *Florence*, the Citie of *Vrbin* with other townes of that iuriſdiction made a voluntary rendring to the Pope, the Duke who was retired to *Peſera*, giuing his conſent that they ſhould ſaue themſelues, ſince he was not able to defend them: and as ſoone as the armie drew neare, *Peſera* followed the example of *Vrbin*, foraſmuch as, although there was a garriſon of three thouſand footmen, the towne well fortified, and the ſea at command, *Franciſco Maria* leauing within the Caſtle *Tranquillo Mandolfo*, in whom he repoſed much, went to *Mantua*, whither he had ſent before his wife and ſonnes: the cauſe of his going to *Mantua*, was, either for that he durſt not truſt the ſouldiers, of whom the greateſt part was vnpayed, or (as ſome report) for that he was impatient to be abſent from his wife, excuſing his feare with loue. Thus the Duchie of *Vrbin*, together with *Peſera* and *Sinigale*, came in foure dayes into the obedience of the Pope, except the Caſtles of *Sinigale*, *Peſera*, and Saint *Leo*, and that of *Maiuolo*. But the Caſtle of *Sinigale* made no delay to follow the courſe of the victorie, as alſo the ſtrong Caſtle of *Peſera* after it had bene two dayes battered with artilleries, compounded to giue vp if within twenty days it were not reſcued, ſo far forth as during that time, there were no caſting of rampiers or other ſort of fortifications: which condition being ill performed, was the cauſe that *Tranquillo* receiuing no reſcue within the time appointed, refuſed to deliuer it vp, and began afreſh to ſhoote and make ſallies vpon them without: but that made his deſtinie the harder, for that after the taking of the Towne, *Laurence* being returned to *Florence*, the Captaines that remained in the armie had made trenches about the Caſtle, and placed certaine veſſels on the ſea, to keepe that no ſuccours might enter. Then the terme being expired, they began incontinently to batter the Caſtle, but the ſame day the ſouldiers within mutined againſt *Tranquillo*, and deliuered him vp into the hands of the Captaines, who condemned him to be hanged for breaking his promiſe. Not many dayes after was rendred the Caſtle of *Maiuola*, which is a place very neceſſary to beſiege *S. Leo*, for that it is but a mile diſtant, and hath his ſituation directly oppoſite. They beſtowed about *S. Leo* two thouſand men, to the end to keepe it beſieged: for by reaſon of the ſtrong ſituation thereof there was no hope to carry it but by the laſt neceſſitie, which is hunger: and yet it was ſurpriſed by ſtealth within three moneths after by the inuention of a maiſter Carpenter, who climbing vp by night with a very long ladder to a cliffe or dependant ſuppoſed to be moſt inacceſſible of all that mountaine; after he had taken away his ladder, and remained there all the night, he began at the firſt appearing of the day to climbe higher with certaine faſtening inſtruments of iron, vntill at laſt he got to the top of the mountaine, from whence deſcending againe, and with his iron inſtruments making eaſie certaine of the places that were of moſt difficultie, he returned the night following to the campe by the helpe of the ſame ladder: and after he had ſhewed the meanes how to get vp, the night that was appointed he returned thither with the ſame ladder, being followed by an hundred and fiftie choiſe men, with whom ſtaying vpon the ſaid cliffe or dependant, as ſoone as day began to peepe (for it was impoſſible to climbe vp higher by night) they began one after another to mount vp thoſe very hard and narrow places: and about thirtie of them were now got vp to the top of the mountaine with a drumme and ſixe Enſignes, and hiding themſelues vpon the ground, expected their companions that were climbing: but there being on the top of the mountaine a watchman, who as he departed from his charge (for it was now high day) perceiuing them lying on the ground, cried out incontinently; they ſeeing themſelues diſcouered, without otherwiſe attending their companions, gaue the ſigne to them of the campe, as they were appointed, who according to the order giuen, aſſailed the mountain incontinently with many ladders in ſundry places, to the end to diuert thoſe within: who ran preſently euery man to his owne place; but when they diſcerned ſix enſignes already within that marched on the plaine of the mountaine, and had ſlaine ſome of their men, they were much amazed, and ran to incloſe themſelues within the Caſtle that was cut out of the mountaine: whereupon ſome others being now aſcended after the firſt, they opened the gate which is the entrance into the mountaine, that all the reſidue might enter; and thus the mountaine being taken, thoſe within the Caſtle rendred it the

The Pope taketh the Duchy of Vrbin, and giueth it to Laurence de Medicis his nephew.

ſecond day, although it was well prouided of all things. This Eſtate being conquered, which together with *Peſera* and *Sinigale*, ſeparate members from the Duchie of *Vrbin*, was not worth in reuenue aboue fiue and twentie thouſand duckats, Pope *Leo* purſuing the proceſſe he had begun, publiſhed ſentence, and depriued *Franciſco Maria*, and in the Conſiſtorie inueſted his nephew *Laurence*: and (to make the matter more effectuall) he annexed to the Bull which he diſpatched for that action, the ſubſcription of the hands of all the Cardinals; with whom *Dominicke Grimani*, Biſhop of *Vrbin*, and a great friend to the Duke, would not be concurrant, and for that cauſe fearing the Popes indignation, after a few dayes he departed from *Rome*, whither he neuer returned as long as the Pope liued. The *French* king was diſcontented with the oppreſſion of the Duke of *Vrbin*, whom he ſaw depriued of his Eſtate for being confederate with him: but he was much more diſpleaſed for many other things that the Pope did. For *Proſper Colonno* when he returned out of *France*, ſtaying at *Baſſeta* a town of the *Paluoiſins*, and afterwards for feare of the *French* men being come to *Modena*, whither likewiſe *Ierome Moron* was retired, who ſtood in doubt of thē, for that contrary to their promiſes they had cōmanded him to go into *France*: there was continual debating whileſt *Proſper* lay at *Modena*, and afterwards at *Bolognia*, to ſurpriſe ſecretly ſome place of importance in the Duchie of *Millan*, by the helpe of ſome of the baniſhed men; in which practiſe was alſo concurrant *Mucio Colonno*, to whom the Pope, conſenting to theſe actions, had granted harbour for his ſouldiers vpon the territories of *Modena*. Moreouer, the Pope had perſwaded the King Catholike (for ſo was the Archduke called ſince the death of his grandfather by the mother ſide) to make no new conuentions with the *French* king. And on the behalfe of the *Swiſſers*, *Ennius* Biſhop of *Verula*, and the Popes Nuncio, who was afterwards euen in his lateſt yeares made Cardinal, ſtirred vp ſ fiue Cantons to follow the amitie of *Cæſar*, beſides many other things diſpleaſing to the King: foraſmuch as at the ſame time a practiſe was treated betweene *Cæſar* (who remaining betweene *Trent* and *Inſpruch*, terrified the *French* men more with demonſtrations then with effects) the King of *England* and the *Swiſſers*, to make a new inuaſion vpon the Duchie of *Millan*; the *French* king feared leſt theſe matters were wrought with the conſent of the Pope, whoſe euill affection alſo appeared in other actions, for that with many exceptions he made difficultie to confirme vnto him the tenths of the Benefices of the Realme of *France*, which he had promiſed him at *Bolognia*: and yet (ſo great is the maieſtie of the Pontificacie) the King laboured to appeaſe him with many kind offices, ſo that albeit he had determined after the departure of *Cæſar* to moleſt *Mirandola*, *Carpy* and *Correge*, as townes Imperiall, to the end to draw ſome money from them, yet he forbare in regard of the complaints of the Pope, who had receiued afore into his protection the Lords of thoſe townes: and the *Moores* of *Africa* ſcowring the inferiour ſea with ſmall veſſels, he offered to ſend him for the ſuretie of thoſe ſeas many ſhips, which *Peter* of *Nauarre* armed at *Marſeilles* by his conſent, onely in hope of prey, to ſcowre the ſhores of *Barbary* with ſixe thouſand footmen. And yet the Pope perſeuering in his opinion, although he partly denied, and partly excuſed ſuch things, would neuer ſo much as conſent to the demand which the King had made to him with great inſtance to call out of *Swiſſerland* the Biſhop of *Verula*; neither would he remoue *Mucio Colonno* from the territories of *Modena* (whom he fained to remaine there of his owne authoritie) vntill *Proſper* was departed from *Bolognia*, and all that was debated being come to nothing, there was no more neceſſitie of his abiding there; whoſe departing was very vnfortunate vnto him, for that not long after, entring ſecretly by night into the towne of *Fermo* with the forces of the *Colonnois*, and certaine bands of *Spaniſh* footmen, as he was buſie in ſacking the Citie, he receiued a blow the ſame night, whereof he died within a few dayes after.

In this eſtate of affaires, the Senate of *Venice* making inſtance for the recouerie of *Verona*, *Monſieur Lautrech* who had in his armie ſix thouſand Lanceknights whom the *Venetians* agreed to pay for that enterpriſe, came to the riuer of *Adice*, to the end to paſſe to *Vſolingo*, and to incampe themſelues together with the *Venetian* armie afore *Verona*. But afterwards the rumour of the coming of the *Swiſſers* being increaſed, and the ſuſpition augmented that *Proſper Colonno* was ſtayed at *Modena*, for that the Cardinall of *S. Maria in Portico* remained in the ſame Citie, he retired to *Peſquiero*, not without the complaints of the *Venetians*, and diſtributed his bands both on this ſide and beyond the riuer of *Mincio*: in which place, although the ſaid ſuſpitions were ceaſſed, and that from *Verona* more then two thouſand footmen as well *Spaniards* as

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Lanceknights, were gone to the pay of the *Venetians*, and more went dayly, he remained more then a moneth, expecting (as was ſaid) money out of *France*, and a greater proportion of artillerie, munitions and mony from the *Venetians*. But the trueſt cauſe was, to obſerue what would be the iſſue of the treatie betweene his King and the King Catholike. For the *French* king knowing how neceſſary his amitie was for the King Catholike, both to remoue the difficulties of his paſſage into *Spaine*, and to aſſure him of the obedience of his kingdomes, not content with the matters that had bene agreed vpon afore at *Paris*, ſought to impoſe vpon him harder conditions, and by his meanes to haue peace with *Ceſar*, which could not be brought to paſſe without rendring *Verona* to the *Venetians*: and the *Spaniſh* King, by the counſell of *Monſieur de Cheures*, by whole authoritie he being but fifteene yeares of age, was wholly gouerned, refuſed not to accommodate his deliberations to the preſent time, and neceſſitie of things. By reaſon whereof, on the behalfe of the *French* king were ſent to *Noyon* the Biſhop of *Paris*, the great Maiſter of *France*, and the Preſident of the Parliament of *Paris*: and for the King Catholike *Monſieur de Cheures* and the great Chancellour of *Ceſar*: and *Monſieur Lautrech* expecting what would be the iſſue, the rigour of armes (according to the cuſtome of the warfaring of our time) was continually employed againſt the poore paiſants. For *Monſieur Lautrech* hauing cauſed a bridge to be built at the village of *Monzarban*, began to cut downe the corne of the countrey of *Verona*, and gaue libertie to his light horſemen to make incurſions in all places: and hauing ſent part of his armie to incampe vpon the territories of *Mantua*, he ſpoiled that countrey with very great domage. To free himſelfe of theſe harmes, the Marquis of *Mantua* was contented to pay him twelue thouſand crownes: and the ſouldiers of *Verona* executing dayly hoſtilities vpon the territories of *Vincenſa* and *Padua*, put to ſacke the wretched Citie of *Vincenſa*. Afterwards *Monſieur Lautrech* moued by the great complaints of the *Venetians*, paſſed the riuer of *Adice* by a bridge which he cauſed to be ſet vp at *Vſolingo*; and afterwards hauing made a great prey of the countrey (for it was neuer thought that the armie would paſſe on that ſide) he drew neare to *Verona* to beſiege it, winning *Chiuſa* in the meane while by the aide of the countrey men, to make more hard the paſſage of ſuccours that were to come out of *Germanie*. But the ſame day that he approched *Verona*, the Lanceknights, either of their own motion, or by the ſecret ſubornation of *Ceſar* (although it was now three moneths ſince they were entertained with the money of the *Venetians*) proteſted openly, that they would not ſerue at the ſiege of a towne poſſeſſed by *Ceſar*, and whereto the *French* king had no principall intereſt. By reaſon whereof, *Monſieur Lautrech* repaſſing *Adice*, remoued a mile from the walls of *Verona*; and the *Venetian* armie conſiſting of fiue hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, thinking it not ſafe for them to remaine on the other ſide the riuer, went and ioyned with him. At which time the Deputies of both the Kings paſſed capitulations in the towne of *Noyon* in this ſort: That there ſhould be a perpetuall peace betweene the *French* King and the King of *Spaine*, with confederation for the defence of their Eſtates againſt all men: That the *French* king ſhould giue his daughter who was then but one yeare of age, to the King Catholike in marriage, and endue her for dowrie with the rights which he pretended to appertaine to him in the kingdome of *Naples*, according to the partition formerly made betweene their predeceſſors; but vnder this couenant, that vntill the time that ſhe were mariageable, the King Catholike ſhould pay to the *French* king an hundred thouſand crownes yearely to helpe to defray her expences: That if ſhe died before the mariage, and the King ſhould haue another daughter, then he ſhould beſtow her likewiſe vpon the King Catholike with the ſame conditions: and in caſe he had no other, that he ſhould haue *Madame Renee*, who had bene promiſed to him in the capitulation made at *Paris*: and in caſe that any of them ſhould die in mariage without children, then that part of the kingdome of *Naples* to reuert to the *French* King: That the King Catholike ſhould reſtore the Realme of *Nauarre* to the ancient King within a certaine time, which if he performed not, it ſhould be lawfull to the *French* King to aide him to recouer it: but (as the *Spaniards* affirmed afterwards) ſo that the ſaid King ſhould firſt make his rights appeare: That *Ceſar* might enter into the peace within the terme of two moneths, which although he did, it ſhould be lawfull to the *French* king to aide the *Venetians* to recouer *Verona*; which Citie, if *Ceſar* wold put into the hands of the king Catholike, with power to giue it freely to the *French* King within ſixe weekes, to diſpoſe thereof as he thought good, the King ſhould pay him an hundred thouſand crownes, and the *Venetians* as much,

Capitulations betweene the French king and the King Catholike.

whereof the one part to be payed vpon the consignation, and the other within sixe moneths, and also that he should remaine acquited of about three hundred thousand crownes which he had receiued of King *Lewis* whilest they were confederates: and that in that case there should be truce for eighteene moneths betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, and that to *Cæsar* should remaine *Riua de Trent* and *Rouera*, with all that he possessed then in the countrey of *Friul*, and the *Venetians* should continue to keepe the places which at that time they held of *Cæsar*, vntill the *French* and *Spanish* Kings had determined the differences that were betweene them for their confines. Both the one and the other of the parties named the Pope. By reason of the accord made at *Noyon*, the *Venetians* ceassed not to stirre vp *Monsieur Lautrech* to besiege *Verona*, for that they were vncertaine whether *Cæsar* would accept the peace, and also for that by reason of the summe of money which they were to pay, they desired rather to recouer it by force of armes. But the way of peace was more acceptable to the *French* King then that of warre, for the desire he had to be at vnitie with *Cæsar*: and yet *Monsieur Lautrech*, who had now no more excuse, for that the *Venetians* had made great leuies of souldiers, and prepared all the prouisions by him required, and for that the Lanceknights refused no more to go thither with the residue, consented to their will. Then the armies passed seuerally ouer the riuer of *Adice*, the one by a bridge that was builded aboue the Citie, the other by a bridge set vp beneath the Citie: and part of the artillerie of the *French* armie that lay incamped at *Tomba*, was planted before the gate of Saint *Lucie*, and the other with the Lanceknights was bestowed at the gate of Saint *Maximo*, to batter afterwards all together on that part where the wall betweene the Citie and the Citadell ioyneth with the wall of the towne, and that to the end that hauing the meanes at one time to enter into the Citie and into the Citadell, the defendants should be constrained to deuide themselues into two parts, in regard of the wall in the midst. The *Venetian* armie passed beneath *Verona* into the field of *Mars*, and remained incamped at Saint *Michaels* betweene the riuer and the Channell, both to beate downe the defences of that place, and to batter the gate called the Bishops gate, which was a place of most weakenesse and least fenced. The two first dayes the defences which were of sufficient strength and beate flanking, were cast downe by the artilleries, but with greater difficulties on the quarter of the *Venetians*, to whom it was no small labour to batter the defences of the three bastillions: which being done, both parts began to execute the wall with eighteene peeces of great artilleries, and fifteene smaller peeces of batterie; and either armie hauing throwne downe the third day twentie fadomes of the wall, they forbare not to batter still, to make the entrie much the larger. And yet the *Venetians*, on whose side the wall was most weake, notwithstanding they had almost reuersed all the bastillions and rampiers, had not yet wholly remoued all the defences within, that played in flanke, because they lay so low and almost within the ditch, that either the bullet went ouer them, or else was grazed in the earth afore it came at them. Moreouer, at the same time they vndermined the wall, which though they had vnderset and propped vp, yet it fell downe before the time appointed by the Captaines. There was within *Verona* eight hundred horsemen, fiue thousand Lanceknights, and fifteene hundred *Spaniards*, vnder the gouernment of *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, who was now no more in the pay of the Pope, but of *Cæsar*: which garrison looking carefully to reparations, making necessarie prouisions, and defending valiantly, shewed great courage, to the great praise of *Marke Anthonie*, who receiuing a small hurt in his shoulder by the shot of an harquebuse, forbare not to offer himselfe day and night to all paines and dangers. By this time the artilleries planted by the *French* men in foure places against the towers betweene the gate of the Citadell and the gate of Saint *Lucie*, had made so great ruines, that euery breach was able to receiue the souldiers marshalled in order, the artilleries of the *Venetians* hauing performed litle lesse; and yet *Monsieur Lautrech* demanded new artilleries to make the breach greater, embracing readily all occasions that were offered to defer (contrary to the wil of the *Venetians*, who called vpon him to giue the assault). Moreouer, eight hundred barrels of powder, together with many other sorts of munitions, comming to the armie in carts, by the plaine of *Verona*, it happened that the desire of those that guided the cattell to enter one afore another, caused them to make such haste, that the chafing and mouing of the wheeles bred to a fire, which burned the powder, with the carts and the cattell that drew them. Moreouer,

there

there was another difficultie added to the beſieged, for that in the Citie which had bene ſo many moneths afflicted by the neareneſſe of their enemies, the victuals began to faile, neither could any be gotten, but in very ſmall quantitie, and that by ſtealth, by the way of the mountaines.

The affaires of *Verona* ſtanding on theſe termes, there came to the reſcue of that Citie a regiment of nine thouſand Lanceknights ſent by *Caeſar*, who arriuing at *Chiuſa*, tooke it by compoſition, and ſeized vpon the Caſtle of *Coruara*, ſtanding vpon the next hill to *Adice* drawing towards *Trent*, which had bene commanded many times by both the parties in the warre betweene *Caeſar* and the *Venetians*. By reaſon of the approch of the Lanceknights, *Monſieur Lautrech* either fearing, or making ſhew of feare, raiſed his campe againſt the minds of the *Venetians*, and retired his armie to *Villefranche*, taking with him part of the *Venetian* regiments, and the reſidue vnder *John Paul Manfron* withdrew to *Boſeto* beyond *Adice* by a bridge prepared: in ſo much as the *Venetians* deſpairing to be able to take *Verona*, ſent all their great artilleries to *Breſſia*: and ſo the Lanceknights without any impediment incamped at *Tomba*, where the *French* armie was lodged afore, one part of them entring into the Citie, and the reſidue remaining without to victuall *Verona*, which being done, they departed, leauing for the guard of *Verona* a ſtrength of ſeuen or eight thouſand Lanceknights, for that the moſt part of the *Spaniſh* bands, who could not agree with them, were paſſed to the *Venetian* campe vnder Colonell *Maldonato*; & in the iudgement of all men y ſuccors was of ſmall moment, for that they brought with them no other ſtore of money then twentie thouſand Florins of *Rhein*, which the King of *England* had ſent; and whileſt they remained there, they conſumed ſo much victuals, that it almoſt equalled the quantitie which they brought with them. The companies being retired to *Villefranche*, where they conſumed the countreys of *Verona* and *Mantua*, the *Venetians* were compelled to take order, leſt the *French* men whom no commandement from their King could cauſe to ſtay, ſhould depart to their garriſons, that the Citie of *Breſſia* ſhould wholly furniſh them of neceſſarie victuals; an expence amounting to aboue a thouſand crownes a day. At laſt things began to incline manifeſtly to peace, for that it was knowne that *Caeſar* (notwithſtanding his former ſolicitation to his ſonne in law, not to compound with the *French* King) preferring the couetouſneſſe of money afore the hate he bare naturally to the *French*, and alſo afore his ancient ambition to make himſelfe Lord of *Italy*, had not onely accepted and ratified the peace, but alſo determined to render *Verona* according to the forme of thoſe conuentions: from whence ſucceeded another matter to the benefite of the *French* King, that all the Cantons of *Swiſſers* ſeeing armes layed downe betweene *Caeſar* and the King, were contented to compound with him, as the *Griſons* had done before; in which action *Galeas Viſconte* did what he could, who being baniſhed and declared a rebell by the King, obtained of him by this meanes libertie to returne into his countrey, with reſtitution of all his goods, and receiued in time many graces and honours. The compoſition was, that the King ſhould pay to the *Swiſſers* within three moneths an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats, and from thence forward a perpetuall yearely penſion: That the *Swiſſers* ſhould be bound to deliuer to his pay by publike decree ſo often as he ſhould demand it, a certaine number of footmen, wherein notwithſtanding the proceeding was diuers; for that the eight Cantons were bound to furniſh that proportion, whenſoeuer he ſhould enter into any enterpriſe to offend the Eſtates of others, and the fiue Cantons no otherwiſe then for the defence of his owne eſtates: That it ſhould be in the power of the *Swiſſers* to render to the *French* King the Caſtles of *Lugan* and *Lugarno*, which be paſſages of great ſtrength, and of no leſſe importance for the ſuretie of the Duchie of *Millan*: and in caſe they would make reſtitution, that the King ſhould pay them three hundred thouſand duckats: which Caſtles they raſed to the ground as ſoone as the compoſition was made. This was the diſcourſe of things in *Italy*, in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and ſixteene. But in the beginning of the yeare following, the Biſhop of *Trent*, who was come to *Verona*, made offer to *Monſieur Lautrech* 1517.
to deliuer vp that Citie to the *French* King within ſixe moneths, according to the contents of the capitulation, which he ſaid he held in the name of the King of *Spaine*. But there remained one difficultie, to wit, whether the terme ſhould begin from the day of the ratification of *Caeſar*, or from the time it was acknowledged that *Verona* was holden by the King Catholike,

like, and vpon this there was a diſputation held for certaine dayes: yet for that the garriſon of footmen that were within *Verona* drew to mutinies vpon the demand of money, the Biſhop of *Trent* was conſtrained to haſten the buſineſſe: and therefore taking beginning from the day that he had receiued commiſſion from *Cæſar*, he agreed to deliuer vp *Verona* the fifteenth day of Ianuarie: at which day hauing receiued of the *Venetians* the firſt fiftie thouſand duckats, and the fifteene thouſand which by the capitulation they were bound to pay to the footmen that were in *Verona*, together with the promiſe of *Monſieur Lautrech* to ſee the artilleries that were within *Verona* drawne to *Trent*, he paſſed the aſſignement to *Monſieur Lautrech*, who receiued it in the name of the *French* King: and at the ſame inſtant *Monſieur Lautrech*, in the name of the ſaid King, deliuered it vp to the Senate of *Venice*, and for the ſame Senate to *Andrew Gritti* their Deputie, to the great contentment of the Nobilitie and all the people of *Venice*, who reioyced greatly, for that they had obtained ſo happie an end of ſo long and ſo dangerous a warre, although after infinite calamities and expences: for by the report of ſuch as haue written of their doings, they conſumed, during all the warres they made ſince the league of *Cambray*, fiue millions of duckats, whereof they leuied fiue hundred thouſand of the ſale of offices. But the inhabitants of *Verona* reioyced no leſſe then the reſidue, together with all other Cities and iuriſdictions ſubiect to their Commonweale, hoping now that by the meanes of peace they ſhould be deliuered from ſo many miſchiefes and ſo great afflictions, which they had ſo long a time miſerably ſupported, ſometimes by the one armie, and ſometimes by the other.

The end of the twelfth Booke.

THE

THE XIII. BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THe Duke of Vrbin makes an enterpriſe to recouer his eſtate out of the hands of Pope Leo. The French king makes a league with the Pope. The conſpiracie of Cardinall Petrucci againſt the Pope is diſcouered. The death of the Emperour Maximilian. Francis and Charles kings of France and Spaine, ſue for the Empire. Charles king of Spaine is choſen Emperour. Martin Luther writeth againſt the Pope. The Pope puts Iohn Paul Baillon to death.

FOraſmuch as armes were now layed downe betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, and all occaſions taken from the *French* king to make warre againſt *Ceſar* or the King Catholike, it ſeemed that *Italy*, afflicted and tormented with ſo many calamities, ſhould now haue reſt and tranquillitie for ſome yeares: foraſmuch as the *Swiſſers* (a mightie inſtrument to any that ſought to innouate and trouble things) ſeemed now to be reclaimed to their ancient amitie with the *French* King, and yet had not their minds eſtranged from other Princes: and in the accord made at *Noyon*, there appeared ſuch a hope, that to eſtabliſh a greater alliance betweene the two Kings, there was debating to draw them to an enteruiew at *Cambray*, whither were gone to that end *Monſieur de Cheures* the great Maiſter of *France*, and *Robertet*: and likewiſe there was expreſſed no leſſe readineſſe in *Ceſar*, who, beſides the rendring of *Verona*, ſent two Embaſſadours to the *French* King, to confirme and ſweare the peace. It was not then without iuſt cauſe that men iudged, that the peace and concord betweene ſo mightie Princes, would extinguiſh all the ſeeds of diſcords and warres in *Italy*: and yet, either by our aduerſe deſtinie, or for that *Italy* being deuided into ſo many ſeuerall Principalities and States, it was almoſt impoſſible, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of wils and intereſts of ſuch as had it in hand, that it ſhould not be ſubiect to continuall trauels: yea armes and hoſtilitie were ſcarce layed aſide betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, and the Citie of *Verona* not yet reſigned, when beginnings of new tumults were diſcloſed, whereof *Franciſco Maria* of *Rouero* was the cauſe, who had practiſed and drawn to his faction, ſuch bands of *Spaniſh* footmen as had ſerued both within *Verona* & afore *Verona*, to follow him for the recouery of his Eſtates, out of the which the Pope had expulſed him the ſame Sommer; whereunto they were eaſily perſuaded, for that to mercenarie ſouldiers, accuſtomed in the time of warre to ſacke townes and ſpoile and ouerrunne countries, there was nothing more contrary then peace, whereunto they ſaw all the affaires of *Italy* diſpoſed. There drew to him about fiue thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, whereof was chiefe one *Maldonato*, a man of the ſame nation, and exerciſed in many warres. To theſe there ioyned about eight hundred light horſemen, led by *Federike de Boſſolo*, *Gaioſo* a *Spaniard*, *Succre* a *Bourgonian*, *Andrew Bua* and *Conſtantine Boccalo Albanois*, all experienced Captaines, and not to be deſpiſed for feates of armes. Amongſt whom he that bare the greateſt reputation, either for the nobleneſſe of his houſe, or for the charges & degrees which from his youth he had borne in warre, was *Federike Gonzago* Lord of *Boſſolo*, who haply was one of the greateſt perſwaders to this enterpriſe, being moued not onely by a deſire he had by new warres to increaſe his fame in martiall feates, together with the great amitie he had with *Franciſco Maria*, but alſo by an ancient hatred which he bare to *Laurence de Medicis*, chiefly for that at ſuch time as the charge of all the armies of the Church and the *Florentines* was transferred

Beginnings of new troubles.

to

to *Laurence*, by reaſon of the ſickneſſe of *Iulian* his Vncle, he had denied to make him Captaine generall of the footmen, which *Iulian* had aſſigned to him afore. Now this armie being more to be eſteemed for their valour then for their number, or any other meanes they had to ſuſtaine the warre (for they had neither money, artilleries, nor munitions; nor, beſides their horſes and armour, any one of thoſe prouiſions which are accuſtomed to follow armies:) they departed to go to the State of *Vrbin* the ſame day that the Citie of *Verona* was giuen vp to the *Venetians*: whereof the Pope being aduertiſed, he was much troubled. For he conſidered the qualitie of the armie, which was to be feared, for the hatred of the Captaines, and for the valour and reputation of the *Spaniards*: and he was not ignorant with what inclination the peoples of that Duchie fauoured *Franciſco Maria*, hauing long liued vnder the eaſie gouernment of the houſe of *Montfeltro*, the affection whereof they had transferred to him, as to one that had bene trained and nouriſhed in that Duchie, and borne of a ſiſter of the Duke *Guido*. Beſides, it grieued the Pope not a litle that he was to maintaine warre againſt an armie, which hauing nothing to loſe, marched onely for the deſire of prey and pillage, for the ſweetneſſe whereof he feared leſt many ſouldiers who by meanes of the peace that was made would draw others to ioyne to their faction, remaining without hauing gotten any thing, would ioyne with them: but that which aboue all other things troubled his mind, was a ſuſpition that the *French* King did communicate in this conſpiracie: for as much as beſides that he knew the King was diſpleaſed with the warre made againſt *Franciſco Maria*, he was touched in his conſcience with the conſideration of many cauſes which he had giuen him to be diſcontented with him, to wit, for not obſeruing the confederation made after the conqueſt of *Millan*, when *Ceſar* deſcended into *Lombardie*: for that after he was returned to *Rome*, he ſent to him a Bull touching the collation of Benefices in the Realme of *France*, and in the Duchie of *Millan*, much different from the conuention made at *Bologna*, which for the ſhortneſſe of time was not then ſubſigned, which Bull, the King being much moued, would not accept: for his ſecret negociations entertained againſt him with other Princes, and with the *Swiſſers*: for that a litle before, puſhed on by a deſire directly to hinder the recouerie of *Verona*, he had ſuffered the regiments of *Spaniſh* footmen coming from *Naples* to the reſcue of it, to paſſe in ſeuerall troupes through the dominion of the Church, excuſing himſelfe that he would not giue them occaſion to paſſe in one ioynt ſtrength, being in that caſe not able to ſtop them: and for that he had not performed vnto him his promiſes touching the tenths, but vnder conditions ſubtle and intangled, nor rendred the townes to the Duke of *Ferrara*: and withall he ſeemed to perceiue certaine ſignes of his mind eſtranged, all which gaue him very iuſt cauſe to doubt of the Kings will, in that this leuie of men being made in the parts of *Verona*, it was impoſſible that *Monſieur Lautrech* could be without knowledge of it many dayes before, and ſeeing he was ſilent in it, it was a manifeſt preſumption of his conſent: whereunto was added, that *Federike de Boſſolo* had bene till that verie day in the Kings pay; and it was doubtfull whether that was true that *Monſieur Lautrech* alledged for his excuſe, that the time of his entertainment was finiſhed. Moreouer, the Pope ſtood doubtfull of the inclination of the *Venetians*, hauing an opinion that their Commiſſioners had made themſelues parties to this vnion; for that Senate ſtood very much diſcontented with him, as well for the memory of things paſt, as for his preſent greatneſſe, which was ſuch, that being ſucceſſor of ſo great a power and reputation of a Popedome, he diſpoſed of the Eſtate of the *Florentines* at his pleaſure. Theſe things amazed the Pope, to whom the confidence and alliance that he had with other Princes, gaue no comfort nor hope: for that, beſides that they were newly reconciled or confedered with the *French* King, not one of them was pleaſed with his maner of proceeding by ſecret counſels and ſubtilties, wherein albeit he had inclined to their ſide, yet deferring to diſcouer himſelfe, and being ſlow in the execution of his intentions and promiſes, he gaue litle or no ſatisfaction to any of them: and which more is, doubting oftentimes of them all, he had diſpatched afore to the King Catholike, Frier *Nicholas* an *Almaine*, and Secretarie to the Cardinall *de Medicis*, to draw him from the enteruiew and parley which was ſolicited with the *French* king, fearing a contract of greater alliance betweene them to his preiudice. The Pope being in ſo great doubt, he and his nephew *Laurence* ceaſſed not to ſend ſouldiers into *Romagna*, part of whom were newly leuied, and the reſidue drawne out of the regiments of *Florence*, to the end that ioyning with *Ranſe de Cere* and *Vitelli*, who lay at *Rauenna* with their companies of men at armes, they might giue impediment to the paſ-

ſage of the enemies. But they hauing already paſſed the riuer of *Po* at *Oſtia*, and preuenting with their celeritie the preparations of otheirs, were entred vpon the lands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the way of *Cento* and *Burio*, hauing trauerſed the countrey of *Bolognia*. In this iourney they ſacked *Granarolo*, which is a borough vpon the territories of *Faenza*, and from thence they drew neare to *Faenza*, to proue if for the loue of a yong Gentleman of the family of the *Manfredi*, that was in the armie, they could raiſe any mutation there: but the inhabitants of *Faenza* not ſtirring at all, the armie paſſed further, not trying to get any other of the townes of *Romagna*, for there was in euery of them a garriſon, either of men at armes, or of footmen: and for the better ſuretie of *Rimini*, *Ranſe* and *Vitelli* were gone thither by ſea. *Laurence* came to *Ceſena* to aſſemble his companies there and at *Rimini*: but the enemies being already paſſed, he ceaſſed not in the meane while to leuie ſouldiers in many places, whereof there flocked vnto him more then he required. For fiue and twentie hundred Lanceknights that were diſmiſſed by *Monſieur Lautrech* to returne to their houſes, and likewiſe more then foure thouſand *Gaſcons*, were retained by *Iohn Poppy* Secretarie to *Laurence*: wherein he vſed his owne authoritie, being perſwaded that the armie of footmen would follow *Franciſco Maria* if they were not waged by others; or elſe beleeuing lightly that with theſe forces the victorie might eaſily be gotten, he ſtayed them of his owne authoritie, vſing the credite of *Monſieur Lautrech* with the Captaines, whom with their ſeuerall bands and regiments he conuerted immediatly towards *Bolognia*: ſo that the Pope and *Laurence* being diſcontented therewith for a doubt they had of the Kings indignation, could not refuſe them, for feare (ſith they were come ſo farre) leſt they would ioyne with the enemie. In the meane while *Franciſco Maria* aduanced dayly, and when he was come into the Duchie of *Vrbin*, he was receiued in euery place with great ioy, finding no ſouldiers in any of the townes; for that *Laurence* hauing no leiſure to make prouiſion for ſo many places, tooke care onely to defend the Citie of *Vrbin*, the ſeate and chiefe head of that Duchie: and for that cauſe he had ſent thither (by the counſell of *Vitelli*) a ſtrength of two thouſand footmen from *Citta de Caſtello*, and in place of *Vitelli* who refuſed to go thither, that charge was committed to *Iaques Roſſetto* of *Citta de Caſtello*, who notwithſtanding he was aduiſed by many, becauſe the people of *Vrbin* were holden ſuſpected, to expell out of the towne all ſuch as were able to beare armes, yet he forbare ſo to do. But *Franciſco Maria* without loſing time in any other place, drew directly to *Vrbin*, where albeit he could do litle at the firſt approch, yet at the ſecond *Iaques Roſſetto* agreed to deliuer the towne into his hands, puſhed on either by infidelitie, as many thought, or for feare, becauſe the people were riſen into tumult: for he had no reaſon to feare the ſole forces of the enemies, who had neither artilleries nor other prouiſions ſeruing for the taking of townes. The ſouldiers according to the compoſition went out of the towne, their goods and liues ſaued: but the Biſhop *Vitelli* remained priſoner, who gouerned that Eſtate for the new Duke, and vnder whoſe gouernment, it ſeemed, nothing had happily ſucceeded. All the whole Duchie followed the example of *Vrbin*, except *S. Leon*, which being well fortified and of ſtrong ſituation, was eaſie to be defended, yea with a very ſmall garriſon. The Citie of *Agobbio* that in the beginning was declared for *Franciſco Maria*, and eftſoones returned to the obedience of *Laurence*, ſeeing ſo happie a ſucceſſe, did as the reſt. Onely *Peſera*, *Sinigale*, *Gradara* and *Mondauio*, townes ſeparate from the Duchie, remained vnder the iuriſdiction of *Laurence*.

Vrbin returneth to the obedience of the naturall Duke.

When *Franciſco Maria* had recouered *Vrbin*, he entred into a deuice to make himſelfe Lord of ſome place vpon the ſea ſhore: and making ſhew as though he would go to *Peſera*, there being already gone thither and to *Sinigale* many bands of ſouldiers, he drew towards *Fano*, a Citie which at all times had bene more eaſie to be taken, and whereof there was leaſt doubt, for that it had neuer bene vnder his iuriſdiction. But *Ranſe de Cere* who was at *Peſera*, knowing his intention, diſpatched thither preſently *Troylo Sauello* with an hundred men at armes, and ſixe hundred footmen. The enemies approched with fiue peeces of artillerie, not very great, which they had found in *Vrbin*, and hauing alſo want of powder, they beate not downe to the earth any more then twentie fadomes of the wal, which notwithſtanding was not done without great difficultie: and yet they gaue the aſſault, wherein they loſt more then an hundred and fiftie men. But being nothing amazed with this, they recontinued the charge the day following, and that with ſuch valour, that the breach was almoſt abandoned, and without doubt they had entred the wall, had it not bene for *Fabian de Galleſe* Lieutenant to *Troylo*, who being left vpon the

wall with a very ſmall companie of men at armes, made a wonderfull defence, and ſuſtained the charge. The day after they were prepared to giue the third aſſault, but vnderſtanding that a ſtrength of fiue hundred men ſent from *Peſera*, were entred in the night by ſea, they raiſed the ſiege, and retired to the borough & caſtle of *Monte Baroccio*, which ſtandeth vpon a high hil, & is of very ſtrong ſituation, the deſcent whereof is eaſie towards *Foſſombrono* and *Vrbin*, but very difficult and rough towards *Peſera*: and remaining in that place, for that then there was no conuenient occaſion offered, they guarded the Duchie of *Vrbin* which lay at their backes. On the other ſide, the Lanceknights and *Gaſcons* being come to *Rimini* to *Laurence de Medicis*, who had alſo hired many *Italian* footmen, and fifteene hundred other Lanceknights, of thoſe that had bene at the ſeruice of *Verona*, and aſſembled almoſt all the horſemen of the Pope and the *Florentines*, he marched with his men at armes to *Peſera*: and being wholly gouerned by the counſell of his Captaines, for the ſmall experience he had to manage an enterpriſe, he ſent his footmen to incampe vpon the mountaines oppoſite to the enemies. The Citie of *Peſera* ſtandeth at the entrie of a litle valley, which comes from *Vrbin*, out of which iſſueth a riuer which they call *Porto*, for that by the oportunitie of his deepneſſe ſhips are brought vp euen to that place: this riuer runnes neare to the Citie on that ſide which is towards *Rimini*: the Caſtle is towards the ſea, and betweene the riuer and the Citie be many ſtore-houſes, which *Ranſe* cauſed to be reuerſed for the ſuretie of the towne. A great part of the Citie is enuironed with mountaines on all parts, which ſtretch out euen to the ſea, but betweene them and the ſea remaineth a certaine ſpace of plaine, containing two miles in largeneſſe on that ſide towards *Fano*, and vpon the banke riſe two hils, the one right ouer againſt the other: that towards the ſea is called *Candelaro*, and that towards *Vrbin Nugolara*, and on the top of each of them is a borough bearing the ſame name. The *Italian* footmen were lodged at the borough of *Candelaro*, and to the Lanceknights and *Gaſcons* was appointed *Nugolara*, which lay neareſt to the enemie: and this was not done with intention to fight with them, no otherwiſe then by light skirmiſhes, to hinder them from ouerrunning the countrey, and to keepe them from reſoluing vpon any enterpriſe. For the Popes reſolution was not to come to battell, vnleſſe there were almoſt an aſſured hope of the victory, for that he knew how dangerous it was to fight againſt valiant ſouldiers, who would aduenture themſelues for the inequalitie of the reward of the victorie: and that if they remained victors, the whole Eſtate of the Church and of the *Florentines* would be in manifeſt danger: That it was farre more ſafe to temporiſe, looking to his owne defence, ſpecially for the great likelihood that for want of money and victuals in a countrey ſo poore and barren, the enemie would fall into ſome diſorder; and no leſſe, for that his armie would become better, as well through experience, as alſo for that from moneth to moneth it was furniſhed with more braue and reſolute ſouldiers; beſides the aide which he expected dayly, ſince that from the beginning, making vſe alſo of the Pontificall authoritie, he had vehemently craued ſuccours of all the Princes, and made his moane to their Embaſſadours that lay at *Rome*, and by Apoſtolicall Briefes and meſſages to the Princes themſelues; but not to all after one and the ſame manner. For, ſignifying to *Ceſar* and the King of *Spaine*, the conſpiracie made by *Franciſco Maria de la Rouera*, and the *Spaniſh* footmen, in the campe of the *French* King, before the face of his Lieutenant, he ſet downe ſuch clauſes in the Briefes which he ſent vnto them, that it might be eaſily comprehended that he had a ſtrong opinion that theſe things were done by the Kings conſent: but to the *French* king himſelfe, ſhewing that he had ſome iealouſie of *Monſieur Lautrech*, he complained no further. The matter was diuerſly taken by the foreſaid Princes: for *Ceſar* and his nephew were very glad to heare that the Pope interpreted that iniurie to the *French* king: beſides, that *Ceſar* who for his ancient hatred, ioyned to his inconſtancie, had alreadie eſtranged himſelfe from the *French* king, and was newly confederate with the King of *England*, and hauing talked with his nephew neare *Antwerpe*, he diſſwaded him from hauing conference with the *French* king, which accordingly was at laſt intermitted by the conſent of both the one and the other King: and the confederation which the King Catholike had made with the King, was not ſufficient to aboliſh his iealouſie and doubt. They made therfore a readie offer to aide the Pope, and commanded all their ſubiects to depart from the warre that was made againſt the Pope. The King Catholike ſent the Count *Potenza* to the Realme of *Naples*, to the end that vpon the view and muſter of his men at armes, he ſhould leade to his ſuccours foure hundred lances: and for a more full teſtimonie of his will, he depriued *Franciſco Maria*,

The deſcription of the Citie of Peſera.

as

as disobedient, of the Duchie of *Sora*, an Estate lying vpon the confines of *Terra di Lauoro*, which had bene purchased by his father. But the trauels and perplexities of the Pope were well pleasing to the *French* king, as a Prince that had a mind estranged from him: and therefore from the beginning following his example, he determined to entertaine him with vaine hopes, and answered him, that he was much displeased therewith, promising him to take such order that *Monsieur Lautrech* should fauour his affaires: and yet he forbare not to say, that the Pope himselfe had bene the causer of that which he now suffered: for that the *Spaniards* had neuer taken that boldnesse, if their numbers had not bene increased by such as vnder his licence were passed from *Naples* to *Verona*. This was the Kings intention at the beginning: but considering afterwards, that the Pope being left abandoned by him, would runne headlong without any bridle into the amitie of the King Catholike, he determined to aide and fauour him, and according to the qualitie of the time, to make some profit of his necessitie: in so much as the Pope sending eftsoones to demand succours of him, he tooke order to refurnish him from *Millan* with three hundred lances, requiring withall to haue a new league to passe betweene them, sith that that was contracted afore at *Bologna*, being violated by the Pope sundry wayes, was no more of any consideration. He added many complaints to the offers which he made him: for sometimes he said, he suffered wrong in matters wherein the Pope charged him to other Princes: and sometimes for that to do him iniury, and to please the Cardinall of *Sion*, he had excommunicated *George Sopressan*, who solicited for him with the *Swissers*. Moreouer, the Ladie Regent, mother to the King, and of no small authoritie with him, reprehended without respect, the impietie of the Pope, for that not satisfied to haue chased a Prince out of his owne Estate, he had also subiected him to the censures of the Church, and denied to the old Ducheſſe her dowrie and maintenance, and also to the yong Ducheſſe his wife, in such sort that they had no meanes to maintain themselues: which words coming to the eares of the Pope, increased his suspition. Neuertheless the Pope, who in these difficulties desired the Kings succours, not so much for the effect, as for the name and reputation of them, being not able to dissemble his suspition, caused the three hundred lances that went from *Millan*, to stay vpon the territories of *Modena* and *Bologna* for many dayes; and afterwards *Laurence* bestowed them within *Rimini*, as hauing lesse meanes to annoy him by lying there, for that that Citie was farre distant from the enemies. But the Pope could not be drawne out of these iealousies, notwithstanding almost at the same time there was set downe in *Rome* a conclusion of confederation betweene him and the *French* King, forasmuch as before it was ratified the King obiected new difficulties, for the which the matter remained many dayes in suspence, yet at last, the Pope yeelding to many things, the King ratified it. By the articles of ratification, the Pope and the King were reciprocally bound to the defence of their Estates, with a certaine number of souldiers, and with twelue thousand duckats for euery moneth. The same bond was betweene the *French* king and the *Florentines*, with whom was conioyned the authoritie of *Laurence de Medicis*, the Duchie of *Vrbin* being comprehended therein, but with a lesser number of men, and pay of sixe thousand duckats monethly. The King was bound to aide the Pope whensoeuer he would proceed against the subiects and feodaries of the Church. The Pope confirmed to the King the nomination of the Benefices and Tenths, according to his promises made at *Bologna*, vnder this condition, that the moneys should be put into the hands of a third person, to be employed against the *Turkes*. The tenths were granted vnder this honest colour; but there was hope giuen to the King secretly, that after the consignation of the whole quantitie, the condition being changed by another writ, his Maiestie might conuert them to what vse he would. The Pope by a seuerall Briefe promised the King neuer to demand of him any aide or succours against the Duke of *Ferrara*, and which more is, he consented that the King might take him into his protection. There was long dispute vpon the rendring of *Reggia*, *Modena* and *Rubiero*, which the King demanded with great instance, according to the promise which the Pope had made him at *Bologna*, which the Pope refused not, but referred it to another time, alledging that it would be an action farre vnworthy of him, and almost a confession of his extreme necessitie and compulsion, to redeliuer them at a time when he stood oppressed with the warre: yet the King stood still vpon it to haue them rendred presently. At last the Pope making shew that he would vtterly estrange himselfe from the King if he sought to constraine him any further, the King hauing for his enemie the King of *England*, and was in doubt of *Cæsar*, the King of

Confederation betweene the Pope and the French king.

Spaine, and the *Swiſſers*, he accepted that the Pope, by a Briefe deliuered into his hands, ſhould promiſe that within ſeuen moneths next following, he would put into the poſſeſſiõ of the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, *Reggia* and *Rubiero*; the Pope hauing this intention, that if the dangers wherein he was, ceaſſed afore, he would make no more account of this Briefe, then of that which he had promiſed at *Bologria*. But the King, ſince he could obtaine no more of him without the hazard of his extreme indignation, held himſelfe contented, eſteeming it ſomewhat ſufficient, that he had appearing in writing the aſſurance and teſtimonie of his word and faith.

But whileſt theſe things were in debating, *Laurence* hauing much increaſed his armie, both by many regiments of *Italians* leuied of new, and alſo by a thouſand footmen *Spaniſh*, and a thouſand Lanceknights waged by the Pope at *Rome*, the time ſeemed now fit to aſſay to deliuer himſelfe of this warre; wherein, for the ſtrength and ſituation of the place where the enemies lay, his onely hope was to compell them to diſcampe for want of victuals: and for this cauſe *Camilla Vrſin* was ſent with ſeuen hundred light horſemen, to ouerrunne all that countrey which is called the Vicarage, from whence came the greateſt part of their victuals. At this time a Trumpet came to *Peſera* from the campe of the enemie, who required of *Laurence* a ſafe-conduct, to the end that Captaine *Suares* a *Spaniard* whom *Franciſco Maria* had in his companie, might come to him; which *Laurence* eaſily granted, ſuppoſing it had bene a Captaine with whom he had ſecret intelligence: but there came to him another Captaine of the ſame name, and with him *Horacio de Fermes* Secretarie to *Franciſco Maria*, who after he had demanded publike audience, declared (according to the inſtructions of *Franciſco Maria*) that ſince the quarrels that were betweene them might be decided by ſingle combat of their owne perſons, or with a determinate number of men indifferently agreed vpon by them both, it were better to chuſe the one of thoſe two meanes, then to perſeuere in that courſe whereby ſo many people might be deſtroyed, contrary to all pietie, to the preiudice of whõſoeuer ſhould carie the victory; & that for this reſpect *Franciſco Maria* offered him to make election of whether of theſe two waies he wold. When he had ſpoken, he would haue read a writing that he had in his hand, but that was forbidden him. *Laurence* anſwered by the counſell of his Captaines, that he willingly accepted this offer, ſo far forth as *Franciſco Maria* would firſt leaue that which he occupied by force: after which words (by the inſtigation of *Ranſe de Cere*) he cauſed them both to be made priſoners, *Ranſe* maintaining that they had deſerued to be puniſhed for performing an action ſo inſolent. But the other Captaines ſhewing him that he brake his faith and word, he let go *Suares*, and retained *Horacio* onely, excuſing with falſe colours, the infamie of his faith-breaking, as though it had bene neceſſary in the ſafeconduct expreſly to haue nominated *Horacio*, who for the place of his birth was ſubiect to the Church, and Secretarie to the enemie: but his chiefe end was, to draw from him the ſecrets of *Franciſco Maria*, and among other things, by whoſe counſell and authoritie he had begun the warre: whereupon being examined with torments, it was publiſhed, that his confeſſion was found ſuch, that it increaſed the ſuſpition conceiued againſt the *French* king. But the deſire of *Laurence*, to cut off from the *Spaniards* the traffike of victuals out of the countrey of the Vicarage, ſtood needfull of greater forces, both for that his light horſemen with their incurſions did no matter of great importance, and now his armie was ſuch, that he might boldly make head againſt his enemies. For, beſide a thouſand men at armes and a thouſand light horſemen, he had leuied fifteene thouſand footmen of diuers nations, amongſt whom was aboue two thouſand *Spaniards* muſtered at *Rome*: which was a footband of ſpeciall choiſe, and of great exerciſe and training in armes, for that the warre being in no other place then in *Italy*, the Captaines had good meanes to exchange for better, all ſuch bands of *Italian* footmen as were leuied in haſte: ſo that thoſe which they had, were the flower of the footmen of all *Italy*. He determined then to go incampe at *Sorbolongo*, a borough in the countrey of *Fano*, fiue miles from *Foſſambrono*, from whence it was eaſie for him to reſtraine the enemie from all reliefe coming out of the Vicarage. The Citie of *Foſſambrono* ſtands vpon the riuer of *Metro*, which is a riuer famous for the victorie which the *Romanes* had againſt *Aſdrubal* of *Carthage*; which running to this place by a narrow channell betweene the mountaines, when it is paſt *Foſſambrono*, begins to runne through a valley more at large, which enlargeth it ſelfe ſo much the more, by how much it approcheth nearer the ſea, which is fifteen miles beyond *Foſſambrono*, and there it falleth into *Metro* neare to *Fano*, but

Frrnciſco Maria ſends to defie Laurence de Medicis.

The ſituatiõ of Foſſambrono.

but on that ſide towards *Sinigale*. On the right hand, according to the courſe of the riuer, is the countrey which they call the Vicarage, which is full of litle fertile hils and boroughs, and lieth ſtretched out in great length towards the ſea: and on the left hand of the riuer are alſo litle hils, but paſſing further, there are found very high and ſharp mountains; and touching the plaine which extendeth towards *Fano*, it containeth more then 3. miles in largenes. At ſuch time therefore as *Laurence* determined to incampe at *Sorbolongo*, fearing leſt his enemies, perceiuing his remouing ſhould preuent him, he ſent on the morrow afore day *Iohn de Medicis*, *Iohn Baptiſta Stabbio*, and *Brunault de Furly*, with foure hundred horſemen, to ſurpriſe *Sorbolongo*, and gaue order to the footmen that were at *Candelaro* and *Nugolaro*, that croſſing the mountaines, they ſhould draw towards *Metro*, to ioyne with the reſidue; and himſelfe with the reſt of the armie, leauing for the guard of *Peſera*, *Guido Rangon* with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, tooke his way at Sunne riſing from *Peſera* towards *Fano* along the ſea ſhore, and afterwards turning towards *Foſſambrono* where the valley beginneth, he arriued about noone at a place called our Ladies Mill built vpon the riuer. All the horſemen and regiments of *Italian* footmen paſſed the riuer by foord, but the bands of *Gaſcons* and Lanceknights were ſo long in paſſing the bridge prepared to that end, that ſ armie being not able that day to reach *Sorbolongo* according to ſ direction that was ſet downe, they thought it conuenient to incamp at *S. Georges Orciano* and *Mondano*, boroughs halfe a mile diſtant one from another. The direction that was giuen to the light horſemen, ſucceeded not much better: for, as they marched, *Iohn de Medicis* (in whom in this firſt exerciſe of warre, appeared ſignes of future valour) doubting leſt by error they tooke the longer way, he left the reſidue that contemned his counſell, and entred into *Sorbolongo* long time before night: and the other two Captaines, after they had fetched a long compaſſe, returned at laſt to the armie, being abuſed (as they ſaid) by their guide: neither could *Iohn de Medicis* (who had with him onely his regiment) abide that night within *Sorbolongo*, for that the ſame morning *Franciſco Maria* doubting the diſcamping of his enemies, and imagining which way they would draw, had with great celeritie taken the field with all his armie: who finding no impediment to paſſe the riuer, but vſing the helpe of a ſtone bridge at *Foſſambrono*, he came to *Sorbolongo* afore night, and becauſe of their coming, *Iohn* knowing that he was not able to reſiſt them, retired towards *Orciano*, and was followed by the horſemen of the enemie, who tooke many of his people. Being at *Orciano* he went to find *Laurence* in his lodging, and told him in great choler, that either the negligence or the cowardize of *Brunault* and *Iohn Baptiſta Stabbio*, ſtanding then in his preſence, had that day taken out of his hand the victorie of the warre. This was the firſt, but it was not the onely occaſion of good lucke that the armie of *Laurence* did loſe, ſeeing afterwards he loſt farre greater, and was followed continually with farre more dangerous diſorders, his ill fortune being alwayes accompanied with ill counſels. The boroughs of *Orciano* and *Sorbolongo* haue their ſituation in a place eminent, and are diſtant one from the other ſomewhat more then two miles: the mid way betweene them is full of litle hils and mountaines, where is a borough called *Barry*, wherein were lodged part of the bands of *Franciſco Maria*, and in this neighbourhood and neareneſſe of the armies, all the day following was ſpent in skirmiſhes. Amongſt the Captaines of *Laurence* his armie, the counſels were diuers: for ſome (and chiefly thoſe vpon whoſe aduice depended not the reſolution of things) perſwaded to giue a charge vpon the enemies, thinking perhaps, without putting themſelues or others in any danger, by propoſing vainly bold counſels, they ſhould get the name of valiant men. But this counſell was impugned by *Ranſe* and *Vitelli*, whoſe aduice was alwayes followed by *Laurence*, for as much as the enemies were lodged in a place of ſtrength, and had the borough at their backe, whither they could not come but by a very troubleſome way: and likewiſe they thought it not good that the armie ſhould continue in thoſe places, as a matter vnprofitable, and by meanes whereof they could not obtaine the purpoſe for which they were remoued from *Peſera*, for that *Sorbolongo* being at the deuotion of *Franciſco Maria*, it would be hard to reſtraine victuals from the countrey of the Vicarage. For theſe reaſons all other counſels being reiected, they obtained by neceſſitie that the armie ſhould returne. And to the end their retiring ſhould not reſemble a manifeſt flying, they propoſed that the armie ſhould not onely returne to their firſt lodging place, but that they ſhould go ſeize vpon *Montebaroccia* and the places left abandoned by the enemies, from whence they might draw towards *Vrbin*. With this reſolution the armie departed the morning following at the appearing of day:

Deſcription of the countrey called the Vicarage.

but it was thought to be rather a flying then a retraite, by the diuulging of which opinion through the campe, it hapned that *Francisco Maria* was aduertised by two men at armes, that the enemies in great feare were broken vp almost in disorder, and flying: in so much as *Francisco Maria* seeming to be almost certaine of the victory, he presently caused his armie to march by the way that leades athwart the mountaines, hoping to encounter them at their descending into the plaine: for he thought they would take the way that was most short and passable; which if they had done, neither the one nor the other armie could haue auoyded the battell.

But Fortune would, that to saue a Cannon which was left behind the day before, for that one of the wheeles of the cart was broken, the armie of *Laurence* went to repasse the riuer of *Metro* at our Ladies Mill, which is a place foure miles lower then that whereunto the short and easie way would haue brought him. All the horsemen and footmen of *Laurence* his armie passed ouer at the foord, but they were very long in passing, and those that were passed cast themselues with great celeritie into order, keeping along the plaine that draweth towards *Fossambrono*. The footmen being passed, as the men at armes and light horsemen which marched in the reare ward of the campe would haue passed, the light horsemen of the enemies, both many in number and of the most resolute, began to skirmish with them; in which encounter was taken prisoner *Constantine* the sonne of *John Paul Baillon*, whom we may as well call his nephew as his sonne, since he begat him of one of his owne sisters: by reason whereof *John Paul* who was come to the armie not many dayes before, and led the vantguard, striuing to do his best to recouer him, stayed so long, that from the auantguard he became the reareward, *Laurence* that led the battell entring into the first place, and *Troylus Sauello* that gouerned the areareguard, into the battell, for that *Ranse* and *Vitelli* marched before with the footmen. But when *Francisco Maria* and his Captaines saw that the enemies, by the same measure and numbers wherewith they passed the riuer, turned towards *Fossambrono*, they perceiued that they remoued not like men that fled, but with intention to surprise *Montebaroccio*; and therefore forgetting their former disposition to fight, which was grounded vpon the supposed feare of the enemies, they left their baggage, and ranne presently, with great haste, and no lesse disorder, with their ensignes vpon their shoulders, to get a very narrow passage of the riuer called *Tauernelle*, where nature had made a confused trench full of cliffes, which runneth all along through the whole plaine euen to the mountaine, and where was no passage but by one path which was made for the way, whereunto if their bands had come (who alwayes as they passed ouer turned from that side,) the *Spaniards* had bene reduced into manifest danger. And albeit *Laurence* and his Captaines were aduertised of this by *Lodowike* the sonne of *Liuerot de Fermes*, who the same day was come to the armie with a thousand footmen, together with a *Spanish* Sergeant that could well discouer the countrey, yet their espiall was of litle profite. For notwithstanding the Lanceknights and *Gascons* shewed a wonderfull disposition to fight, the same being desired throughout the whole campe, and the will of *Laurence* being also concurrent: yet *Ranse de Cere* and *Vitelli* counselled him not to go meete the enemie, but to retire to a litle hill fast by, from whence without exposing themselues to any danger, they might do many grieuances to the enemies with the light horsemen, if they attempted to passe the riuer. Thus leauing that place of strength, *Ranse* turned towards the mountaine, and as soone as the *Spaniards* had seized vpon it, they began to salute the Lanceknights that lay nearest them with their harquebuses, and to signifie vnto them with cries full of reioycing, that they saw themselues reduced from a manifest danger, into most assured safetie. Thus either by indiscretion or by cowardise (if malignitie did not partake in it) did *Laurence* lose that day (in the iudgement of all men) the occasion of the victorie. That night the armie was lodged in a borough not farre off, called *Saltaro*: but the armie of *Francisco Maria* coming on with great diligence, marching a good part of the night, he gate *Montebaroccio*, preuenting a regiment of two thousand footmen which *Laurence* sent thither to surprise it, who went the day after and incamped two miles aboue *Saltaro*, neare the mountaine, in a place towards *Montebaroccio*, but somewhat lower, & vpon the sea shore. The two armies being within a mile one of another, stayed in these places, but with the greater discommodities to *Laurence*, who had often want of victuals, for that they being brought by sea from *Pesera* to *Fano*, it was needfull when the winds were contrary to bring them by land, whereunto the light horsemen of *Francisco Maria*

Laurence loseth the occasiõ of the victorie.

gaue

gaue no ſmall impediment, for that being aduertiſed by the paiſants of euery litle mouing of the enemies, they made continuall roades ouer the whole countrey. About this time *Franciſco Maria* ſent a trumpet to ſhew to the *Gaſcons* certaine letters which had bene found among the papers of the Secretaries of *Laurence*, which, together with part of his baggage, had bene taken from him by the horſemen of the enemie the ſame day that he departed from the borough of *Saltaro*: by which letters it was diſcerned, that the Pope being wearied with the great couetouſneſſe of the *Gaſcons*, whoſe payes he was conſtrained immoderatly to augment euery moneth, he wiſhed that all poſſible meanes might be vſed to induce them to returne home. And for this cauſe there had bin great danger of a tumult the ſelf ſame day, if *Carbon* their Captain & *Laurence de Medicis* had not ſo ingeniouſly perſwaded them that they were forged letters and deceits of the enemie, that they reſtrained and appaiſed them. Neuertheleſſe the doubt of this matter, the neceſſitie of victuals, and the place wherein they were incamped, where without compariſon the danger to loſe appeared greater then the hope to winne, were the cauſe that they determined to breake vp from thence, and to enter into the countrey of the Vicarage on that ſide that is neareſt the ſea, and ſo to march on till they approched *Foſſambrone*, (albeit it was not without ſhame to retire ſo often from the enemies.) This reſolution was allowed through the whole campe, but not without the great infamie of *Ranſe* and *Vitelli*, for that all the ſouldiers ſaid openly, that if from the beginning they had reſolued thus, they had brought the enemies into great want of victuals, and *Laurence* himſelfe blamed them more then the reſidue, complaining that either to prolong the warre for their particular profite, or to hinder his reputation in armes (fearing haply the like effects by his greatneſſe, which the greatneſſe of *Valentinois* had procured againſt their houſes) they had brought into ſo many difficulties and dangers ſo puiſſant an armie, and ſo farre ſuperiour to that of the enemies in number and in forces. Then the armie went and incamped before *S. Conſtans*, a borough of the Vicarage, the walls whereof they began to batter with their artilleries: and albeit the inhabitants in a parley offered to render it, yet knowing the facilitie to force it, there was giuen to the *Gaſcons* onely full libertie to aſſault it, withdrawing all the other ſouldiers from the walls, with a deſire to pacifie the angrie minds of the *Gaſcons* by the ſpoile and ſacke of that place, whereof the whole profite was transferred to them. Saint *Conſtans* being taken, the campe marched two miles further, and went the ſame day to *Mandolfo*, the beſt and ſtrongeſt borough of the Vicarage, ſeated vpon a hill, in a very eminent place, enuironed with walls and trenches not to be contemned, whereunto the ſituation of the place ſerueth as a rampier, hauing alſo therein a garriſon of two hundred *Spaniſh* ſouldiers. The ſame night they planted the artilleries on the South ſide; but either by the negligence or indiſcretion of *Ranſe de Cere*, to whom was appointed the managing of that charge, they were planted in an open place, and without rampiers: ſo that before the Sunne had ſhone vpon the earth one houre, there were ſlaine by the artilleries within, eight Cannoniers with many pioners, and *Anthonie Saint Croſſe* the Captaine of the artillerie wounded: by reaſon whereof *Laurence* being much moued in his mind (notwithſtanding all his Captaines aduiſed him to forbeare in his owne perſon to execute with ſo great danger that which he might commit to the charge of another,) he went in perſon to cauſe the artilleries to be rampiered and defended. Now when he had laboured there vntill noone, and made all neceſſary prouiſions, he retired behind the place to repoſe himſelfe vnder the ſhade of certaine trees, thinking the height of the hill to be a ſufficient couer for him: but in the way the height of the hill failing him, he deſcried in flanke the Rocke ſituate on the Weſt ſide, which he had no ſooner diſcouered, then he had in his eye the fire giuen to an harquebuze, to auoid the ſhot whereof he caſt himſelfe flat on his face, but before he could fall to the earth, the bullet that otherwiſe had run through his bodie, tooke the top of his head, and raſing vpon the bone, paſſed along the braine-pan towards the necke. *Laurence* being thus wounded, the Captaines who perceiued that notwithſtanding they had battered the wall, the earth was yet too high behind, began to caſt a mine, wherewith being entred vnder a litle turret adioyning to the wall which they had battered, they put fire to it the fifth day, which about noone caſting downe the turret with great violence, and a great pane of the wall ioyning to it, the aſſault was preſently giuen, but with litle order, and (as it were) at aduenture, the ſame yeelding no other fruite then ſuch as is wont to grow vpon aſſaults ill directed. Neuertheleſſe the night drawing on, the ſouldiers that had no expectation of ſuccours, for that

Laurence de Medicis hurt.

Franciſco Maria either not to loſe the aduantage of the ſituation of the place, or for other occaſion, ſtirred not from *Montebaroccio*, yeelded vp the place, vnder condition of goods and life ſaued, leauing in vile manner the people of the towne as a wretched prey to the enemies.

Now becauſe *Laurence* was hurt and in danger of his life, the Pope ſent as Legate to the armie, the Cardinall *de S. Maria in Portico*, who, ill fortune being already ioyned to ill gouernment, began with very bad ſignes to exerciſe his Legation. For, the day after he came to the armie, there hapned a quarrell by chance betweene an *Italian* and a Lanceknight, when ſuch as were neareſt running to the fray, and euery one calling vpon the name of his nation, the tumult ſo increaſed through the whole campe, that without knowing how ſuch a matter might happen, or for what cauſe, all the bands of footmen ranne in great mutinie to the lodgings of their fellowes to arme themſelues, and thoſe that in retiring met with the footmen of another language, were for the moſt part ſlaine by them: and, which was the cauſe of greater diſorder, the *Italian* footmen going in battell ray towards the place where the tumult began, their lodgings and houſes were ſacked by the *Gaſcons*. The principall Captaines of the armie ranne thither, who were then in counſell to put ſome remedie to this diſorder, but finding the tumult to be great and dangerous, euery one for his owne intereſt abandoned the care of the common buſineſſe, and retiring into their lodgings, put their men at armes preſently in order, thinking onely of their owne ſafetie, for the accompliſhment whereof they withdrew themſelues about a mile from the campe with their companies: onely the Legate *Bibiena*, vſing the conſtancie and readineſſe that appertained to his office and honour, would neuer abandon the common cauſe, but putting himſelfe oftentimes, by reaſon of the great commotion, in danger of his life, he did ſo much, not without many difficulties and by the helpe of many Captaines of the footbands, that at laſt the tumult ceaſſed, during the furie whereof there were ſlaine in many parts of the campe, more then an hundred Lanceknights, and twentie *Italians*, with ſome *Spaniards*. This accident was the cauſe that they determined for the preſent to enter into no enterpriſe, but for a time to keepe the armie ſeparate: for, it was feared, if the armie ſhould keepe together, leſt the ſouldiers exaſperated by the harmes receiued, would fall together by the eares for euery light occaſion. Therefore the companies of men at armes of the Church and of the *Florentines* were beſtowed in the Citie of *Peſera*, together with the regiments of *Italian* footmen: for, touching the *French* Lances, they had not ſtirred from *Rimini*, by reaſon the difficulties betweene the Pope and their King were not yet reſolued. The *Gaſcons* were incamped vpon the plaine within halfe a mile of that Citie, and the other footmen were diſperſed vpon the mount *Imperiale*, which is aboue *Peſera*, on that ſide towards *Rimini*, where there is a Pallace built by the anceſtors of the family of *Malateſta*, and they were lodged in ſuch order, that the *Spaniards* were placed vpon the top of the mountaine, the Lanceknights ſomewhat lower, all along the deſcent of the mountaine, and the *Corſicans* at the foote of the hill. They continued in this order three and twentie dayes, executing no other thing in that reſpite of time, then certain skirmiſhes of the light horſemen. For *Franciſco Maria* ſtirred not, both for a deſire to hold that he had gotten, and for that he was without hope either to breake ſo great an armie in the plaine field, or to take any place ſo neare the enemies. But the foure and twentieth day, departing by night from *Montebaroccio*, he came by the breake of day to the top of the mountaine, where the *Spaniards* lay incamped, and with whom, either generally or ſeuerally, it was beleeued (by reaſon of the ſucceſſe) that he had ſome ſecret intelligence. For as ſoone as he was come thither, the *Spaniards* began to crie vnto the others, that if they would ſaue themſelues they ſhould follow them; at which voice the moſt part of them put vpon their heads a branch of greene leaues, according to their example, and followed them, onely their Captaines retired to *Peſera*, and drew with them about eight hundred footmen. When the *Spaniards* were thus ioyned into one ſtrength, they went all together to the tents of the Lanceknights, who kept no great guard on that ſide, for the ſuretie of the neighbourhood of the *Spaniards*, and taking the aduantage of their ſecuritie, they ſlue and hurt more then ſixe hundred of them, and the reſidue fled towards the campe of the *Corſicans*, who retired together with them towards *Peſera*. The *Gaſcons* perceiuing the tumult, put themſelues in battell ray, and would not once moue from the place where they were. *Franciſco Maria*, after this ſlaughter of the Lanceknights, and the moſt part of the *Spaniſh* footbands being drawne to this ſide, went to incampe be-

betweene *Vrbin* and *Peſera*, full of great hope that the *Gaſcons* and Lanceknights, who were at the ſame time come from the campe of *Monſieur Lautrech*, and had alwayes marched and lodged together, would ioyne with him. There was amongſt the *Gaſcons* Captaine *Ambra*, who bare enuie to Captaine *Carbono*; this *Ambra* was yong, of more noble bloud, and kinſman to *Monſieur Lautrech*, and of greater authoritie among them. This yong Gentleman had ſecretly practiſed many dayes to paſſe with his footmen to the part of *Franciſco Maria*, taking this occaſion, that not ſatisfied with the immoderate augmentation of their payes, they redemanded inſolently farre greater payes, which the Popes miniſters would not giue way vnto: and becauſe there was ſtrife among them, Captaine *Carbono* and the Captaine of the *French* Lances, who for the ſame cauſe were come from *Rimini* to *Peſera*, did what they could to reconcile them. But fiue or ſixe dayes after the aduenture of the *Spaniards* and Lanceknights in the hil *Imperiale*, *Franciſco Maria* with his whole armie diſcouered himſelf neare vnto them, of whom a part put themſelues in battell ray vnder the leading of Captain *Ambra* with ſix Sakers, who being followed by ℈ Lanceknights, they ioyned with him, notwithſtanding ℈ praiers and moſt vehement perſwaſions of *Carbono* to retaine them, with whom abode ſeuen Captains with thirteene hundred footmen, but all the reſt, together with the Lanceknights, forſooke him: and (as in warre one miſchiefe alwayes breeds another) the *Italian* footmen perceiuing what need there was of them, began the next morning to fall into tumult, ſo that to appeaſe them, it was neceſſary in their payes to agree to immoderate conditions, the Captaines ſhewing themſelues no leſſe ſhameleſſe and greedie then the ſouldiers. And truly it was a maruellous matter to ſee in the armie of *Franciſco Maria*, where the ſouldiers were not payed, ſo great concord, obedience and vnitie, which proceeded not ſo much of the vertue or authoritie of the Captaine (as is ſaid of *Hannibal* the *Carthaginian*, to his great praiſe,) as of the exceeding affection and conſtancie of the ſouldiers: and of the contrary, to ſee in the armie of the Church (where there was no want of exceſſiue payes in due times) ſo many confuſions and diſorders, with ſo great a deſire of the footbands to paſſe to the enemies campe; whereby it is manifeſt that oftentimes armies are not kept in concord and obedience ſo much by money as for other cauſes.

The Legate and thoſe that were preſent at the counſell were much aſtoniſhed with theſe great accidents, and after they had long debated by what meanes they might relieue the afflicted eſtate of things, ſhewing themſelues neither more wiſe nor better aduiſed to redreſſe diſorders, then they had bene in preuenting them, moued alſo with their owne couetous deſires and particular intereſts, they concluded to perſwade the Pope to reſtore *Bologna* to the *Bentiuoleys*, before they being encouraged by the ill eſtate of his affaires, or incited by others, ſhould make ſome commotion, the which how vnable they were to reſiſt, was euident by the difficulties they had to ſuſtaine the warres in one place onely. Therefore to giue the more authoritie to this counſell, and for the better iuſtification of them all in all euents, when they had ſet downe in writing the generall opinion, they ſent the ſame to the Pope by Count *Robert Buſchet* a Gentleman of *Modena*, ſubſcribed with the hands of the Legate and the Archbiſhop *Vrſin*, of whom the one was linked to the *Bentiuoleys* in ancient amitie, and the other by affinitie. The Pope not onely deſpiſed this counſell, but alſo complained greatly, that his owne miniſters, and ſuch as had receiued of him ſo many benefites, and might hope dayly to receiue more, had propoſed vnto him with ſo litle faith and loue, counſels no leſſe pernicious then the very euils which the enemies did him: but he was chiefly diſcontented with the Archbiſhop *Vrſin*, for that haply he had bene the chiefe author of this counſell; and peraduenture this was the occaſion that he loſt the Cardinals Hat, which was promiſed him by all men at the firſt promotion. Now *Franciſco Maria* ſeeing his ſtrength ſo much increaſed, and the forces of his enemies abated, raiſed his thoughts to greater attempts, being likewiſe puſhed on by neceſſitie, for that the footmen which came with him, had bene three whole moneths without pay, and he had no meanes to giue money to thoſe that were newly come; and alſo the Duchie was ſo pilled and harried, that the ſouldiers had not onely no meanes of prey and bootie, but alſo with great difficultie could find wherewith to ſuſtaine themſelues. But in the election of the enterpriſe, he was to follow other mens wils, for that for his owne part before he aſſayed any other matter, he deſired to aſſault againe *Fano* or ſome other towne on the ſea coaſt, to the end to aſſure his Eſtate: and yet by the inclination of the ſouldiers, greedie of prey and bootie, he determined

termined rather to turne into *Tuſcane*, where the region being plentifull of all things, ſuſpecting nothing, and ill prouided for warre, the ſouldiers hoped to raiſe great ſpoile. Furthermore, he was carried with a hope to make ſome mutation in *Perouſa* and *Sienna*, by the meanes of *Charles Baillon* and *Borgueſe Petrucci*, a matter much helping to his affaires, and much augmenting the moleſtations and perils of the Pope and his Nephew. Therefore the next day after he had aſſembled the *Gaſcons*, he cauſed his armie to march towards *Perouſa*: but when he was come to the plaine of *Agobbio*, he determined to make manifeſt his ſuſpition, or rather the certaine knowledge which he had of the treaſon of Colonell *Maldonato* and others ioyned with him in the ſame conſpiracie. The matter hapned and was diſcouered in this ſort: When the armie marched by *Romagna*, *Suares* one of the Captaines of the *Spaniards* ſtayed behind, making ſhew of ſickneſſe, and of purpoſe ſuffered himſelfe to be taken priſoner; and when he was conueyed to *Ceſena* to *Laurence*, he declared to him in the name of *Maldonato*, and the other two *Spaniſh* Captains, that they were conioyned to *Franciſco Maria* for no other cauſe, then to take occaſion to do ſome notable ſeruice to the Pope and to him, ſeeing it was not in their power to let the accident of this commotion, promiſing him in their names, that as ſoone as the oportunitie was offered, they would put it in execution. Now *Franciſco Maria*, who knew nothing of this, began to enter into ſuſpition by certaine words which were very inconſiderately vttered by *Ranſe de Cere* to a drumme of the *Spaniards*: for he demanded of him, as it were in ieſt, When will theſe *Spaniards* deliuer vs your Duke priſoner? which words making deepe impreſſion in the mind of *Franciſco Maria*, gaue him cauſe diligently to obſerue whether there were any trecherie in the armie. But at length by letters intercepted with the carriages of *Laurence*, he diſcouered that *Maldonato* was the author of ſome dangerous ſtratageme; the which hauing bene diſſembled by him till then, and not thinking good any longer to conceale it, he calling together all the *Spaniſh* footmen, and ſetting himſelfe in the midſt of them in an eminent place, he began to giue them great thankes, with words full of efficacie, for thoſe things which for his ſake they had vndertaken with ſo great inclination of mind, & to confeſſe that it was not found in hiſtories either ancient or moderne, that any Prince or Captaine was more beholding to men of warre, then he acknowledged himſelfe to be vnto them: ſeeing that although he was without money, and without meanes to be able to reward them, (for albeit he ſhould recouer all his patrimonie, yet he was but a meane Prince) and that he was not of their nation, nor had euer done them any good turn, or bin known by them to haue ſerued with them in the field, they had with ſo ready a diſpoſition followed him againſt ſo mightie a Prince and of ſo great authoritie, and that not for hope of ſpoile, ſince they knew they were led into a barren and poore region: which good ſeruices he had no meanes to recompence to them but with goodwill and gratification of mind: And he added, that he was infinitely glad, that not onely through all *Italy*, but alſo through the prouinces of *Europe* they had purchaſed perpetuall fame and reputation, and that euery one of thē had raiſed their faith and ſingular vertue to the heauens; for that being very few in number, without money, without artillerie, or any warlike furniture, they had ſo often conſtrained to turne their backes, an armie moſt rich in treaſure and all other prouiſions, with whom were ioyned ſo many warlike people, chiefly againſt the forces of a mightie Pope and the State of the *Florentines*, with whom the name and authoritie of the Kings of *France* and *Spaine* was ioyned: and that to ſupport and preſerue themſelues in the faith and honour of men of ſeruice, had neglected the commandement of their proper Princes: That as he tooke exceeding pleaſure in theſe things (for the glorie of their name,) ſo on the other ſide, whatſoeuer might obſcure ſo great a glorie, both had and would bring vpon him intollerable griefe: That very vnwillingly, and no otherwiſe then with manifeſt dolour, he could be induced to open vnto them matters which might be offenſiue vnto any one of them, to euery particular of whom he had vowed whileſt he drew breath to be a ſeruant: and yet (leſt this euill begun ſhould be increaſed by his ſilence, and leſt the malice of ſome particulars ſhould extinguiſh ſo great a glory gotten by that army, it being alſo conuenient that the honor of them all ſhould be more deare vnto him, then the reſpect of a few) he would not conceale from them, that there were foure perſons in that armie who went about to betray the glorie and ſafetie of them all, That touching his owne ſafetie, he would make no mention thereof, nor complaine, for that he was tormented with ſo many accidents, and without his fault ſo cruelly perſecuted by Fortune, that many times he deſired death rather then life: but that neither the obligations

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he ought to them, nor the setled affection which so deseruedly he bare to them, would suffer him to conceale from them, that Colonell *Maldonato*, who ought to haue bene most carefull of the safetie and glorie of them all, and Captaine *Suares*, who to contriue so great a wickednesse, dissembling to be sicke, suffered himselfe to be taken of his enemies in *Romagna*, together with two other Captaines, had conspired and promised vnder wicked counsels, to betray them into the hands of *Laurence de Medicis*: which counsels had bene interrupted by his diligence, whereby being made confident, he would no sooner reueale so great a treason: but now supposing that he ought not any longer to leaue either himselfe or others in such a danger, he had opened vnto them the thing which long before was knowne to himselfe: That these things may appeare by certaine letters authentike found amongst the writings of *Laurence* intercepted by him: That there be many apparent signes and great coniectures, all which he thought good to lay afore them, to the end they might be iudges of such a hainous conspiracie, and hauing heard the things propounded, and what the offenders can say for themselues, they might proceed to such a deliberation as should seeme vnto them most conformable to iustice, & to the glorie and profite of the armie. When he had made an end of speaking, he commanded the euidences of the crime obiected against them to be read and declared; which being heard with very great attention of euery one, *Maldonato*, *Suares*, and the other two Captaines not being suffered to answer, were condemned by the common iudgement of the armie, as of a matter most manifestly proued, which sentence was put in execution, by causing them to passe the pikes. After they had (as they said) by this meanes purged the armie of all treason, they followed on their iourney towards *Perousa*, into the which was already entred *Iohn Paul Baillon*, being departed from *Pesera* as soone as he had knowledge of their intention, who prepared himselfe to defend it, and to this end had armed all his friends, and put into the towne many companies of paisants leuied in the country and places confining: to whom the Legat had sent for succor, *Camillo Vrsin* his sonne in law, Captain of the *Florentines*, with his companie of men at armes, and two hundred and fiftie light horsemen; with which forces it was thought he might sustain the fury of his enemies, the rather for that many preparatiõs were made to hinder their proceedings. For *Vitelli* with his regiment of men at armes, and *Monsieur de Sissey* with the *French* lances, who were now no more suspected, for that the confederation was established betweene the Pope and the *French* king, were marched to *Citta de Castello*; and *Laurence de Medicis*, who being newly cured of his wound and lately come from *Ancona* to *Pesera*, was gone in post to *Florence* to draw from thence things necessary for the conseruation of that Estate and the Cities adioyning: and there he tooke order, to the end to constraine *Francisco Maria* to abandon the expedition of *Tuscane*, that the Legate with the rest of the armie, should march towards the Dukedome of *Vrbin*, for the guard whereof was left no other souldiers then the inhabitants. *Francisco Maria*, not without the hope of some intelligence, approched *Perousa*, where *Iohn Paul* riding about the Citie, was assailed in the midst of the streete by a man of the towne, who missing to hit him, was suddenly slaine by those that accompanied *Iohn Paul*: who in this tumult, caused certaine others whom he suspected to be slaine, and when he saw himselfe deliuered from such ambushes, he thought himselfe out of all perill, for that the enemies who had now many dayes lien about *Perousa*, had no meanes to take it by force. And yet at that time when the Pope least expected such a matter, he couenanted with the enemies to pay tenthousand duckats, to giue them victuals for foure dayes, not to take armes against *Francisco Maria* in that warre, and that they should presently depart out of the territories of *Perousa*; alledging for his excuse and iustification, that the people of *Perousa*, whom he was not able to resist, would no longer endure the spoiling of their countrey. The Pope tooke this in ill part, and was very angrie: for hereby he was confirmed in the opinion he had conceiued of him from the beginning of this war, when he went so slowly to the armie with the succorus promised, that because the power of *Laurence* was suspected vnto him, he wished that *Francisco Maria* should remaine Duke of *Vrbin*: whereunto was added, that whilest he was in the campe with *Laurence*, he shewed himselfe discontent that *Ranse* and *Vitelli* bare greater authoritie then he: the memorie of which things was haply the chiefest cause of his calamities afterwards. After *Francisco Maria* had made agreement with the *Perousins*, he marched towards *Citta de Castello*, where he made certaine excursions, with intention to enter vpon the State of *Florence* by the towne of *Sansepulcro*, but the danger of his owne State con-

conſtrained him to take other counſell. For the Legate *Bibiena*, who had made a new leuie of many *Italians*, following the deliberation made at *Peſera*, was remoued with the reſt of his armie to *Foſſambrono*, which Citie being battered with the artillerie, was taken and ſacked the third day. This done, he led his armie to *Pergola*, where the day following the Earle of *Potenza* with foure hundred *Spaniſh* lances ſent from the King of *Spaine* to the aide of the Pope, ioyned with the armie. Within *Pergola* there was not one ſouldier, but onely a *Spaniſh* Captaine and many people of the countrey, who by reaſon of their feare, began to commune of yeelding. But whileſt they were in parley, the Captain who ſtood vpon the wall was wounded in the face, which was the cauſe that the ſouldiers, without any order or commandement of their Captains, went to the walls and tooke the towne by force. From *Pergola* they conſulted to bring their armie to *Cagli*, but being aduertiſed that *Franciſco Maria* hauing heard of the loſſe of *Foſſambrono*, was returned into that region with great celeritie, they determined to retire: ſo that the ſame night in which the Legate receiued the intelligence, they departed from *Pergola* to *Montſion*, where as they began to make their lodgings to ſpend the night there, they had aduertiſement that the enemie was nearer then was ſuppoſed, and that he ſent before him a thouſand horſemen, euery one carrying a footman behind him, to the end that being conſtrained to trauell with more leiſure, time might be giuen to the armie to ouertake them: which was the cauſe that they marched ſeuen miles from thence, to a place called *Boſco*, from whence they departed the morning following before day, ſo that they came in the euening to *Fano*, hauing now almoſt vpon their backes the horſemen of the enemies, which came with ſo great celeritie, that if they had departed onely foure houres later, they had hardly eſcaped the neceſſitie to fight.

At this time the affaires of the Pope proceeded with no better felicitie in other actions then in the euents of the warre, againſt whoſe life *Alphonſo* the Cardinall of *Sienna* layd ambuſhes, being much offended, that the Pope (forgetting the trauels and dangers which *Pandolfe Petrucci* his father had ſometimes endured to reſtore him and his brethren to the gouernment of *Florence*, together with that which he with the other yong Cardinals had done to aduance him to the Popedome,) had in recompence of ſo many benefites cauſed him and his brother *Borgueſe* to be thruſt out of *Sienna*: ſo that being ſpoiled of his fathers goods, he could not maintaine himſelfe magnificently in his degree of Cardinall, as he was accuſtomed: and therefore burning in hatred, and almoſt reduced to deſpaire, he caſt in his mind, being a yong man, to giue the Pope a deadly blow with his owne hands. But being reſtrained more by the perill and difficultie of the fact, then by the example and common infamie that would runne throughout all Chriſtendome, if a Cardinall ſhould with his owne hands take away the life of a Pope, he turned all his thoughts to take him away by poiſon, with the helpe of *Baptiſta Vercelli*, a famous Chirurgion, and very familiar with him. This counſell (if ſo wicked a furie be worthy ſuch a name) ſhould haue bene in this ſort put in execution: The Pope had vnder his fundament an old Fiſtula, for the which he dayly vſed the helpe of Chirurgions: and for as much as there was no other occaſion offered, this Chirurgion was much commended to the Pope, and his skill and experience ſo much praiſed, that he deſired to be dreſſed by him. But the impatience of *Alphonſo* made the hope of this matter very difficult, the which being long in execution, *Alphonſo* who could not containe himſelfe from complaining openly againſt the ingratitude of the Pope, began dayly to grow more hatefull vnto him, and to be ſuſpected to conſpire ſome thing againſt his eſtate, ſo that in the end he was almoſt conſtrained for his owne ſafetie to depart from *Rome*, leauing neuertheleſſe behind him *Anthonie Nino* his Secretarie, to whom he wrote often. At laſt it happened that ſome of his letters were intercepted, whereby the Pope diſcerned that he practiſed ſome conſpiracie againſt his life: and therefore vnder colour to make ſome prouiſion for the affaires of *Alphonſo*, he called him to *Rome*, ſending him a ſafeconduct, and gaue with his owne mouth his word and faith to the *Spaniſh* Embaſſador, not to violate it. Vnder which aſſurance (notwithſtanding he was guiltie of ſo great wickedneſſe) he went vnwiſely to the Pope, who immediatly cauſed him to be apprehended in his chamber together with the Cardinal *Bandinello de Sauly* a *Genoway*, for that he was ſo great a friend and familiar to *Alphonſo*, that he thought the matter was not agreed vpon without his conſent, although he had bin a great furtherer to bring him to the Popedome: and then he ſent them priſoners to the Caſtle *Saint Angelo*; and gaue preſent direction, that *Baptiſta Vercelli*, who

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then was following his art at *Florence*, ſhould be made priſoner, and ſent to *Rome*. The *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour laboured with vehement complaints and proteſtations, to haue *Alphonſo* ſet at libertie, alledging that the Popes faith giuen to him as the Kings Embaſſadour, ought to be obſerued with the ſame fidelitie, as if it had bene giuen to the King himſelfe. But the Pope anſwered, that no ſafeconduct, how ample ſoeuer it was, and full of clauſes pregnant and ſpeciall, was any aſſurance in crimes conſpired againſt the life of the Pope, without peculiar and ſpeciall nomination: That there was the ſame prerogatiue when there was queſtion of poiſoning; a matter ſo greatly abhorred both by diuine and humane laws, and ſo hateful to the ſences of all men, that they haue reſerued no ſafeconduct or aſſurance for the offenders that way, but vnder particular and ſpeciall mention. The Pope gaue the charge of their examination to *Mario Peruſco* the ouerſeer of his Exchequer, by whom being examined with ſeueritie and rigour, they confeſſed the treaſon conſpired by *Alphonſo*, with the priuitie of *Bandinello*; which confeſſion was verified by the Chirurgion *Baptiſta*, and confirmed by *Poconteſta* of *Bagnacauallo*, who vnder *Pandolfe* his father and *Borgneſe* his brother, had long bene Captaine of the garriſon of *Sienna*, and for this offence was publikely quartered together with the Chirurgion. After this confeſſion, in the next ſitting of the Conſiſtorie, was apprehended and carried to the Caſtle, *Raphael Riario* Cardinall of Saint *George*, Chamberlaine to the ſea Apoſtolike, who for his wealth and riches, for the magnificence of his Court, and his long time and continuance in that dignitie, was, without doubt, the principall Cardinall of all the Colledge: He maintained that this treaſon had not bene imparted to him, but that the Cardinall of *Sienna* complaining and threatning the Pope, had many times vttered words vnto him, whereby he might well conceiue that he purpoſed in his mind to do ſome violence againſt his perſon if occaſion were offered. Afterwards the Pope complained in another Conſiſtorie, wherein the Cardinals (not accuſtomed to be violated) were all amazed in their mind, and much aſtoniſhed; complaining that with ſuch crueltie and iniquitie his life ſhould be betrayed by thoſe, who for their place and dignitie, which made them principall members of the Sea Apoſtolike, ſtood more then all others bound to defend it: deploring greatly his ill fortune, and that to haue bene continually ſo beneficiall and liberall to all men, that many blamed him for it, had ſtood him in no ſtead. He added, that there were yet many Cardinals guiltie of this conſpiracie, who if afore the Conſiſtorie were diſſolued, they would frankly confeſſe their offence, they ſhould find him readie to vſe clemencie, and to giue them pardon; but if they deferred till the Conſiſtorie were broken vp, he would vſe the ſeueritie of iuſtice againſt the partakers of ſo great a miſchiefe. Becauſe of theſe words, *Adriano* Cardinall of *Cornetto*, and *Francis Soderin* Cardinall of *Volterra*, falling vpon their knees afore the feete of the Pope, confeſſed that the Cardinall of *Sienna* had vſed the ſame ſpeeches to them, which the Cardinall of Saint *George* had expreſſed. As ſoone as theſe examinations were taken and publiſhed in the Conſiſtorie, *Alphonſo* and *Bandinello* by publike ſentence of the Conſiſtory, were depriued of the dignitie of Cardinals, and deliuered ouer to the ſecular Court. The night following *Alphonſo* was ſecretly ſtrangled in priſon, but the ſentence of *Bandinello*, by the Popes grace, was changed into perpetuall impriſonment, from the which neuertheleſſe not long after for a certaine ſumme of money he was deliuered, and reſtored againe to the dignitie of Cardinall, notwithſtanding he had iuſter cauſe of indignation againſt him, for that hauing beſtowed vpon him many benefites and graces, he became eſtranged from him for no other cauſe then for the great loue which he bare to *Alphonſo*, and for a diſdaine that the Cardinall *de Medicis* was preferred afore him in the ſuites of certaine benefices: and yet there were not wanting malicious interpreters, who iudged that afore he was deliuered out of priſon, there was giuen to him by the Popes commandement, a potion confected with that kind of poiſon which killeth not ſuddenly, but conſumeth with time the life of him that receiueth it. And touching the Cardinall of Saint *George*, albeit the lawes ordained by Princes for the ſecuritie of their ſtates, command that in the crime of high treaſon, as well the acceſſarie as the principall be puniſhed by death, yet the Pope dealt more mildly with him, hauing reſpect to his age and authoritie, and to the long friendſhip which had bin betweene them afore his aſcending to the Popedome, and alſo for that his offence was not ſo great. For theſe cauſes then, although for the authoritie and reputation of iuſtice, he was by ſentence depriued of the dignitie of Cardinal, he was almoſt immediatly by grace reſtored, binding himſelfe to pay a great ſumme of money, except his voice actiue and paſſiue, whereunto notwithſtanding he was reſtored within the re-

uolution of a yeare. There was no other hurt done to the Cardinals of *Cornetto* and *Volterra*, ſauing that they payed vnderhand a certaine ſumme of money: but ſeeing that neither of them could ſafely abide in *Rome*, nor with ſuch dignitie as was conuenient, *Volterra* with the Popes licence went to *Fondy*, where vnder the wings of *Proſper Colonno* he remained till the Popes death: and *Adrian* departed ſecretly out of *Rome*, but whatſoeuer became of him, he was neuer after found nor ſeene in any place, that could be knowne. The ſtrangeneſſe of this accident conſtrained the Pope to conſider of the creation of new Cardinals, knowing that almoſt all the Colledge had minds much eſtranged from him, as well for the puniſhment of thoſe, as for other cauſes. In which action he proceeded ſo immoderatly, that in one morning in the Conſiſtorie (the Colledge conſenting more for feare then of will) he pronounced one and thirtie Cardinals, in the exceſſe of which number, there was good meanes for him to ſatisfie many ends, and to make election of men of all qualities. For he preferred to this dignitie two ſonnes of his ſiſters, with ſome others who had done him ſeruice, both before he was Pope and after, and who were as acceptable to the Cardinall *de Medicis* as to him for diuers reaſons, but for any other reſpect were not capable of ſo great a dignitie. In the creation of ſome, he ſatisfied the humours of great Princes, creating them at their inſtance: and ſome he raiſed for money, for that he found his treaſure much conſumed and in great neceſſitie. Some he called who were famous for the opinion of their learning, amongſt whom were three Generals (which is the higheſt degree among them) of the Orders of Saint *Auguſtine*, Saint *Dominicke*, and Saint *Francis*: and (which was a matter very rare at one and the ſame promotion) he preferred two of the family of *Triuulce*, taking his inducement for the one, for that he had bene his Chamberlaine, and alſo vpon a deſire to ſatisfie *John Iaques*; and touching the other, he was moued with the fame of his learning, with the helpe of a certaine ſumme of money. But that which bred matter of greateſt admiration, was the election of *Franciot Vrſin* and *Pompey Colonno*, with other fiue *Romans* of the principall families, who were followers of this or that faction; which he did with a counſell altogether contrary to the reſolutions of his predeceſſor, and which was reputed not very diſcreete, and had no happie iſſue for his friends and kindred. For, the greatneſſe of the Barons of *Rome* being alwayes the debaſing and ſcourge of the Popes, *Iulio* the ſecond, when the ancient Cardinals of thoſe families failed whom *Alexander* the ſixt had bitterly perſecuted to make prey of their eſtates, would neuer ſuffer that dignitie to be reinueſted in any of them: but *Leo* with great immoderation did the contrary, not that it could be ſaid, he was drawne thereto by the merit of the men; for that *Franciot* of a ſouldier was created Cardinall; and touching *Pompey*, the memorie of his doings paſt ought to haue bin obiected againſt his preferment, for that though he was a Biſhop, taking occaſion of Pope *Iulios* ſickneſſe, he laboured to raiſe the people of *Rome* into tumult, for which cauſe Pope *Iulio* depriued him of the Epiſcopall dignitie.

In the meane time *Franciſco Maria* (who by the retiring, or rather manifeſt flying of the enemies, could haue no meanes to fight with them, hauing a puiſſant armie by reaſon of the continuall reſort of new ſouldiers from all parts, vpon the bruite that he was Maiſter of the field, and partly carried with hope of prey) entred into the *Marque*, where *Fabriano* and many other townes compounded with him, redeeming with ready money the perill of ſacking and robbing their houſes. But ſome others were committed to the mercie of the ſouldiers, amongſt which was the Citie of *Ieſi*, whereinto entrie was made during the negociation of accord: and then the armie approched to *Ancona*, for the defence whereof the Legate had ſent ſouldiers, and they remained about it many dayes to their great hinderance, by reaſon of the loſſe of time, which was not employed in fighting, but in debating of compoſition with them of *Ancona*, who in the end becauſe they would not ſuffer the loſſe of their haruеſt, payed eight thouſand duckats, without ſwaruing in other ſort from the obedience of the Church. Afterwards he inuaded the Citie of *Oſimo* with very ill ſucceſſe: and at laſt he planted his campe afore the towne of *Corinaldo*, wherein were two hundred footmen forreiners, by whom together with the townesmen it was ſo valiantly defended, that after he had conſumed two and twentie dayes about it, in the end deſpairing to be able to take it, he raiſed his ſiege, with great diminution of his reputation, for that he had not made conqueſt of any of thoſe townes that refuſed to compound with him, and yet this proceeded not of the vnskilfulneſſe of the Captaine, nor of the idleneſſe and cowardiſe of the ſouldiers, but for that they had but very few, and thoſe very ſmall field peeces, and

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almoſt no munitions. Beſides, touching thoſe townes which would not yeeld to him, it was neceſſary they ſhould make demonſtration of their conſtancie and valour, for that the Captaines of the Church armie, of whom Count *Potenza* was the chiefe, (although they had ſent troupes of men to ouerrunne and ſpoile the countrey euen to the walls of *Vrbin*, and that *Monſieur Siſe* being returned from *Citta de Caſtello* into *Romagna*, was afterwards entred into the country of *Montfeltro*, and tooke by force *Secchiano* with certaine other ſmall townes) were incamped within fiue miles of *Peſera*, with intention not to miniſter ſuccours to any place, nor once to ſtir, vntill they were conſtrained by neceſſitie to retire: for they thought, that if when they were ſuperiour in forces, their affaires had fallen out ſo vnhappily, that now being much inferiour in footmen, they ſhould not haue the courage to endure the onely fame of the approch of their enemies: in which reſolution (made according to the Popes mind) they were confirmed by a hope of the coming of ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers*, whom the Pope by the aduice of the *French* king had ſent to leuie. For, the *French* king after he was entred into league with the Pope, began to deſire that he might be victorious, and yet at the ſame time he retained the ſame ſuſpition of him that he did before. That which kept him in this ſuſpition, was the relations that *Galeas Viſconte* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno* made vnto him, of whom the one was reſtored to his countrey from baniſhment, and the other, not thinking his ſeruices well recompenced by *Ceſar*, was entred with honorable conditions into the pay of the *French* king, they had reported vnto him that the Pope had laboured *Ceſar* and the *Swiſſers* againſt him. But much more was the *French* king moued, for that the Pope had ſecretly contracted a new confederation with *Ceſar*, with the King of *Spaine*, and the King of *England*, which did not a litle trouble his mind, albeit it was lawfull for him ſo to do, for that it was made onely for their defence. That which cauſed him to deſire to be deliuered from the warre, was his feare leſt the Pope not finding his ſuccours ready, would enter into a greater coniunction with the foreſaid Princes; and likewiſe the proſperitie of the armie of the Duke of *Vrbin*, the chiefe ſtrength whereof was compounded of *Spaniards* and Lanceknights, began to moue him and put him in ſome doubt. Therefore, beſides that he aduiſed the Pope to make himſelfe ſtrong with footmen of the *Swiſſers*, he offered to ſend him of new three hundred lances vnder *Thomas de Foix* brother to *Odet* Lord *d'Eſcut*, alledging that beſides the reputation and valour of ſuch a perſonage, he would ſtand him in good ſtead to cauſe the *Gaſcons* to depart from the armie of *Franciſco Maria*, with whom thoſe brethren and race of *Foix*, being deſcended of the nobleſt bloud in *Gaſcoigne*, had great authoritie. The Pope accepted this offer, but with a mind very ſuſpitious, for that he ſtood doubtfull as he did before, of the Kings will; which ſuſpition was more increaſed by the withdrawing of the *Gaſcons*, fearing leſt that action had ſecretly proceeded from *Monſieur Lautrech*: and certainly he that in thoſe times had obſerued the actions of Princes, might apparently diſcerne, that no benefite, nor any alliance was ſufficient to remoue out of their hearts the iealouſies which they had one of another. For, the ſuſpition was not onely reciprocall betweene the Pope and the *French* King, but the King of *Spaine* hearing of the coming of the *Swiſſers*, and the preparation of *Thomas de Foix*, was not without his feare, that the Pope and the *French* King ioyned together, would deuiſe to ſpoile him of the kingdome of *Naples*: which ſuſpitions were thought to profite the affaires of the Pope, ſince each of them to giue him no cauſe or pretext to eſtrange himſelfe from them, laboured to confirme him, and aſſure him with benefites and with aides. Now when *Franciſco Maria* was departed from before *Corinaldo*, he returned into the Duchie of *Vrbin*, to protect his people for the getting in of their haruеſt: and there, deſiring greatly, as he had alwayes done, to get *Peſera*, which was guarded by Count *Potenza* and his ſouldiers, he approched neare to it with his armie, and put to the ſea certaine ſhips to cut off their victuals. But againſt that force they of *Rimini* rigged out ſixteene veſſels, as well barks and brigantines, as skiffes; which being armed, as they went to conduct other ſhips loden with victuals for *Peſera*, they encountred the nauie of *Franciſco Maria*, with whom being come to blowes, they ſunke the Admirall, and tooke all the reſidue; by reaſon whereof *Franciſco Maria* deſpairing of the enterpriſe of *Peſera*, departed from thence.

In this meane while *Monſieur d'Eſcut* aduanced with his three hundred Lances, but the *Swiſſers* were ſlow in coming, for that the Cantons denied their conſent, vnleſſe the Pope would firſt pay their old penſions: from which obſtinacie the King being not able to remoue them, and the Pope hauing no abilitie to ſatisfie them, for the intollerable defrayments he had expen-

ded, when his Agents had consumed many dayes in that solicitation, they entertained without common consent, here and there, two thousand footmen of that nation, and foure thousand others, as well *Germanes* as *Grisons*: who being at last come to *Rimini*, and lodged in the suburbes, which being deuided by the riuer from the residue of the Citie, are enuironed with wals, *Francisco Maria* entred by night by the arches of that notable bridge of Marble which vniteth the suburbes with the Citie, but could not passe ouer the riuer, which was swelled by the ouerflowing of the sea. There was a strong fight betweene his souldiers and the footbands of the Pope that lay in the suburbes, in which was slaine *Iasper* Captaine of the Popes guard, who had conducted them thither: but greater was the losse of the enemies, for that *Balastichino* and *Vinea* Spanish Captaines were slaine, *Federike de Bossolo* hurt, and *Francisco Maria* receiued a blow with an harquebuse in his brest-plate. Afterwards he turned his armie towards *Tuscane*, being moued more by necessitie then by hope, for that in a region so much drained and consumed, so great an armie could not be nourished. When he had remained certaine dayes in *Tuscane* betweene the Parish of *S. Steuen*, the borough of *S. Sepulcher*, and *Anguiari*, townes of the *Florentines*, and had taken *Montedoglio*, a place very weake and of litle importance, he gaue a very long assault to *Anguiari*, a towne more strong by the fidelitie and valour of the inhabitants, then by the strength of the wals, or other kind of munitions: but perceiuing he could not carry it, he retired vnder the *Appenine*, betweene *Burgo* and *Citta de Castello*, where hauing caused foure peeces of artilleries to be brought from *Mercatello*, he incamped within lesse then halfe a mile of *Burgo*, vpon the way that leadeth to *Vrbin*; not well knowing what course to take, for that his enemies were come after him into *Tuscane*, many *Italian* bands entred into *Burgo*, *Vitelli* with the residue was got into *Citta de Castello*, and the footbands of the *Germaines*, *Grisons* and *Swissers* entred into *Anguiari*, the parish of S. *Steuen*, and the other townes conioyning. *Laurence de Medicis* likewise came from *Florence* (although somewhat late) to *Burgo*; where *Francisco Maria* had lyen many days without doing any thing: in which places he begã to know that his affaires would haue no good successe, forasmuch as in his armie there was great discommoditie of victuals, no present hope appearing to be able in any sort to performe any good action, and his souldiers, who were driuen by necessitie to maintaine themselues by prey and pillage, were no lesse terrible to his friends then to his enemies: and touching the bands of footmen who had followed him, they receiued no pay, and were likewise without hope to be able to get any more booties, or make any profite, for that hauing want of victuals, and perceiuing that their enemies were increased in force and reputation, so many Princes being discouered in their fauour, they began to be weary with the longnesse of the warre, hoping for no good issue or successe thereof, either by the oportunitie of present battell, or by the benefite of longer time. On the other side, the like happened to the Pope, who being both made naked of money, and of himselfe vnable to make necessary prouisions for his campe, standing also more doubtfull then euer of the fidelitie of the Kings, but chiefly of the *French* King, who was slow to send him the money which was due to him by the capitulation: and likewise for that *Monsieur d'Escut* who remained in *Romagna* by the Popes direction, refused to send part of his souldiers into *Tuscane*, alledging that he would not deuide them. For these reasons, and before the armies were passed the *Appenine*, and much more for that things were brought to this passe, there arose many arguments and perswasions of accord betweene the Legate and *Francisco Maria* assisted by his Captaines, *Monsieur d'Escut* interposing therein, and *Don Hugo de Moncado* Viceroy of *Sicilia*, whom the King Catholike had sent to that end: but vntill that day nothing could be done, for the hard conditions which *Francisco Maria* vrged. At length the *Spanish* footmen, induced by the difficulties that appeared, and at the instance of *Don Hugo*, who ioyning threats to the authoritie of his place, gaue them to vnderstand, that such was precisely the will of the King of *Spaine*, they inclined to accord: the which (*Francisco Maria* giuing his consent, although very vnwillingly, and the Bishop of *Auellino* sent thither for the Pope by the Legate being present) was contracted in this sort, with the consent of the *Gascon* footmen, by the interposing of *Monsieur d'Escut*: That the Pope should pay to the *Spanish* footmen fiue and fortie thousand duckats which was due, as they said, for foure moneths pay, and to the *Gascons* and *Germanes* ioyned with them, threescore thousand duckats: That they should all depart within eight dayes out of the state of the Church, the iurisdiction of *Florence*, and the territories of *Vrbin*: That *Francisco Maria* leauing abandoned all that he possessed in that State within

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that terme, might paſſe in ſecuritie to *Mantua*, and that he might carry with him his artilleries with all his moueables, and namely that famous Librarie of his, which with ſo great charge and diligence had bene erected by *Federike* his grandfather of the mothers ſide; a man moſt famous among the Captaines of his time, but more renowmed and recommended, amongſt all other his vertues, for that he was a louer of learning and learned men: That the Pope ſhould abſolue him of all cenſures, and giue pardon to all the ſubiects of the State of *Vrbin*, and to whomſoeuer had bene oppoſite to him in this warre. Whileſt the ſubſtance of theſe capitulations were more amply ingroſſing, *Franciſco Maria* ſought to haue inſerted certaine words, whereby ſhould be inferred, that the *Spaniards* were they who promiſed to deliuer vp to the Pope the State of *Vrbin*; which they refuſing in regard of their honour, there aroſe contention among them: by reaſon whereof *Franciſco Maria* ſuſpecting leſt they would ſell him to the Pope, went ſuddenly to *Piuiero* of *Seſtina* with part of the light horſemen, together with the footmen *Italians*, *Gaſcons* and *Germanes*, and foure peeces of artilleries. As ſoone as perfection was giuen to the peace, and that the *Spaniards* had receiued the money promiſed them, they went into the Realme of *Naples*, being at their departure a few more or leſſe then ſixe hundred horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen. The other bands of footmen did the like, when they had receiued the reward of their diſloyaltie: onely to the *Italians*, nothing was either giuen or promiſed; and *Franciſco Maria* (ouer whoſe ſafetie it ſeemed *Monſieur d'Eſcut* had a particular care) ſeeing himſelfe abandoned of euery one, challenged the benefite of the firſt peace, and went through *Romagna* and the country of *Bologna* to *Mantua*, being accompanied with *Federike de Boſſolo*, an hundred horſe, and ſixe hundred footmen.

In this ſort ended the warre of *Vrbin*, which had continued eight moneths with great expences and ignominie to the Victors: for on the Popes part were expended eight hundred thouſand duckats, the greateſt part whereof was drawne out of the Commonweale of *Florence*, for the authoritie he had in that Citie: and the Captains who had the ouerſight of theſe warres, were eſteemed by all men to be faint-hearted, of ill gouernment, and (by ſome) to be of an euill mind: for that in the beginning of the warre when the forces of *Laurence* were the mightier, and the enemies the weaker, they could neuer, either by true valour, or by induſtrie and prouidence, make vſe of any occaſion; whereof proceeded (their reputation being loſt) the confuſion and diſobedience of the armie, whereunto was adioyned ſhortly after the want of many prouiſions in the campe: and that in the end Fortune taking her pleaſure in their errors, did ſo multiply diſorders, that the warre was reduced to ſuch termes, that the Pope (who then diſcouered the ſnares that were laid againſt his life) being much moleſted in the dominion of the Church, and ſometimes fearing, and that not a litle, the Eſtate of *Florence*, was conſtrained with petitions and new obligations to implore the aide of all men: and yet neuertheleſſe he could not free himſelfe from ſo many troubles, but by paying with his owne mony, thoſe bands of the enemies armie, which either had bene the originall cauſe of the warre, or hauing bene leuied by his owne pay, after many robberies and ſpoiles, had ſhamefully reuolted againſt him. In this ſame yeare, and almoſt in the end thereof, the King of *Spaine* went with a proſperous nauigation, to take poſſeſſion of his kingdomes, hauing obtained of the *French* King (betweene whom were many demonſtrations of amitie, each of them couering the ſecret intention of their minds) forbearance for ſixe moneths of the firſt payment of an hundred thouſand duckats, which he was bound to pay him, by the laſt accord contracted betweene them: and the *Venetians* renewed for two yeares the league defenſiue which they had with the *French* King, with whom ſtanding moſt firmely conioyned, they made ſmall account of the amitie of all others: ſo that they had not yet ſent to offer their obedience to the Pope, who was much diſcommended for that he had ſent Legate to *Venice*, *Altobello* Biſhop of *Pola*, as a matter vnworthy of his Maieſtie.

Now followeth the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and eighteene, in which the regions of *Italy*, contrary to the preſident of many yeares before, felt not the leaſt impreſſion or motion of warre, the ſelfſame diſpoſition appearing alſo in all the Princes of Chriſtendome, betweene whom (by the working of the Pope) was ſolicited, though rather in apparence then in good earneſt, an vniuerſall expedition of all Chriſtendome againſt *Selim* Prince of the *Turkes*, who the yeare before had ſo enlarged his eſtate, that conſidering his power, and no leſſe his ambition to command, his courage and hardineſſe, it might well be doubted, that if the Chriſtians preuen- 1518.

ted him not, he would ſhortly turne his victorious armes againſt them. For *Selim* knowing before, that *Baiazet* his father being now very old, purpoſed to eſtabliſh his elder brother *Achomat* in the ſucceſſion of the Empire, corrupting the Ianiſaries and ſouldiers of his guard, he conſtrained him by force of armes to reſigne vp to him the gouernment: and likewiſe it was beleeued of all men, that for his more abſolute aſſurance, he tooke away his life by poiſon. Afterwards hauing ouerthrowne his brother *Achomat* in an encounter, he put him to death publikly, doing the like afterwards to *Corcu* his yonger brother: and being not ſatisfied, according to the cuſtome of the *Ottomans*, with the ſlaughter of his Nephewes, and all that deſcended of that ſtocke, it was thought (ſuch was the wayward and vnplacable diſpoſition of his mind) that ſometimes he thought to take away the life of *Solyman* his onely ſonne. After theſe beginnings, proceeding from one warre to another, he ſubdued the *Adulians* a warlike people of the Mountaines: then he paſſed into *Perſia* againſt the *Sophi*, to whom he gaue battell and ouerthrew him, and tooke the Citie of *Tauris* the ſoueraigne ſeate of that Empire, together with the greateſt part of *Perſia*, which he was conſtraiued to abandon, not through the valour of his enemies, who diſtruſting to be able to abide his armie, were retired into mountainous and deſert places; but for that by the barrenneſſe of that yeare, he fell into want of victuals. After this expedition he returned to *Conſtantinople*, where he cauſed many ſouldiers who had raiſed ſedition to be puniſhed; and when he had refreſhed his armie for certaine moneths, making ſhew that he would returne into *Perſia*, he turned his forces againſt the *Soldan* of *Syria* and *Egypt*, a Prince not onely much reuerenced and eſteemed by thoſe of that religion, but alſo moſt puiſſant, as well for the amplitude of his dominion and great reuenues, as for the warlikneſſe and militarie diſcipline of the *Mammelukes*, who by their armes had poſſeſſed that Empire with great reputation for the ſpace of 300 yeares. For in that Empire, being gouerned by *Soldans*, who aſcend to this ſupreme degree not by ſucceſſion but by election, the gouernment of prouinces and of armies was giuen to none but men of manifeſt vertue, and ſuch as had paſſed by all the degrees of war: and their principall force ſtood not vpon ſouldiers mercenarie and forreine, but of choiſe men, who being taken of children in the prouinces adioyning, and trained vp many yeares in hardneſſe of fare, in ſuffering of labour and toile, and in the exerciſe of armes, and all cuſtomes appertaining to the diſcipline of warre, were afterwards enrolled in the order of the *Mammelukes*: and there ſucceeded from hand to hand in this order, not the ſonnes of the *Mammelukes* that were dead, but others, who hauing bene taken in their yong age for ſlaues, had their riſing by the ſame diſcipline and meanes that their predeceſſors had. Theſe being in all not aboue ſeuenteene or eighteen thouſand men, held in very ſtraight ſubiection al the people of *Egypt* and *Syria*, whom they forbad the vſe of all weapons, and to ride vpon a horſe: and being men of ſuch courage and boldnes, who made war of themſelues, (for amongſt them and by them were the *Soldans* choſen, and to them belonged the honors and profits, and the adminiſtration of that moſt opulent and rich Empire,) they had not onely ſubdued many nations adioyning, and beate the *Arabians*, but alſo maintained many warres againſt the *Turkes*, of whom they were often times victors, and ſeldome or neuer vanquiſhed by them. Againſt theſe people did *Selim* conuert his forces, whom he ouerthrew in many battels fought in plaine field, wherein was ſlaine the *Soldan*, and afterwards in another battell he tooke priſoner the other *Soldan* his ſucceſſor, whom he put to death publikely and ignominiouſly: ſo that when he had made a great ſlaughter of the *Mammelukes*, and almoſt extinguiſhed their name, and taken *Cairo*, which is a moſt populous Citie, wherein the *Soldans* made their reſidence, he ſubdued in ſhort time after *Syria* and all *Egypt*: in ſo much as hauing ſo ſuddenly and ſo greatly increaſed his Empire, almoſt doubled his reuenues, and remoued the impediments of a people ſo puiſſant and of ſo great reputation who enuied his gouernment, it was not without cauſe that all the Chriſtian Princes ſtood in feare of him. Moreouer, this alſo much increaſed their feare, that to ſuch a power and valour was ioyned an ardent deſire to beare rule, and by victories to make his name glorious to all poſterities; for which cauſe reading oftentimes the exploits of *Alexander* the Great and *Iulius Cæſar*, he (as the report went) was much troubled in mind, that the actions performed by him, could not in ſome ſort hold compariſon with their infinite triumphs and victories; and refurniſhing continually his armies, building a great number of ſhips, and leuying all prouiſions neceſſary for the warre, it was feared, leſt (when his preparations were readie) he would inuade *Rhodes*, the bulwarke of Chriſtendome in the Eaſt parts, or elſe (as ſome thought) the kingdome of *Hungaria*, heretofore

The Mammelukes what people they were.

fore fearefull to the *Turkes* for the valour of the inhabitants, but at that time much weakened by the minoritie of their King, who was gouerned by Priests and Barons of the Realme, who were at discord among themselues. Others were of opinion, that he turned all his thoughts to the inuasion of *Italy*, as being encouraged thereunto by the discord of the Potentates, and for that he knew how much it had bene shaken with long warres, together with the memorie of *Mahomet* his grandfather, who with a power farre lesse then his, and with a small Natie sent to the Realme of *Naples*, had wonne (when men doubted nothing) the Citie of *Otronto*, and (if he had not bene preuented by death) had opened a way, and established a meanes continually to torment the regions of *Italy*. Now therefore the Pope together with the whole Court of *Rome* being astonished with so great a successe, and making demonstration, to the end to prouide for so great a danger, that he would first craue the helpe of God, caused most deuout processions to be made at *Rome*, wherein he went bare footed: and afterwards turning himselfe to thinke vpon and looke after the helpe of men, he wrote letters to all Christian Princes, and admonished them of so great a perill, intreating them that laying aside all ciuill discords and contentions, they would speedily looke to the defence of Religion and their common safetie, which was continually exposed to very great dangers, if with vnitie of minds and conioyned forces the warre were not transferred into *Turkie*, and that the enemie were not assailed in his owne countrey. Whereupon these admonitions being well considered of by many persons skilfull in the art of warre, and others who knew the countries, and the disposition as well of the Prouinces, as the nature of the forces and weapons of the *Turke*, it was resolued that it was necessary to make great prouision of money, by a voluntary contribution of the Princes, and an vniuersall impost of all the people of Christendom: That *Cesar* accompanied with the horsemen of *Hungaria* and *Polonia*, nations warlike, and exercised continually in wars against the *Turke*, and with an armie of *Rutters* and Lanceknights fit for so great an enterprise, should saile along *Danubi* into *Bossina* (anciently called *Misia*) to approch *Thracia*, & so to *Constantinople*, the seate of the *Ottoman* Empire: That the *French* King with all the forces of his kingdome, the *Venetians*, and the other Potentates of *Italy*, accompanied with the *Swissers*, should passe from the port of *Brundusium* into *Albania* (which is a passage easie and very short) to inuade *Greece*, a country full of Christian inhabitants, and as well in that regard, as for the rigorous gouernment of the *Turkes*, most ready to rebell: That the Kings of *Spaine*, of *England* and *Portugal*, assembling their forces by sea in *Cartagena* and the ports thereabouts, should take their course with two hundred ships full of *Spanish* footmen and other souldiers, to the strait of *Gallipoli*, to assaile *Constantinople*, hauing first taken the Castles standing vpon the mouth of the straite: That the Pope himselfe should take the same course, embarking at *Ancona* with an hundred great Galleys. With which preparations both sea and land being couered, and the estate of the *Turkes* so many wayes assailed, who make their principall foundation to fight in the plaine field, it was likely (chiefly adding hereto the helpe of God) that there might be hoped of so holy a warre, a most happie issue. The Pope, to entertaine these matters, or at least that it might not be imputed to him to haue failed of his dutie, after he had sounded the minds of the Christian Princes, published in the Consistorie an vniuersall truce for fiue yeares among all the Christian Potentates, vpon paine of most grieuous censures to such as should impugne it. And to the end that matters appertaining to so great an enterprise might be resolued and agreed vpon, whereof he consulted continually with the Embassadours of the Princes, he sent for Legate to the Emperour the Cardinall of Saint *Sisto*, to the *French* King the Cardinall of *S. Maria in Portico*, to the King of *Spaine* the Cardinall *Giles*, and to the King of *England* the Cardinall *Laurence Campeius*; all Cardinals of authoritie, either for their experience and dexteritie to manage affaires, for the opinion of their learning, or for their great familiaritie and friendship with the Pope. Now though these things were begun with great expectation, and that the vniuersall truce was also accepted of all parts, and that euery one with no litle ostentation and brauery of words, made shew of their readinesse with their forces to aduance so good a cause (if others would be concurrant with them:) yet euery one esteeming the perill vncertaine and farre off, and extending more to the Estates of one then of another, the matter being also difficult, and such as required a long tract of time to introduce such a zeale and so vniuersall an vnion, priuate interests and profites ouerruled them: in so much as these proceedings were not onely not brought to such passe as any hope could be had of them, but they were followed slightly, and as it were in shew

onely; the nature of men being ſuch, that thoſe things which in their beginnings appeare fearefull, do dayly ſo diminiſh and vaniſh, that vnleſſe the firſt feares be reuiued by new accidents, they will in ſhort time become almoſt ſecure: which negligence in publike affaires, and the exceſſiue deſires of particular profite, was ſo much the more confirmed by the death of *Selim* which happened ſhortly after, who, by reaſon of a long maladie, hauing ſuſpended the preparations of the warre, and being in the end conſumed by his diſeaſe, died, leauing ſo great an Empire to *Soliman* his ſonne, yong in yeares, but iudged to be of a more milde ſpirit, and of a courage not ſo diſpoſed to warres (although afterwards the effects declared the contrarie.)

At this time there appeared betweene the Pope and the *French* King a very ſtraight coniunction. For the King gaue for wife to *Laurence* his Nephew *Magdalene* nobly deſcended of the houſe of *Bulleine*, with a yearely reuenue of ten thouſand crownes, whereof part was of the Kings gift, and the reſidue of her owne patrimonie: and the King hauing a ſonne borne to him, required the Pope that in his Baptiſme he would cauſe his name to be giuen him. By which occaſion *Laurence* who prepared himſelfe to go marrie his new wife, making haſte to be gone, went in poſt to the Court of *France*, where he was well entertained, and much honored by the King, to whom making demonſtration that he gaue vp himſelf wholy vnto him, promiſing to follow his fortune in all aduentures, he became much in his fauour. He brought to the King a Brieſe from the Pope, by the which he granted him power to vſe at his pleaſure the moneys collected of the tenths and of the *Croiſado*, vntill ſuch time as they were to be employed againſt the *Turke*, ſo farre forth as he would make promiſe to reſtore it when need ſhould require; and neuertheleſſe that of this money fiftie thouſand crownes ſhould be turned to the profite of *Laurence*: and the King who till that day had winked at the Pope who executed not his promiſe made to him in writing, for the reſtoring of *Modena* and *Reggia* to the Duke of *Ferrara*, notwithſtanding the terme was paſt ſeuen moneths before, knowing that he could not more offend the Pope then to vrge him to that reſtitution, and making greater reckoning (as it often happeneth) of the ſtronger then of the weaker, he redeliuered into the hands of *Laurence* the ſaid writ of promiſe. Almoſt at the ſame time, the *Venetians* by the helpe of the *French* king prolonged the truce they had with *Cæſar* for fiue yeares, with condition to pay him euery one of the fiue yeares twentie thouſand crownes, and alſo to euery one of the exiles that had followed *Cæſar*, the fourth part of the yearely reuenues they had before, which was eſteemed to be fiue thouſand duckats; and peraduenture if they had giuen *Cæſar* a greater ſumme of money he would haue bene induced to haue made peace. But the truce was farre more plauſible to the *French* King, for that the *Venetians* not ſtanding fully aſſured, ſhould haue the greater reaſon to make great account of his armie, and that *Cæſar* might haue no power to innouate any thing, by reaſon of the money he had receiued of them. Moreouer, matters on all ſides tending to peace and concord, the differences betweene the *French* King and the King of *England* were reconciled, and things confirmed for more ſuretie by a new alliance; for the King of *England* promiſed to giue his onely daughter (to whom, for that he had no more children, there was hope that the ſucceſſion of the kingdome would belong) to the *Daulphin*, eldeſt ſonne to the *French* King, with a dowrie of foure hundred thouſand duckats: both the one and the other of whom were of ſo tender age, that infinite accidents might happen before they came to yeares fit for the conſummation of mariage. There was made betweene them a league defenſiue, wherein were principally comprehended *Cæſar* and the King of *Spaine*, in caſe they would ratifie it within a certaine time; and the King of *England* bound himſelf to reſtore *Tournay*, for the keeping whereof he was at great charges, receiuing preſently of the *French* King for the charges he had bene at, two hundred and threeſcore thouſand duckats, three hundred thouſand which he ſhould confeſſe to haue receiued for the dowrie of his daughter in law, and three hundred thouſand more which he ſhould pay within the ſpace of twelue yeares, and alſo with promiſe, to deliuer vp *Tournay* if the peace and alliance followed not. Many Embaſſadours were ſent from both the Realmes to negociate this league, and to receiue the ratifications and oathes, by whom in the Courts of both the Kings the acts of the accord were diſpatched with great ſolemnitie and ceremonie, with reſolution of an enteruiew of both the Kings betweene *Callice* and *Bulleine*, immediatly after the reſtitution of *Tournay*. About the ſame time, the daughter of the *French* king being dead, who was appointed to be maried to the King of *Spaine*,

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the former peace and capitulation was eftſoones reconfirmed betweene them, wherein was promiſed the mariage of the ſecond daughter of the *French* king, both the Kings celebrating this coniunction with moſt great demonſtrations of perfect amitie. The King of *Spaine* who had already cauſed to be payed at *Lions* the hundred thouſand duckats, did publikely weare the Order of Saint *Michael* vpon the feaſt day of that Saint, and the *French* King, vpon the day dedicated to Saint *Andrew*, more publikely the robes for the Order of the Golden Fleece.

Thus the affaires of *Italy* and the parts beyond the Mounts being at reſt, there remained onely diſcontented *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, whom neither his yeares, reduced almoſt to extreame old age, nor his vertue, ſo oftentimes proued in the ſeruice of the houſe of *France*, could any way helpe: for that (his ambition and impatience haply being in ſome part the cauſe) finding himſelfe croſſed by the ſubtle humors of ſuch as enuied him, & being perſecuted in many things by *Monſieur Lautrech*, the King was drawne into ſuſpition, for the intereſt of the faction of the *Guelfes*, and by reaſon of that which he had done in times paſt to keepe himſelfe in the grace of the *Venetians*, of whoſe companies *Theodore Triuulce* was the gouernor, and who had taken into their pay *Renie* a member of the ſame family, that as wel himſelfe as thoſe of his houſe were too gracious with the *Venetians*. By reaſon whereof, after *Galeas Viſconte* by the death of *Francis Bernardin Viſconte*, was become chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction, the King to the end to oppoſe him againſt *Triuulce* with the greater authoritie, indued him with the Order of Saint *Michael*, and allowed him a penſion; and the King and *Monſieur Lautrech* aduanced his reputation as often as occaſion was offered. Theſe things brought no litle diminution to the authoritie of *Triuulce*, who had no patience to diſſemble his wrongs, but complaining ordinarily of them, was ſo much the more hated and ſuſpected. But that which gaue greater occaſion to *Monſieur Lautrech* and others that accuſed him to the King, was, that he had made himſelfe a Burgeſſe with the *Swiſſers*, as though he would by their meanes ſupport himſelfe againſt the King, and haply aſpire to greater things. And going into *France* (old and decrepit as he was) to iuſtifie himſelfe of thoſe ſlanders, not onely *Monſieur Lautrech* after his departure, retained vnder reaſonable guard at *Vigeuena*, by the Kings cõmandement, his wife & grand child borne to the Count of *Muſocco* his onely ſon deceaſſed, but withall he was not receiued by the King either with the countenance or honor accuſtomed, but reprouing him for that he was become a *Swiſſer*, he told him, that no other thing held him from puniſhing him as he had deſerued, then the vniuerſall renowne that ranne (though more then indeed was true) of the ſeruices he had done to the Crowne of *France*: and ſo he was conſtrained to renounce his Bourguerſhip. Not many dayes after, following the Court, he fell ſicke at *Chartres*, where he ended his life. He was a man in the iudgement of all men, (confirmed by ſundry experiences,) of ſingular worth in the diſcipline of warre, and ſubiect all the days of his life to the inconſtancie of Fortune, who ſometimes cheriſhed him with happy, and ſometimes tormented him with vnhappie ſucceſſe: and to whom agreed very well that which by his commandement was written vpon his Tombe, viz.

Iealoſie againſt Iohn Iaques Triuulce.

The death of Iohn Iaques Triuulce.

I finde the reſt within my graue, which in my life I could not haue.

In this ſame yeare, *Ceſar* deſiring after his death to eſtabliſh the ſucceſſion of the *Romane* Empire in the perſon of one of his Nephewes, treated with the Electors to chuſe one of them King of *Romanes*, a dignitie which draweth with it an immediate ſucceſſion to the Empire after the Emperours death, without any other election or confirmation. And becauſe no ſuch election can be made, vntill ſuch time as he that is already choſen had obtained the Crowne Imperiall, he made inſtance to the Pope, that by a new example, he would cauſe him to be crowned in *Germanie* by the hands of certaine Cardinals deputed Legates Apoſtolike for that end. And albeit *Ceſar* had afore wiſhed that that dignitie might be conferred vpon *Ferdinand* his grandchild, for that he thought it reaſonable, that the elder brother hauing ſo great a puiſſance of Eſtates diuolued to him, the other ſhould ſupport himſelfe with this degree: and he iudged that for the better continuance of his houſe in honor, and to meet with all ill accidents that might fall vpon the eldeſt, it were better that two perſonages were great then one alone; yet being incited to the contrary by many of his Courtiers, and by the Cardinall of *Sion*, and all ſuch as feared and hated the power of *France*, he reiecting his firſt counſell, turned his mind in ſuch ſort, that the King of *Spaine* was elected to that dignitie, being perſwaded by theſe, that it would be more profitable for the exaltation of the houſe of *Auſtria*, to bring all the power to one alone, then

then by deuiding it to many parts, to make them leſſe able to obtaine their purpoſes: That the foundations of the greatneſſe of *Charles* were ſuch and ſo mightie, that the Imperiall dignitie being added thereunto, there was hope that he might reduce all *Italy* and a great part of Chriſtendome into one Monarchie: which was an action not onely appertaining to the greatneſſe of his progenie and deſcendants, but alſo to the tranquillitie of his ſubiects, and in regard of the Infidels, to the benefite of the whole common weale of Chriſtendome: and that it was his dutie to thinke vpon the augmentation and exaltation of the Imperiall dignitie, continued ſo many yeares in his perſon, and in the houſe of *Auſtria*, and which till that day, by the weakneſſe of him and his predeceſſors, hauing bene greater in title and name, then in ſubſtance and effect, there was no hope that that dignitie could be raiſed and reſtored to his ancient renowme, but by tranſporting it into the perſon of *Charles*, and annexing it to his power: and ſeeing ſuch an occaſion was offered him by the order of nature and fortune, that he ought not to hinder it, but to increaſe and augment it: That it might be ſeene by the example of ancient Emperours, that *Cæſar Auguſtus* and many of his ſucceſſors, who wanting ſons, or other iſſue of the ſame line, being iealous leſt the dignitie which had bene reſident in their perſons ſhould die with them, haue ſought by the meanes of adoption, for ſucceſſors very far remoued from their alliance, yea ſuch as touched them nothing in bloud: and that the example was freſh of the King Catholike, who albeit he loued *Ferdinand* as his ſonne, hauing bene alwayes trained vp about him, and neuer ſeeing *Charles*, yea finding him in his laſt age very diſobedient to his commandements; yet without hauing compaſſion of the pouertie of him whom he loued as his ſonne, he imparted vnto him none of thoſe eſtates which he held, nor of ſuch as he might diſpoſe of by the right of conqueſt, but left all to him whom he ſcarcely knew but as a ſtranger: That he ſhould remember how the ſame King would alwayes vrge him to purchaſe new Eſtates for *Ferdinand*, but to leaue the Imperiall dignitie to *Charles*: and that for the augmentation of the greatneſſe of his ſucceſſor, he with a counſell reproued of many, and haply vniuſt, puſhed on with no other cauſe then this, had bereft his owne houſe ſo noble and renowned, of the kingdome of *Aragon*, and againſt the common deſire of moſt men, conſented that the name of his owne family ſhould be annihilated. Againſt this inſtance of *Cæſar*, the *French* King oppoſed himſelfe with all the induſtrie and meanes he poſſibly could, taking not a litle diſpleaſure, that to ſo many kingdoms and eſtates holden by the *Spaniſh* King, there ſhould alſo be added the Imperiall dignitie, which reſuming vigour by ſo great a puiſſance, would become fearefull and terrible to all other: He ſought to deale ſecretly in ſuch ſort with the Electors, that this matter ſhould ſort to no effect: He made inſtance to the Pope that he ſhould not conſent by a new example to ſend the Crowne to *Maximilian*: and ſent Embaſſadours likewiſe to the *Venetians*, to induce them to hinder it with the Pope, whom he admoniſhed of the perils that might fall vpon them both by the courſe of ſuch a greatneſſe. But the Electors for the moſt part were already drawne to the opinion of *Cæſar*, and no leſſe aſſured of the ſummes of money promiſed them for that election by the King of *Spaine*, who for that purpoſe had ſent into *Germanie* two hundred thouſand duckats: neither could they in honeſtie, nor haply without danger of ſlander in regard of the examples paſt, denie him ſuch a demand: neither was it beleeued, that the Pope (although it was diſpleaſing to him) would refuſe to conſent, that *Cæſar* ſhould receiue the Imperiall Crowne in *Germanie* in his name, by the hands of Legates Apoſtolike, ſeeing that to make a voyage to *Rome* to be crowned, albeit it brought greater authoritie to the ſea Apoſtolike, yet in all other regards it was a matter rather ceremonious then ſubſtantiall.

The French king aſpireth to be Emperor.

1519. With theſe thoughts and accidents ended the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and eighteene, the Electors hauing not yet reſolued vpon their deliberation, which was made more doubtfull and full of difficulties by the death of *Cæſar*, which happened in the beginning of the yeare a thouſand, fiue hundred and nineteene. He died at *Linz*, a towne vpon the marches of *Auſtria*, deuoted, as alwayes, to the hunting of wilde beaſts, and accompanied with the ſame fortune wherewith he had almoſt alwayes liued, which hauing bene alwayes very benigne vnto him in offering him great occaſions, I know not whether ſhe were not alſo oppoſite vnto him, in not ſuffering him to make vſe of them, or whether by his inconſtancie and ill digeſted conceptions, oftentimes contrary to the iudgement of other men, together with his exceſſiue prodigalitie and expences of money, which interrupted all his occaſions and ſucceſſes, he depriued himſelfe

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of that which fortune brought euen to his owne houſe: for otherwiſe he was a Prince moſt expert in warre, diligent, ſecret, very laborious, courteous, benigne, and repleniſhed with many other excellent gifts and ornaments. *Maximilian* being dead, the *French* King and the King of *Spaine* began manifeſtly to aſpire to the Empire, and although this controuerſie was a matter of ſuch importance, and betweene two ſo mightie Princes, yet it was paſſed betweene them with great modeſtie, without vſing of either iniurious words or threats of armes, but each of them labouring by his authoritie and meanes, to draw the minde of the Electors vnto his ſide: and the *French* King ſpeaking very laudably to the Embaſſadours of the King of *Spaine* touching this election, ſaid, It was a matter both decent and conuenient, that either of them ſhould ſeeke by honeſt meanes to increaſe his honour by the excellencie of ſo great a dignitie, which ſundry times had bene in the families of their predeceſſors, and that therefore neither of them ought to eſteeme himſelfe wronged, nor their good will and amitie any whit diminiſhed; but that they ought to follow the example which is ſometime ſeene betweene two yong louers, who albeit they both loue one Ladie, and either of them labour by all meanes and induſtrie to obtaine her, yet they forbeare to come to contention. The King of *Spaine* was of opinion, that the Empire by good right appertained to him, as hauing continued by a long ſucceſſion of time in the houſe of *Auſtria*, and that it had not bene the cuſtome of the Electors to depriue the deſcendants of the dead without manifeſt cauſe of their diſabilitie, neither was there any in *Germanie* of ſo great puiſſance and authoritie, that he might be competitor with him in that election: and likewiſe he held it not iuſt, or very likely, that the Electors would tranſport to a forreine Prince, ſo great a dignitie, continued now ſo many ages in the nation of *Germanie*; and although ſome among them corrupted with mony, or for ſome other cauſe, might be allured to another intention, yet he hoped both to ſtop him with force of armes prepared in time conuenient, and that the other Electors would oppoſe againſt him, and at leaſt that all the other Princes and free townes of *Germanie* would not endure ſo great an ignominie and ſo vniuerſall an infamie, ſpecially to ſuffer it to be layed vpon the perſon of the *French* king, which would be no other thing then to increaſe the puiſſance of a King enemie to their nation, and from whom they might aſſure themſelues that ſuch a dignitie would neuer returne into *Germanie*. He thought therefore it would be an eaſie matter to reduce to perfectiō that which had bene ſolicited with his grandfather, who had already compounded for recompences and gifts with euery one of the Electors. On the other ſide, the deſire of the *French* king was as great, and no leſſe his hopes, grounded principally vpon an opinion he had, that with a great ſumme of money he might eaſily get the voices of the Electors, whereof ſome were his ancient friends and Penſioners, who encouraging him with the facilitie of the matter, ſtirred him to the enterpriſe: and (as men are apt to beleeue the thing they deſire) he nouriſhed this hope with reaſons more apparent then true. For he knew that commonly it was a matter grieuous to the Princes of *Germanie* that the Emperours ſhould be ſo puiſſant, for doubt leſt they would either in part or in all, take knowledge of the Imperiall iuriſdictions and authorities occupied by many of them, and therefore he perſwaded himſelfe that they would in no ſort conſent to the election of the King of *Spaine*, and ſubmit themſelues to an Emperour more mighty then any had bene ſince the time of the ancient Emperours: a matter which was not altogether ſo in him, for that hauing neither Eſtates nor ancient alliances in *Germanie*, they could haue no ſuch ſuſpition of his greatneſſe; for which reaſon likewiſe he beleeued, that the free townes would not onely not be won, but rather reſtrained, in regard of the glorie of the nation, the prouocations of priuate intereſt being ordinarily more powerfull in men without compariſon, then the reſpect of common profite. He knew well that it was not a litle grieuous to many noble houſes of *Germanie*, who thought themſelues capable of ſuch a dignitie, to ſee the Empire continue ſo long time in one houſe, and that that which ought ſometimes to be giuen to one, and ſometimes to another, became perpetuall as it were, by ſucceſſion in one line; and that they might call that election a ſucceſſion, which durſt not leaue the next deſcendants of the deceaſſed Emperours: That in that ſort the Empire was tranſlated from *Albert* of *Auſtria* to *Federike* his brother, from *Federike* to *Maximilian* his ſonne, and that now they went about to paſſe it from *Maximilian* to the perſon of *Charles* his grandchild. Theſe humors and indignations of the Princes of *Germanie*, gaue him hope that the diſcords and iealouſies among themſelues might be helping to his cauſe, for that it often hapneth in contentions, that he that

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ſees himſelfe reiected, or the partie whom he fauoureth, will rather (ſetting aſide all other reſpects) proceed raſhly to aduance a third perſon, then giue place to him that hath oppoſed againſt his intention. Moreouer the *French* King hoped in ꝧ fauour of the Pope, as well in regard of the amitie and alliance which he thought he had now made with him, as for that he beleeued it could not be pleaſing to him, that *Charles* ſo puiſſant a Prince, and who by reaſon of the neighbourhood of the Realme of *Naples* to the Eſtate of the Church, hauing intelligence with the Barons of the *Gibelins*, might haue open paſſage euen to the gates of *Rome*, ſhould obtaine the Imperiall Crowne alſo: and herein he conſidered not, that the ſame reaſons which were true againſt *Charles*, were alſo againſt himſelfe, for that the Empire being ioyned to his perſon, the Pope and all others were no leſſe to feare him then *Charles*; for that though the one of them poſſeſſed haply more Realmes and States, yet the other was not to be leſſe eſteemed, for that his power was not diſperſed and ſeparate in many places, but his Realme was all aſſembled and vnited together, with a maruellous obedience of his ſubiects, and full of great riches: neuertheleſſe not acknowledging in himſelfe that which he eaſily conſidered in another, he had recourſe to the Pope, intreating him to fauour him, for that he might make reckoning of him and his kingdome as of his owne ſonne. The buſineſſe of this election cauſed the Pope to be very carefull, to whom it was not a litle grieuous, for the ſuretie of the Sea Apoſtolike, and the reſidue of *Italy*, that either of theſe two Kings ſhould be elected Emperour; and his authoritie not being ſuch with the Electors that he might hope to preuaile much with them, he iudged it neceſſary to carry himſelfe wiſely, and to vſe induſtrie in a matter of ſo great conſequence. He perſwaded himſelfe, that the *French* King, deceiued by ſome of the Electors, would haue no part in this election, and that corruptions in men that will be hired for money, would not be of ſuch force as might ſuffice to tranſport the Empire from the *Germaine* nation to the perſon of a *French* King. But he ſuppoſed it would be very eaſie to the King of *Spaine*, for that he was of the ſame nation, for the practiſes begun by *Maximilian*, and for many other regards, to obtaine his purpoſe, if he obiected not ſome great impediment, which he iudged he could no otherwiſe do, then by cauſing the *French* King to reſolue to turne vpon the perſon of one of the Electors the ſame fauors and diſtributions of mony, which he aduanced for his owne election: but he eſteemed it a matter impoſſible to induce the King hereunto whileſt he was yet poſſeſſed with the heate of vaine hopes. Therefore he hoped, that by how much more earneſtly & with the greater hope he ſhould plonge himſelfe in that practiſe, by ſo much the more eaſily would he ſuddenly fauour the election of a third perſon, no leſſe then he had affected his owne, when finding himſelfe diſcouered and prouoked in the heate of the buſineſſe, he ſhould perceiue he could not attaine to the end of his deſires: and that he might at ſuch a time (when he ſhould haue made the King conſtantly beleeue that he was his friend, and that he had the ſame deſire with him) cauſe him to heare and receiue his authoritie and counſel. Beſides that it might likewiſe happen, that in fauoring much at the beginning the affaires of the *French* king, the other King perceiuing he ſhold haue difficultie to obtain his deſire, & fearing leſt the *French* King would win ſome aduantage, would in like ſort diſpoſe himſelfe to elect a third perſon: for which reaſons he did not onely ſignifie to the *French* King, that he had a great deſire that he might be raiſed to the Empire, but encouraged him with many reaſons to proceed reſolutely in the enterpriſe, promiſing him with ample words, to fauour him with all the Pontificall authoritie: and ſuppoſing that he could not better imprint in the Kings mind the ſinceritie of his intention, then by vſing for that purpoſe an inſtrument whom the *French* King would thinke depended more vpon him then of any other, he gaue preſent direction to his Nuncio in *Germany*, called *Robert Vrſin* Archbiſhop of *Reggia*, whom the King truſted much, with commiſſion that both ſeuerally and ioyntly with the *French* Agents there, he ſhould vſe his beſt endeuour to ſolicite the Electors, aduertiſing him notwithſtanding, that he ſhould proceed either more or leſſe moderately, as he ſhould find the Electors diſpoſed in *Germanie*, and the affaires aduanced. Which actions being diſcreetly diſcourſed by the Pope, and couered with a wonderfull ſimulation, required greater prudence, as well in the King as in his Agents in *Germanie*, and in the miniſters of the Pope more grauitie and fidelitie.

But whileſt theſe matters were managed by practiſes and by armes, the *French* King gaue direction to *Peter* of *Nauarre* to go to the ſea with a Nauie of twentie galleys and other veſſels furniſhed with foure thouſand ſouldiers, entertained vnder colour to repell the foiſts of the

Moores,

Moores, who hauing for many yeares ouer-runne our ſeas without any impediment, had ſcowred them this yeare more then euer; and to inuade (if the Pope thought it good) the *Moores* of *Africa*: but chiefly that the Pope, who diſcouered himſelfe wholly for him in the cauſe of the Empire, might not be daunted by the forces of the King Catholike, who more for a feare to be offended in his owne Eſtates, then for any deſire he had to offend others, prepared with great diligence an armie by ſea, to ſend for the guarding of the Realme of *Naples*. And yet notwithſtanding amidſt theſe diſtruſts and ſuſpitions, both the Kings continuing to make faire ſemblances of amitie, there was ſent from them to *Montpellier*, the great Maiſter of *France*, and the Lord *Cheures*, in each of whom conſiſted almoſt all the counſels and intentions of their Kings: and it was to confirme the mariage of the ſecond daughter of *France* with the King of *Spaine*, but much more to reſolue the affaires of the kingdome of *Nauarre*, the reſtitution whereof promiſed to the ancient King in the accord made at *Noyon*, although the *French* king had much ſolicited it, was till that day deferred by the King of *Spaine* with diuers excuſes: but by reaſon of the death of the great Maiſter, which happened before they ſpake together, there was nothing done. At this time died *Laurence de Medicis*, who had languiſhed in a continuall ſickneſſe euer ſince his returne from *France*, where he had conſummated his mariage with wretched predictions, by the death of his wife, who not many dayes before, after her deliuerie of a daughter, departed this life, as though ſhe would prepare him the way. By reaſon of the death of *Laurence*, the Pope deſiring to keepe the power of the *Florentines* conioyned with the Eſtate of the Church ſo long as he liued, making no reckoning of the counſell of ſuch as aduiſed him, that ſince (beſides himſelfe) there remained no more of the line maſculine of the lawfull deſcendants of *Coſmo de Medicis* the firſt founder of that greatneſſe, he ſhould reſtore libertie to his countrey, he preferred the Cardinall *de Medicis* to the adminiſtration of that Eſtate, either in a deſire to perpetuate the name of his houſe, or for a hatred, cauſed by his exile, againſt the name of that Commonweale: and iudging that the Duchie of *Vrbin*, for the vniuerſall loue which the people bare to their ancient Duke, would hardly be holden vnder the name of the onely daughter remaining of *Laurence*, who was comprehended in the inueſtiture of her father, he rendred it, together with *Peſera* and *Sinigale*, to the Sea Apoſtolike; and ſuppoſing that this was not ſufficient to repreſſe the vehement affection of the people, he threw downe to the earth the walls of the Citie of *Vrbin*, and of the other principall places of that Duchie, except *Agobbio*, which Citie, for that by reaſon of the emulation it bare to the Citie of *Vrbin*, was not ſo much inclined to *Franciſco Maria*, he fauoured, and put it in reputation, appointing it as chiefe ouer all that Duchie; and to weaken this Duchie the more, he gaue to the *Florentines* in recompence of the money expended for him in the warre of *Vrbin* (for the which he had before made the Chamber Apoſtolike debter to the State of *Florence*) the fortreſſe of Saint *Leo*, with all *Montfeltro* and the Pariſhes of *Seſtina*, which were wont to be of the territorie of *Seſena*; the *Florentines* being not well content with ſuch ſatisfaction, who notwithſtanding could not oppoſe againſt his will.

The death of Laurence de Medicis.

Now we muſt returne to the ſute for the Empire, which held all Chriſtendome in ſuſpence, and was purſued by both the Kings more hotely then euer. The *French* King was dayly more beguiled by the great promiſes of the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, one of the Electors, who was allured with no ſmall offers of money, and haply ſome round ſumme in preſt, for the which he did not onely bind himſelfe with ſecret capitulations to giue him his voice, but alſo had promiſed him that his brother the Archbiſhop of *Magunce*, one of the three Prelate Electors, ſhould do the like. The King in like ſort promiſed himſelfe much of another part of the Electors; and in caſe it came to an equalitie of voices, he hoped not a litle in the voice of the King of *Bohemia*, by the voice of whom the controuerſie was to be decided, if the ſixe Electors, whereof three be Eccleſiaſtike and three ſecular, were diſcordant. Therefore he ſent to the Admirall, who was gone before into *Germanie* about this buſineſſe, a great quantitie of money to be diſtributed among the Electors; and vnderſtanding that many of the free Townes, together with the Duke of *Wirtemberg* threatning thoſe that would conferre the dignitie of the Empire vpon ſtrangers, made leuies of men of warre, he made prouiſion of other money, to oppoſe by force of armes ſuch as put the Electors in feare to make choiſe of him. But great was the inclination of the people of *Germanie* to keepe the Imperiall dignitie within the compaſſe of that nation, yea euen among the *Swiſſers*, who for the loue they bare to their common coun-

The Germains ielous of their libertie, and louers of their country.

trey of *Germanie*, beſought the Pope, that in that election he would not beare fauour to any that were not of the naturall language of *Germanie*: who perſeuered neuertheleſſe to fauour the *French* King, hoping that in ſhewing himſelfe ſo affectionate towards him, the King would with more confidence hearken to his counſels, whereby he laboured in the end to perſwade him, that ſhaking off all hope to be elected himſelfe, he would endeuour with the ſame feruency to cauſe ſome other of the Princes of *Germanie* to be elected; which was a counſell that ſerued to no purpoſe, for that the Admirall and *Robert Vrſin*, deceiued by the promiſes of ſuch, as to draw money from the *French* men, gaue them moſt certaine hope, and being paſſionate, the one of a *French* nature and the Kings ſeruant, and the other of a light nature and deſirous to winne grace with the King, confirmed him dayly more and more with vaine aduertiſements in hope to carry the election. With theſe practiſes, thoſe to whom the power to elect the Emperour of *Rome* belongeth (not by any more ancient cuſtome or well grounded reaſon, but by permiſſion and priuiledge of Pope *Gregorie* the fift, a *Germaine* of nation) being come according to the ancient cuſtome to *Francfort* a town of low *Germanie*, whileſt they were diſputing of many things to proceed to election in due time, according to their ordinances, they were aduertiſed of an armie put to the field by the King of *Spaine*, (who was more ready to wage ſouldiers with his money, then to giue it to the Electors) which being approched neare to *Francfort*, vnder colour to bridle all ſuch as ſhould offer to force the election, increaſed the courage of thoſe Electors that fauoured his cauſe, reduced to their opinion thoſe that ſtood doubtfull, and ſo aſtoniſhed the Marquis of *Brandenburg* who was for the *French* King, that deſpairing of the concurrance of the other Electors, and fearing the hatred and infamie of the whole nation, he had not the courage to diſcouer his intention: ſo that coming to the act of election, *Charles* of *Auſtria* King of *Spaine* was elected Emperour the eight and twentieth day of Iune, by the concordant voices of foure Electors, viz: the Archbiſhop of *Maguncе*, the Archbiſhop of *Colleine*, the Count *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Saxonie*: but the Archbiſhop of *Treues* gaue his voice for the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, who alſo was concurrant in the election of himſelfe. And it is not to be doubted, that if by equalitie of voices the election had come to the gratification of the ſeuenth Elector, that the like would haue happened, for that *Lewis* King of *Bohemia*, who was alſo King of *Hungarie*, had promiſed his voice to *Charles*.

Charles the fift choſen Emperour.

This election maruellouſly depreſſed the heart of the *French* King, and of thoſe that in *Italy* depended of him: and on the contrary, encouraged thoſe that had other hopes and thoughts, ſeeing ſo great a power conioyned in the perſon of one onely Prince, being yong, and to whom there was promiſed by many predictions great Empire, together with maruellous felicitie: and albeit he was not ſo rich in money as was the *French* King, yet it was eſteemed a matter of right great importance, that he was able to furniſh his armies with Lanceknights and *Spaniards*, people much eſteemed and valiant; whereas the *French* King, not hauing in his kingdome footmen to oppoſe againſt theſe, had no meanes to make ſtrong warre, but by drawing with great expences, and ſometime with much difficultie, bands of footmen out of forreine countries; which conſtrained him to entertaine with great charge and diligence the *Swiſſers*, and to endure of them many iniuries, without being euer fully aſſured either of their conſtancie or fidelitie. And it was not to be doubted, but that betweene theſe two yong Princes, betweene whom there were many cauſes of iealouſie and debate, there would in the end ariſe a great and dangerous warre. For the *French* King deſired much to recouer the kingdome of *Naples*, pretending that he had iuſt title thereto; and alſo took much to heart the reſtoring of King *Iohn* to the Realme of *Nauarre*, touching the which he diſcerned now that he had bene fed with vaine hopes. It troubled the Emperour to pay the hundred thouſand duckats promiſed in the accord of *Noyon*; and he was of opinion that the King, reiecting the accord made before at *Paris*, and vſing immoderately the occaſion of his neceſſitie to paſſe into *Spaine*, had almoſt forced him to make a new accord. The cauſe of the Duke of *Gueldres* was ſtill freſh betweene them, which of it ſelfe (for that the *French* King had taken him into his protection, and the people of *Flanders* held him as a great enemie) was ſufficient to ſtirre them vp to armes. But aboue all, the Duchie of *Burgundie* wrought in the mind of the new Emperour no ſmall emulation. This Duchie being poſſeſſed by *Lewis* the eleuenth, by reaſon of the death of *Charles* Duke of *Burgundie* grandfather by the mothers ſide to the Emperours father, had alwayes troubled the minds of his ſucceſſors. Alſo there wanted no prouocations or cauſes of ſtrife touching the Du-

Occaſions of contention betweene the French king and the Emperour.

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chie of *Millan*, whereof ſince the death of *Lewis* the twelfth, the King had not obtained nor demanded the inueſtiture: and likewiſe there were many exceptions pretended to the rights which were fallen to him by the inueſtiture which had bene made to his predeceſſor, as well touching the inualiditie as the loſſe of thoſe rights, which was a matter ſufficient to ſtirre vp warres betweene them: neuertheleſſe neither the times nor the occaſions ſuffered them at that ſeaſon to enter into any troubles. For beſides that it was neceſſary for the Emperour elect to repaſſe firſt into *Germanie*, to receiue at *Aix* the Crowne of the Empire, according to the cuſtome, they were each of them ſo puiſſant, that the difficultie to offend one another, kept them reſtrained from all inuaſion vntill they had perfect information of the intention and diſpoſition of other Princes, and ſpecially (if the war were to begin in *Italy*) of the Popes mind, which was ſo couered with artificiall and faire ſhewes, that it was knowne to none, and haply at ſome times not reſolued in himſelfe; although he had diſpenſed with *Charles* for the acceptation of the election made of his perſon, contrary to the tenor of the inueſtiture of the Realme of *Naples*, wherein (being made according to the forme of ancient inueſtitures) that was expreſly forbidden him: but this proceeded not ſo much of good will, as for that he had no occaſion to denie it, without offending him greatly.

Italy then for theſe cauſes was conſerued in peace, notwithſtanding the Pope in the end of the ſame yeare ſought to ſeize vpon the Citie of *Ferrara*, not by open warres, but by ſecret ambuſhes. For although it might haue bene beleeued, that by reaſon of the death of his Nephew *Laurence de Medicis* (there being now in his houſe rather want of men then of Eſtates) he would haue layed aſide all thoughts to get *Ferrara*, whereunto he had alwayes aſpired before: yet being puſhed on by a hatred conceiued againſt the Duke, or by a deſire to equall the glorie of *Iulio*, or at leaſt to come as neare it as he could, he had not, either for the death of his brother, or of his nephew, any whit diminiſhed that burning ambition: whereby it may eaſily be diſcerned, that the ambition of Prieſts hath no greater nouriture then of it ſelfe. But the qualitie of the time, and the ſituation and ſtrength of that Citie, which *Alphonſo* had fortified with great diligence, not ſuffering that he ſhould thinke to take it with open forces, ſeeing there was within it almoſt an infinite quantitie of faire peeces of artilleries and munitions, and that the Duke improuing his reuenues to the vttermoſt, limiting all his expences, impoſing new taxations and tributes, and ſeeming in all things rather a Merchant then a Prince, had gathered together (as many beleeued) a huge maſſe of money, ſo that there remained to the Pope, if the conditions of the time changed not, no other hope to carry it, then by ſecret ambuſhes and intelligences. Whereof he hauing in vaine made experience in times paſt by *Nicholas d'Eſte* and many others; and *Alphonſo* not knowing that he went any more about ſuch practiſes, held himſelfe almoſt aſſured, not of his will, but of his ambuſhes; the Pope was of opinion (for the meanes that were offered him, and for that *Alphonſo* oppreſſed with a long ſickneſſe, was reduced to ſuch termes that there was almoſt no hope of his recouerie, and that his brother the Cardinall, becauſe he would not remaine in the Court of *Rome* with diſgrace, was gone into *Hungarie*) that it was now a fit time to execute ſome plot preferred by certaine exiles of *Ferrara*, and through their meanes, by *Alexander Fregoſo* Biſhop of *Vintemille*, who was then at *Bolognia*, for that aſpiring to be Duke as his father the Cardinall had bene, he was ſuſpected to *Octauian Fregoſo*. This Biſhop hauing had ill ſpeed in the practiſes which he managed to bring him againe into his owne countrey, promiſed himſelfe better ſucceſſe in thoſe things which he ſhould performe for another in a ſtrange countrey. Therefore hauing ſecretly receiued of the Pope ten thouſand duckats, he leuied (vnder colour to reenter *Genes* by force) a power of two thouſand footmen, partly in the territories of *Rome*, and partly within the iuriſdiction of *Lunigiana*: at the bruite whereof, *Octauian Fregoſo* for doubt of him, hauing armed himſelfe both by ſea and land; and he (as if his drifts being diſcouered, he were fallen from all hope to be able at that time to alter the eſtate of *Genes*) hauing giuen aduertiſement to *Federike de Boſſolo* (by whoſe aide the towne of *Concorda* was chiefly maintained againſt Count *Iohn Francis* of *Mirandola*) that he might vſe the ſeruice of his forces vntill the expiration of their pay, which yet continued almoſt a moneth, he paſſed the *Appenine*, and deſcended into the countrey of *Correggio*, paſſing very leiſurely to *Concorda*. The foundation of this matter, was to paſſe the riuer of *Po*, for which purpoſe certaine ſeruants of *Albert Carpi* who was priuie to this conſpiracie, had vnder colour to be Merchants of corne, hired many barkes which

The Popes enterpriſe vpon Ferrara.

were in the mouth of the riuer of *Secchio* (ſo do the people of the countrey call the place where the waters of *Secchio* do enter into *Po*,) and paſſing in them the riuer of *Po*, the Biſhop had a purpoſe to approch vpon the ſudden neare to *Ferrara*, where hauing bene not many moneths before, he had carefully ſurueyed one part of the towne vpon the riuer ſide, where fortie fadomes of the wall were caſt downe to the earth, which was a breach ſufficient enough to enter the towne, the which wall being but lately fallen, was not ſo ſoone made vp again, for that the nearneſſe of the riuer, and the priuation of feare, had increaſed the negligence of ſuch as were wont to haue made prouiſion for ſuch diſorders. But when it was knowne in the countrey, that the Biſhop of *Vintemille* was paſſed the *Appenin* with his ſouldiers, the Marquis of *Mantua*, not for any particular ſuſpition, but following his ancient cuſtome to take away all meanes from ſtrangers to paſſe the riuers, retired to *Mantua* all the barkes that lay in the mouth of *Secchio*: ſo that the Biſhop loſing the oportunitie of thoſe barkes which he had hired, and hauing no meanes to recouer other ſo ſoone as was needfull, chiefly for that the officers for the Church that were neareſt that place, were not made priuie to the practiſe, nor had any commiſſion (in caſe they had bene priuie to it) to deale in it: whileſt he ſearcheth with the Agents of *Albert* ſome remedie, and ſoiourneth the confines of *Corregia*, where he ſpake inconſiderately to many, and diſcouered to ſome, all the particularities of his purpoſe; the Marquis of *Mantua* being aduertiſed thereof, ſendeth one of his men to diſcouer the enterpriſe to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who doubted ſo litle of any ſuch matter, that he was hardly induced to beleeue it. Neuertheleſſe the part of the wall that he ſaw ruinate mouing him more then any other thing, he began to wage men of warre: and making as though he had no ſuſpition of the Pope (although he thought otherwiſe) he aduertiſed him of the ambuſhes dreſſed againſt him by the Biſhop of *Vintemille*, beſeeching him to giue direction to the Gouernours thereabouts to miniſter ſuccours to him if need required; which was readily granted and executed by the Pope, with Briefes and letters of fauour, ſending notwithſtanding ſecretly at the ſame time commiſſions to the contrary. The rumour that ranne of the preparations which were made at *Ferrara*, together with the difficulties to paſſe the riuer of *Po*, tooke from the Biſhop all hope, by reaſon whereof drawing with his armie towards *Concorda*, whileſt he treated with thoſe that were within (who were already entred into ſuſpition of him) to inuade *Mirandola*, he preſented himſelfe ſuddenly one night before the walls of *Concorda*, and gaue the aſſault, to giue men cauſe to beleeue that he was come into thoſe places, not to go to *Ferrara*, but to ſeize vpon *Concorda*. This aſſault was to no purpoſe, after which he diſmiſſed the moſt part of his ſouldiers. He left many in opinion, and *Alphonſo* himſelfe, that if the meanes to paſſe the riuer of *Po* had not bene taken from him, the breach or ruine of the wall that was reuerſed, had miniſtred to him a great commoditie to take *Ferrara*, whrein there was not one regiment of men of warre, and where there was no doubt of any thing, the Duke being extremely ſicke, and the people in ſuch diſcontentment with him, that in ſo ſudden an accident, there were few that would haue taken armes, and oppoſed themſelues to the danger.

1520. *Martin Luther againſt the Pope.*

Now followeth the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and twentie, wherein the peace of *Italy* continuing for the ſame reaſons for which it had bene preſerued the yeare before, new doctrines began much to increaſe, firſt againſt the authoritie of the Church of *Rome*, and afterwards againſt the authoritie of Chriſtian Religion: which doctrine tooke beginning in *Germanie* in the countrey of *Saxonie*, by the preachings of *Martin Luther*, a Frier of the Order of Saint *Auguſtine*, who at the firſt renewed, for the moſt part, the ancient errors of the *Bohemians*, reproued by the vniuerſal Councel of the Church holden at *Conſtance*, by the authoritie whereof *Iohn Hus* and *Ierome* of *Prague*, two principall heads of thoſe hereſies, were burned, and had bin for a long time reſtrained within the limits of *Bohemia*. The cauſe that ſtirred them vp againe in *Germanie*, was the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolike which Pope *Leo* vſed too licentiouſly, in that following the counſell of *Laurence Puccio* Cardinall of the *Foure Saints*, touching the adminiſtration of graces which the Court of *Rome* diſtributeth in things ſpirituall and beneficiall, he had diſperſed throughout the world, without diſtinction of times or places, moſt ample Indulgences, not onely for the helpe of ſuch as are yet liuing, but alſo to deliuer the ſoules of the dead out of the paines of Purgatorie: and becauſe it was manifeſtly knowne, that thoſe Indulgences were granted onely to draw money from men, which was impudently demanded by the Commiſſaries deputed for that exaction, who for the moſt part had bought their authoritie of the Popes offi-

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ceers, they had in many places runne into great hatred, and cauſed many ſlanders, and eſpecially in *Germanie*, where might be ſeene many of his miniſters ſelling for a ſmall price, yea ſet vpon a game at tables in a Tauerne, power to redeeme the ſoules of the dead out of Purgatorie. This indignation was alſo increaſed for that the Pope (who for the facilitie of his nature managed the office of Pope in many things with very litle maieſtie) gaue to his ſiſter *Magdalene* the profite of the exaction of the Indulgences in many quarters of *Germanie*, who aſſigned for her Commiſſarie the Biſhop of *Arembauld*, a man fit for ſuch a commiſſion, which he executed with no litle auarice and extortion. And forasmuch as it was knowne through all *Germanie*, that the money which he got by theſe Indulgences, went not to the Pope, nor to the Chamber Apoſtolike, who haply might haue expended ſome part of it in good vſes, but was appointed to ſatisfie the couetouſneſſe of a woman, not onely the exaction was deteſtable, and the officers of the ſame, but alſo the name and authoritie of him who with ſo litle diſcretion granted ſuch things. *Luther* tooke this occaſion, and began to contemne theſe Indulgences, and therein to taxe the authoritie of the Pope; and a great number of auditors running to heare him (for it was a matter very plauſible in the eares of the people) he began to denie and dayly to quarrell more openly the authoritie of the Pope. After theſe beginnings, haply honeſt, or at leaſt excuſable in ſome part, for the iuſt occaſion that was giuen him (being ſtirred vp by ambition, popular affectation, and the fauour of the Duke of *Saxonie*) he not onely carried himſelfe outragiouſly aginſt the power of the Popes, and againſt the authoritie of the Church of *Rome*, but running into the errors of the *Bohemians*, he began with time to take the Images out of Churches, to depriue holy places of their goods, and to permit mariage to Monkes and Nunnes profeſſed, confirming his opinion not onely with authoritie and with arguments, but alſo by his owne example: to denie that the power of the Pope was to extend out of the Biſhopricke of *Rome*, and to affirme that euery other Biſhop had as much authoritie in his particular Dioceſſe, as the Pope had within the Biſhopricke of *Rome*: to reiect all matters determined in Councels, all things written by thoſe that are called Doctors of the Church, all the Canons & Decrees of Popes, holding himſelf onely to the old Teſtamẽt, to the book of the Goſpels, to the Acts of the Apoſtles, to all that is comprehended vnder the name of the new Teſtament, and to the Epiſtles of Saint *Paul*; but giuing to all theſe writings a new ſence, and interpretation dangerous, and ſuch as neuer had bene heard of. But the folly of *Luther* and his adherents ſtayed not onely there, but being followed (as we may ſay) almoſt of all *Germanie*, and running dayly into more deteſtable and dangerous errors, he came to deale euen with the Sacraments of the Church, to deſpiſe faſtings, penances, and confeſſions; and afterwards ſome of his followers (but ſuch as ſome way differed from his opinion) ſpake diuelliſh and peſtiferous things of the Euchariſt. All which things hauing for their foundation the contempt of the authoritie of Councels and holy Doctors, haue giuen an entrie to all new and peruerſe inuentions and interpretations, and are amplified in many places out of the bounds of *Germanie*, for that they containe ſuch a doctrine, as deliuering men from many commandements layed vpon them for the publike good by the generall Councels of the Church, by the decrees of Popes, by the authoritie of the Canons, and ſound interpetations of holy Doctors, they bring them backe to a maner of life more full of libertie, yea euen according to their owne fancie and luſt. The Pope laboured in the beginning to quench this peſtiferous doctrine, forbearing notwithſtanding to vſe remedies and medicines proper and conuenient to cure ſo great a maladie. For he cited to *Rome Martin Luther*, he forbad him to preach, and afterwards for his diſobedience, impoſed vpon him the cenſures of the Church; but he abſtained not from many things of ill example, and ſuch as being reaſonably reproued and blamed by *Luther*, were very offenſiue to all men: in ſo much as his proceeding againſt him with ſpirituall armes, did nothing diminiſh, but rather augment the reputation of *Martin* in the minds of the people, as though thoſe perſecutions had taken their beginning of the innocencie of his life and for his ſound doctrine, rather then for any other cauſe. The Pope ſent into *Germanie* many religious men to preach againſt him, and wrote many Brieſes to the Princes and Prelates: but neither this nor many other meanes which he vſed to repreſſe him, ſtood him in any ſtead, by reaſon of the inclination of the people, and for the great fauour which the Duke of *Saxonie* ſhewed him in his iuriſdiction. This matter began dayly in the Court of *Rome* to ſeeme of greater importance, and to augment the feare

leſt there might ariſe ſome great detriment to the power of Popes, to the profites of the Court of *Rome*, and to the vnion of Chriſtian Religion: for which occaſion in that yeare were ſummoned many Conſiſtories at *Rome*, and many conſultations in the chamber of the Pope amongſt the Cardinals and Diuines deputed to deuiſe a remedie for ſuch an euill, which increaſed dayly. And albeit there wanted not ſuch as admoniſhed them, that the perſecutions which had bene made againſt him vntill that time, ſince they were not accompanied with correction of things blameable among themſelues, had increaſed his reputation and good will with the people, and that it had bene a leſſe euill to diſſemble the knowledge of ſuch a folly, which perhaps would haue diſſolued of it ſelfe, then by blowing the fire, to kindle it, and make it the greater: neuertheleſſe as the nature of men is to proceed with remedies fierce and violent, the perſecutions were not onely increaſed againſt him and his followers, commonly called *Lutherans*, but alſo a wonderfull excommunication reſolued vpon againſt the Duke of *Saxonie*, which exaſperated him in ſuch ſort, that he became a more vehement protector of his cauſe: which for the ſpace of many yeares went on increaſing in ſuch ſort, that there was great danger leſt almoſt all the reſidue of Chriſtendome ſhould be infected with this contagion: and there is nothing that hath ſo much reſtrained his courſe, as the knowledge that the followers of this doctrine were no leſſe enemies to the power of temporall Princes, then to the authoritie of the Popes of *Rome*; which hath bene the cauſe that many Princes for their proper intereſt, haue laboured with care and ſeueritie to keepe that contagion out of their Realmes: and on the contrary, nothing hath ſo much ſupported the obſtinacie of theſe errors, (which ſometimes haue bene at the point to confound and fall, both for the immoderate intemperancie of their heads and chieftaines, and for the diuerſitie and contrarietie of opinions among themſelues) as the licentious libertie which the people haue taken in their maner of liuing, together with the couetouſneſſe of great men, who would not ſuffer themſelues to be depriued of the goods which they had gotten from Churches.

There happened nothing this yeare worthy of memorie, ſauing that *Iohn Paul Baillon* and *Gentil* of the ſame family being at *Perouſa*, either for that a quarrell fell betweene them, or elſe for that *Iohn Paul* not contenting himſelfe that he had the greateſt part and more authoritie in the gouernment, ſought to get the whole to himſelfe, he chaſed *Gentil* out of *Perouſa*, which being diſpleaſing to the Pope, he cauſed him to be cited to appeare perſonally at *Rome*; but he fearing to go thither, ſent *Malateſta* his ſonne with his iuſtifications, and to make offer of his obedience to all his commandements. Neuertheleſſe the Pope inſiſting ſtill vpon his perſonall appearance, after he had bene many dayes in great perplexitie, at laſt he was reſolued to go to *Rome*, truſting partly in the ancient ſeruices which at all times he had done to his houſe, and partly at the perſwaſions of *Camilla Vrſin* his ſonne in law, and of other his friends, who vſing all their authoritie, and applying all the meanes they could with the Pope, either they obtained of him expreſſe promiſe and aſſurance (though not ſet downe in writing,) or at leaſt the Pope with great art vſed with them ſuch words, and made ſuch demonſtrations vnto them, that they truſting therein, encouraged him to appeare, giuing him to vnderſtand that he might ſafely go. But when he was come to *Rome*, he found that the Pope, vnder colour of his recreation, according to his cuſtome, was gone a few dayes before to the Caſtle *S. Angelo*, whither *Iohn Paul* going the morning following to preſent himſelfe before him, was made priſoner by the Captaine of the Caſtle before he came into his preſence, and afterwards rigorouſly examined by Iudges aſſigned, to whom he confeſſed, that he had committed many great offences, as well for the conſeruation of the tyrannie, as for his diſordered pleaſures, and other his particular intereſts: for which cauſe, after he had bene priſoner more then two moneths, he was beheaded according to the ſentence of the law: the Pope being moued hereunto, as it was beleeued, for that he diſcerned in the warre of *Vrbin* by many ſignes, that *Iohn Paul* bare a mind eſtranged from him, and had entertained conſpiracies with *Franciſco Maria*, and that in any accident that might happen, he could not aſſure himſelfe of him, and conſequently of the affaires of *Perouſa*, ſo long as he was in that Eſtate, the which to eſtabliſh according to his owne fantaſie (the children of *Iohn Paul* being fled as ſoone as they

The Pope executeth Iohn Paul Baillon.

they heard of the retaining of their father) he gaue the legation thereof to *Siluio* Cardinall of *Cortona* his ſeruant, and of his ancient bringing vp. He reſtored *Gentil* into *Peruſa*, to whom he gaue the goods which *Iohn Paul* had poſſeſſed, and leaning vpon a very weake foundation, he conuerted vnto him all greatneſſe and reputation. In like ſort this yeare, the Pope, who attributed the occaſion which the Biſhop of *Vintemille* had loſt, more to fortune or want of diſcretion, then to any other thing, began to practiſe new ambuſhes againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, by the meanes of *Hubert Gambara* the Pronotarie Apoſtolike, to whom *Rodolph* a Captaine of certaine bands of Lanceknights which *Alphonſo* held for his guard, had promiſed to giue him entrie at his pleaſure by the gate of the Caſtle *Tialto*, whither the ſouldiers that were to be ſent from *Bologna* and *Modena*, hauing no meanes to come without paſſing the riuer of *Po*, but by the woodden bridge which is before that gate, direction was giuen to *Guido Rangon* and the Gouernour of *Modena* to aſſemble a certaine number of ſouldiers vnder ſome other colour, and to go make a ſurpriſe of that gate, and to defend it vntill the others that were to come from *Bologna* and *Modena* were arriued, who were to come thither almoſt in a throng. But the day to execute the enterpriſe was no ſooner determined vpon, then it was diſcouered that *Rodolph*, to whom by the Popes appointment were giuen about two thouſand duckats by *Hubert de Gambaro*, had from the beginning communicated all the matter to *Alphonſo*, who, after he was well informed of the Popes intention and of his plots, purpoſing that things ſhould proceed no further, handled the matter in ſuch ſort, that the deceit of *Rodolph* was knowne to all men.

In this yeare the Emperour elect paſſed by ſea out of *Spaine* into *Flanders*, and in his paſſage he deſcended into *England*, not by neceſſitie, as his father did, but voluntarily to ſpeake with the King of *England*, with whom he was in good agreement. From *Flanders* he went in the moneth of October into *Germanie*, where at *Aix* (a noble Citie and renowmed for the ancient reſidence and ſepulcher of *Charlemaine*) he receiued the firſt Crowne, which is (as men ſay) the ſelfe ſame wherewith *Charlemaine* was crowned: and it was deliuered to him according to the ancient cuſtome, by the authoritie of the Princes of the Empire. But this felicitie was troubled with new accidents happening in *Spaine*, for that the people of thoſe kingdomes were grieued with his promotion to the Empire, as knowing that to the great incommoditie and harme of them all, he ſhould for ſundry occaſions be conſtrained to ſpend the moſt part of his time out of *Spaine*: but the principall cauſe that made them thus to ſtirre, was the great hatred which they had conceiued againſt the couetouſneſſe of ſuch as gouerned him, eſpecially againſt *Monſieur de Cheures*, who ſhewing himſelfe inſatiable, had raked together by all meanes a great maſſe of treaſure, as the other *Flemmings* had likewiſe done, ſelling for ready money to ſtrangers thoſe offices which were wont to be beſtowed vpon *Spaniards*, and putting to ſale all the graces, priuiledges and expeditions which were wont to be ſought for at the Court: in ſo much as all the people being inflamed againſt the name of the *Flemmings*, thoſe of *Valliadolid* began to draw into mutinie, at ſuch time as the Emperour departed: and he was hardly gone out of *Spaine*, when they all gathered into commotion, not againſt their King (as they proteſted) but againſt his wicked gouernours: and after they had communicated their counſels together, they would no more obey the Kings officers, but of themſelues ſet downe a forme of gouernment, dreſſed by the counſell of the vniuerſall multitude, which they called *La ſanta Giunta*: ſo called they the vniuerſall counſell of the people. Now the Captaines and officers of the King hauing taken armes againſt them, and ſo things being reduced to a manifeſt warre, the diſorders were ſo much increaſed, that the Emperour elect held amongſt them very ſmall authoritie: which was the cauſe that in *Italy* and out of *Italy*, the hope of thoſe increaſed, who deſired the diminution of ſuch a greatneſſe. Neuertheleſſe his armie by ſea wonne vpon the *Moores* the Ile of *Gerbes*, and in *Germanie* the reputation of the *French* King was ſomewhat embaſed. For, the *French* King to nouriſh the troubles in *Germanie*, fauouring in that Prouince the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, who was at diſcord with the league of *Suaube*, the people of the league being grieued at it, chaſed him by force out of his Eſtate; and when they had gotten it, they ſold it to the Emperour, who deſired

The Emperour in England.

to pull downe the partakers with the *French* King, binding himſelfe to defend that Eſtate againſt whom ſoeuer would aſſaile it : in ſo much as the Duke ſeeing himſelfe ruined vnder hope to be ſuccoured by the *French* King, was conſtrained to haue recourſe to the clemencie of the Emperour, and to receiue of him ſuch lawes as he would preſcribe, without being reſtored for all that to the poſſeſſion of his Dukedome.

In the end of this yeare, about three thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen who had bene many moneths in *Sicilia*, hauing no minds to returne into *Spaine*, according to a commandement which they receiued of the Emperour, and litle eſteeming the authoritie of their Captaines, paſſed to *Reggia* in *Calabria*: and from thence, committing many inſolencies as they paſſed, they drew towards the territories of the Church, and put the Pope (in whoſe mind was fixed the memory of the accidents of *Vrbin*) in great feare, leſt being either ſtirred vp by other Princes, or ioyning themſelues with *Franciſco Maria*, and with the ſonnes of *Iohn Paul Baillon*, or ſome other enemies of the Church, they would be the cauſe of ſome great emotion, chiefly ſince they refuſed the offers made to them by him and the Viceroy of *Naples*, to entertaine part of them, and to giue money to the reſidue: by which offers taking the more courage, they marched towards the riuer of *Tronto*, not by the ſtraight countrey of *Capitinato*, but by the large way of *Powilla*: and other ſouldiers ioyning with them dayly, together with certaine horſemen, they cauſed him dayly to feare more. Neuertheleſſe, this emotion tooke end more eaſily and more ſuddenly then was expected: for as ſoone as they had paſſed *Tronto* to enter into the Marque of *Ancona*, whither the Pope had ſent many ſouldiers, and that they were incamped before *Ripatranſona*, they were compelled to retire for the great loſſe of men they had ſuſtained in a fierce aſſault they gaue; which tooke from them ſo much courage and reputation, that they accepted willingly of the Emperours officers, conditions farre inferiour to thoſe which they had litle eſteemed before.

The end of the thirteenth Booke.

THE

THE XIIII. BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Italy having bene ſomewhat peaceable for the ſpace of three yeares, beginneth to enter againe into warre, whereof the Pope is the cauſe. He ioyneth in league with the Emperour againſt the French King. The French King loſeth the Duchie of Millan. Pope Leo dieth. Adrian the ſixt is created Pope. Francis Sforce reentreth vpon the Duchie of Millan. Warre is made in Tuſcane by Ranſe de Cere.

IN the beginning of the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred twentie and one, that little ſtirre was appeaſed, whereof men had bin more feareful for the freſh memorie of thoſe bands of *Spaniſh* footmen that inuaded the State of *Vrbin*, then for any likely cauſes of feare that appeared. But not many moneths after, *Italy* began to be vexed with greater wars, of longer continuance, and more dangerous, then thoſe that were paſt: the ambition of two moſt mightie Kings, puffed vp with mutuall iealouſies, hatreds, and deepe ſuſpitions, inciting them to exerciſe all their power, and to diſcouer all their diſdaine in *Italy*, which hauing bene about three yeares in peace, though doubtfull and full of ſuſpitions, it ſeemed that heauen, deſtinie, and fortune, enuied her tranquillitie, or elſe feared leſt repoſing any longer, ſhe would returne to her ancient felicitie. Such perſonages were the beginners of theſe new emotions, who albeit they were farre more bound then others to procure the preſeruation of peace, troubled it neuertheleſſe more often then others, and with all their induſtrie and authoritie, ſought to kindle the fire, which they ought to haue quenched with their proper bloud, if other remedies could not ſuffice. For, notwithſtanding the euill inclinations betweene *Caſar* and the *French* King increaſed continually, yet there was no cauſe whereby they were much preſſed to make preſent warre, neither did the one ſo farre ſurmount the other in *Italy*, either in force, or any other commoditie, that they were able to offend one another without the aide of the *Italian* Princes: for that the *French* King hauing the *Venetians* conioyned with him for the defence of the eſtate of *Millan*, and the *Swiſſers* being not ſo ready to make warres in their owne names, but diſpoſed onely to ſerue as ſouldiers to whom ſoeuer would giue them pay, he had no cauſe to feare any ſtirring of the Emperour, neither on the quarter of *Naples*, nor on the coaſt of *Germanie*; and in reſpect of himſelfe, he had no meanes to offend the Emperour in the Realme of *Naples*, vnleſſe the Pope were concurrant with him in the action, who ſtood ſolicited by them both by many offers and meanes to be their friend: in ſo much as it was beleeued, that if the Pope continuing indifferent betweene them, were carefull to temper and range with his Pontificall authoritie (and with the reputation which neutralitie would giue him) the diſdaines and quarrels that were betweene them, and to cut off and ſtop their troubleſome counſels, that peace might haue bin preſerued. And there was not diſcerned any cauſe whereby he was cõſtrained to deſire, or to ſtirre vp the warre, for that he had with ill ſucceſſe raiſed armes before, and theſe two Princes being ſo great, he ought to ſtand in an indifferent feare of the victorie of either of them, knowing euidently, that he that remained ſuperiour, could no way be ſtayed from ſubiecting all *Italy* to his obedience. The Pope poſſeſſed peaceably and with very great obedience the large eſtate of the Church, and *Rome*; and all the Court flouriſhed wonderfully vnder him, and enioyed great felicitie. He had full authoritie ouer the State of *Florence*, which at that time was a mightie State, and very rich: and he was naturally inclined to eaſe and pleaſures, and 1521.

and then by too much licentiouſneſſe and greatneſſe, he was exceedingly eſtranged from affaires; and employed all the day in hearing of Muſicke, & beholding gibers and ieſters; ſo that being inclined to his pleaſures more then was either conuenient or honeſt, he ſeemed to be altogether eſtranged from the warre. Beſides, being full of great magnificencie and glorie, and ſuch as in any other, though deſcended by long ſucceſſion from great Kings, had bene admirable, he had not onely, as well by his incredible expences, as by giuing without diſtinction, conſumed with ineſtimable prodigalitie the treaſures gathered by *Iulio*; but alſo hauing exacted an infinite quantitie of money of the expeditions of the Court, and many new ſorts of offices inuented to raiſe gaine, he had waſted all ſo exceſſiuely, that he was continually conſtrained to deuiſe meanes how to entertaine thoſe immoderate expences, which he not onely continued but rather increaſed. He was not prouoked with any deſire to make great any of his kindred: and though the deſire to recouer *Parma* and *Plaiſance* troubled him, and the longing he had to obtaine the Eſtate of *Ferrara*, yet he thought not theſe cauſes ſufficient to ouerthrow the peaceable condition of things, but rather to temporiſe and expect oportunitie and occaſions. But right truly is it ſpoken, that there is no greater enemie to a man, then too great proſperitie, for that it makes him impatient of himſelfe, full of libertie, bold to do euill, and deſirous to diſturbe his owne good, by innouations and new things.

Pope Leo is the cauſe of the warr in Italy.

Leo being eſtabliſhed in this eſtate, eſteeming it a great infamie to him to haue loſt *Parma* and *Plaiſance* gotten by *Iulio* with ſo great glorie, or elſe not being able to bridle his earneſt deſire to get *Ferrara*, or ſuppoſing that if he ſhould die without doing ſome thing of importance, the memorie of his Pontificacie would remaine diſhonored: or fearing (as he ſaid) leſt thoſe two Kings (each of them being excluded of the hope to haue him on their ſide, and for that cauſe being leſſe able to offend one another) would grow at laſt to contract betweene themſelues ſome league which would be to the diſaduantage and debaſing of the Church, and of all the reſidue of *Italy*: or elſe hoping (as I haue heard the Cardinall *de Medicis* ſay ſince, who knew all his ſecrets) that the *French* men being chaſed out of *Genes* and the Duchie of *Millan*, he might the more eaſily expulſe the Emperour out of the kingdome of *Naples*, and appropriate to himſelfe the glorie of the libertie of *Italy*, whereunto his predeceſſor had manifeſtly aſpired, and whereunto foraſmuch as he could not attaine with his owne forces, he hoped by appeaſing ſomewhat the mind of the *French* King, by the election of ſome Cardinall whom he would preferre, and by ſhewing himſelfe ready to gratifie him in other matters, to draw him to giue him ſuccours againſt the Emperour, as though it were a great comfort to the King to ſee that as much was done to the Emperour as to him. Which ſoeuer of theſe cauſes it was that moued him, whether one, or more, or all together, he turned all his thoughts to the warre, and to ioyne himſelfe with one of theſe two Princes, to the end that being allied with the one, he might moue warre in *Italy* againſt the other. Now to make himſelfe ready hereunto, and not to be oppreſſed in the meane while by either of them; whileſt he negociated with them both, but more ſtrictly with the *French* King, he ſent into *Swiſſerland* *Anthonie Puccio* Biſhop of *Piſtoya*, who was afterwards Cardinall, to leuie and leade into the eſtate of the Church ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers*; which armie being granted him by the Cantons without difficultie, becauſe of the confederation which ſince the warre of *Vrbin* he had renewed with them, and the paſſage likewiſe agreed vpon through the Eſtate of *Millan*, they were brought vpon the dominions of the Church, where he entertained them many moneths, as well in *Romagna* as in the Marque: and all men being vncertaine to what end he made ſo great expences vnprofitably, ſeeing there was no ſtirre or alteration in *Italy*; for his part he auouched that he had called them for his proper ſuretie, for that he knew well that the rebels of the Church conſpired dayly new practiſes: which cauſe ſeeming not very probable, men ſpake and diſcourſed of it diuerſly. Some ſuppoſed that he called in thoſe forces for feare of the *French* King; others for ſome deſigne to get *Ferrara*; and ſome thought that he would chaſe the Emperour out of the kingdome of *Naples*. But there was ſecret practiſe betweene him and the *French* King, to inuade the kingdome of *Naples* with their ioynt forces, vnder this condition, that *Caietta* and all that is contained betweene the riuer of *Garillan* and the confines of the Eccleſiaſtike State, ſhould be for the Church, and the reſidue of the Realme ſhould belong to the ſecond ſonne of *France*, who, for that he was vnder age, ſhould be gouerned till he came to riper yeares, together with the kingdome, by a Legate Apoſtolicall that ſhould reſide at *Naples*. Moreouer, it was an article in the capitulation, that

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the King ſhould aide him againſt the ſubiects and freeholders of the Sea Apoſtolike, which was a condition added for the better aſſuring of that which the Church held already, and no leſſe tending to the deſire which the Pope had to get *Ferrara*.

At this time, and very ſeaſonably for theſe practiſes, the *French* King incited by the occaſion of the tumults of *Spain*, & (as he afterwards auouched in his complaints) at the perſwaſion of the Pope, ſent an armie into the kingdome of *Nauarre*, vnder *Monſieur d'Aſparrot* brother to *Lautrech*, to recouer that Realme for the ancient King; and at the ſame inſtant *Robert de la Marche* and the Duke of *Gueldres*, beganne to make warre vpon the confines of *Flanders*. The ſeditions of *Spaine* were the cauſe that *Monſieur d'Aſparrot* made an eaſie conqueſt of the kingdome of *Nauarre*, being deſtitute of all ſuccours, and where the memorie of the late King was not yet extinguiſhed: and after he had forced with his artilleries the Caſtle of *Pampeluna*, he entred the frontiers of the kingdome of *Catelognia*, and tooke *Fontaraby*, running vp to *Logrogna*. By meanes whereof it came to paſſe (as it oftentimes happeneth in humane things) that that which men thought would haue bene preiudiciall to the Emperour, turned greatly to his benefite: for that the affaires of *Spaine* being trauelled till that time with diuers aduentures, were reduced into very great troubles, the popular ſort being banded together on the one ſide, and many Nobles & Barons on the other ſide hauing taken armes for the ſeruice of the Emperour, who for the intereſts of their Eſtates feared the popular libertie, which was now come euē to a manifeſt rebellion, and ſuch, as for a deſire to haue a head of authoritie, the Commons had drawne out of the Caſtle of *Sciatiua* the Duke of *Calabria*, who refuſed to take armes againſt the Emperour, and would not come out of priſon. But when the *Spaniards* ſaw that the *French* King inuaded their countrey, that touched them in ſuch ſort, (although they had willingly ſuffered the loſſe of the Realme of *Nauarre*, which was become a member of their dominions, by the vnion which the King Catholike made) that partly for this cauſe, and partly for ſome happie ſucceſſe which the armie of the Emperour had obtained, all the Realme of *Spaine* laying aſide their domeſticall contentions and hatreds, returned to the obedience of their King, the Nobilitie and the Commons falling to agreement. After this eaſie conqueſt of the Realme of *Nauarre*, there happened to the King a farre greater ſucceſſe (if he could haue vſed the occaſion.) For the *Swiſſers*, hauing with them his Embaſſadours and thoſe of the Emperour, each of them ſtriuing to draw them to their ſide, refuſed the amitie of the Emperour (contrary to the opinion of many, and againſt the hope they had giuen him) and embraced the alliance of the *French* King, binding themſelues to furniſh him with as many footmen as he would, and for what enterpriſe ſoeuer, and not to ſuffer them to be leuied for any other againſt him. There reſted the execution of the capitulation made at *Rome* betweene the Pope and the King, whereof when the ratification was required of the King, he began to ſtand in ſuſpence, for that many told him, that he ſhould haue no aſſurance in the Pope, who was double, and ſince he was become Pope, had alwayes ſhewed ſmall friendſhip towards the *French*: That it was to be feared leſt there were ſome deceit, ſince it was not very likely ỹ the Pope ſhould deſire that the Realme of *Naples* ſhould fall into his power, or into the power of his ſonnes, for as much as the *French* holding the kingdome of *Naples* and the Duchie of *Millan*, the Pope ſhould be leſſe aſſured, and his power would be too fearfull to him: That vndoubtedly ſo great a ſhew of amitie breaking out vpon a ſudden, could not be without ſome myſterie: and that he ought to take good heed, that he were not deceiued, and that when he thought to conquer the kingdome of *Naples*, he loſt not the Duchie of *Millan*: for that by ſending his armie into *Naples*, it would be in the power of the Pope, who had ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers* (practiſing with the Captaines of the Emperour) to ouerthrow him; and the armie ouerthrowne, what defence would there remaine for the Duchie of *Millan*? And that it was not to be maruelled, if the Pope who had aſſayed to take that Duchie from him by force, deſpairing to be able otherwiſe to get it, ſhould ſeeke to depriue him of it by circumuentions. Theſe reaſons ſo wrought with the King, that being doubtfull whether he ſhould ratifie or no, and expecting haply the anſwer of ſome other practiſes, he ſent no diſpatch to *Rome*, leauing his Embaſſadours and the Pope in ſuſpence. But the Pope, either for that indeed he gouerned himſelfe with ỹ accuſtomed ſhews, had his mind eſtranged from the King, or for that ſeeing all the termes of anſwer paſt, he began to ſuſpect that which was true, and to feare leſt the King would diſcouer his practiſes to the Emperour, and by that meanes ſome alliance might be made betweene them to his preiudice; puſhed forward likewiſe

Fontaraby taken by the French.

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by a vehement deſire he had to recouer *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and to do ſome memorable thing: and further, being diſpleaſed with the inſolence of *Monſieur Lautrech* and the Biſhop of *Tarba* his agent, who making no account of his commandements in the Eſtate of *Millan*, and not admitting ſome Eccleſiaſticall prouiſions, diſdained him with very proud and inſolent words, he determined to enter league againſt the *French* King with the Emperour, who being kindled for the warre of *Nauarre*, and puſhed on by many of the exiles of *Millan*, and induced by ſome of his Councel, who deſired to abaſe the greatneſſe of *Monſieur de Cheures*, who had always perſwaded him not to ſeparate himſelf frō the *French* King, he reſolued to ioyne in confederation with the Pope againſt the King: which he was thought to haſten the more, vnder a hope that by the Popes authoritie and his owne, he might eaſily diſſolue the alliance made with the *Swiſſers*, afore it were confirmed by gifts and gratifications. Moreouer, the Pope was the more confident, for that the Emperour, who had heard *Martin Luther* in the Diot of *Wormes*, whither he was come vnder ſafeconduct, and when he had cauſed him to be examined by many Diuines, who reported that his doctrine was erronious and dangerous for Chriſtendome, had baniſhed him to gratifie the Pope; which ſo aſtoniſhed *Martin*, that if the iniurious words and full of threats, which the Cardinall *S. Xiſte*, Legate Apoſtolike ſpake to him, had not brought him into vtter deſpaire, it was thought it would haue bene very eaſie to cauſe him to depart from his errors, giuing him ſome dignitie, or any honeſt meanes to liue. But howſoeuer it was, there was contracted betweene the Emperour and the Pope, without the knowledge of *Monſieur de Cheures* (who till that time had bene of great authoritie with him, and died almoſt at the ſame time) a confederation for their common defence, including alſo the family of the *Medices* and the State of *Florence*: and it was alſo added, that they ſhould raiſe warre againſt the ſtate of *Millan*, at ſuch time and in ſuch maner as ſhould be reſolued vpon betweene them; and that if it were conquered, then *Parma* and *Plaiſance* ſhould remaine to the Church, vnder the ſame rights wherewith it had holden them before: That *Francis Sforce*, who had bene chaſed from *Millan*, and remained at *Trent*, ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of that Eſtate, as hauing right thereunto by the inueſtiture of his father, and by the renunciation of his brother: and that the Confederates ſhould be bound to defend him: That the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould vſe no other Salts then thoſe of *Cerua*: That it ſhould not onely be lawfull for the Pope to proceed againſt his ſubiects and freeholders, but alſo that the Emperour ſhould be bound (after the conqueſt of the eſtate of *Millan*) to ioyne with him againſt them, and namely for the recouerie of *Ferrara*. The tribute of the Realme of *Naples* was increaſed; and there was alſo promiſed to the Cardinall *de Medicis* a penſion of ten thouſand duckats out of the Archbiſhopricke of *Toledo*, which was newly voide: and to *Alexander de Medicis* baſtard ſonne to *Laurence*, and lately Duke of *Vrbin*, was promiſed an Eſtate in the dominion of *Naples* of ten thouſand duckats of reuenue. For the declaration and clearing of theſe things, it ſeemeth to me neceſſary to ſet downe in briefe what were the rights at that time which *Charles* pretended to the Duchie of *Millan*, as he was Emperour. The Lawyers of the Empire alledged, that the ancient rights of the Dukes of *Orleans* were of no conſideration, for as much as whatſoeuer had bene accorded touching the ſucceſſion of *Madame Valentina*, was not confirmed with the Imperiall authoritie; and that for the preſent, that Duchie appertained immediatly to the Empire, becauſe the inueſtiture made to *Lodowike Sforce* for him and his ſonnes, was reuoked by *Maximilian* grandfather to *Charles*, with ſo many and ample clauſes, that the reuocation had iudicially his effect, to the preiudice chiefly of his ſonnes, who neuer poſſeſſing it, their right was in hope, and not in effect. Therefore that the inueſtiture was auailable which was made to King *Lewis* for him and his daughter *Clauda*, in caſe ſhe were maried to *Charles*, and with condition that the mariage not going forward without that there were fault in *Charles*, it ſhould be nothing, and that the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould paſſe directly to *Charles*, who in that caſe was inueſted of it in the preſence of his father *Philip*: That it followed hereupon that the ſecond inueſtiture made to the ſame King *Lewis*, for him, for the ſame Ladie *Clauda*, and for *Francis* Lord of *Angouleſme*, was of no value, as being made to the preiudice of *Charles*, then but yong, and vnder the tutorſhip of *Maximilian*: ſo that the King then reigning could make no foundation of that: That he could alſo leſſe alledge that that Duchie appertained to him by new rights, for as much as he was ſo farre from obtaining the inueſtiture from the Emperour, that he had not ſo much as demanded it; and that it was manifeſt, that the ſurrender made to him

Martin Luther.
Confederation betweene the Pope and the Emperour againſt the French king.

The titles of the Empire to the Duchie of Millan.

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by *Maximilian* at ſuch time as he yeelded to him the Caſtle of *Millan*, could not helpe him: for as much as a Chiefe aliened of proper authoritie, reuerteth immediatly to the ſupreme Lord: and for that *Maximilian Sforce*, notwithſtanding he had bene admitted by the conſent of the Emperour, and died in that Eſtate, without hauing euer receiued the inueſtiture, could not tranſport to another the rights that appertained not vnto himſelfe.

Practiſes againſt the French king.

Thus as ſoone as the confederation was paſſed betweene the Pope and the Emperor againſt the *French* King (but very ſecretly,) they conſulted together (afore they entred publikly into armes) to proceed by wiles, and by the meanes of the exiles, to aſſaile at one time the Duchie of *Millan* and *Genes* with a ſudden inuaſion. It was therefore determined, that the Emperours galleys which were at *Naples*, and thoſe of the Popes, ſhould fall at vnawares into the port of *Genes*, being armed with two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, hauing with them *Ierome Adorno*, by whoſe authoritie and traine of followers, thoſe of the riuers which were of their faction drawing into commotion, they hoped that that Citie would eaſily fall into tumult. On the other ſide, *Francis Sforce* and *Ierome Moron*, who were with him at *Trent*, with many of the chiefe of the exiles, had conſulted that the *French* bands that were within *Parma*, *Plaiſance* and *Cremona*, ſhould be charged at vnawares; and that the like ſhould be done at *Millan*, and that *Manfroy Paluoiſin* and *Matto de Brinzi* a chiefe commander in thoſe mountaines, ſhould leade thither by the lake of *Coma* certaine Lanceknights, and aſſaile that Citie, where they aſſured themſelues to haue ſecret intelligence: and that if theſe things ſucceeded well, or at leaſt any of the moſt importance, then the exiles of *Millan*, who were many of them Gentlemen, conueying themſelues ſecretly into *Reggia* (where they ſhould meet *Ierome Moron* at the day appointed) ſhould riſe in commotion to enter into that State, leuying with all poſſible diligence a campe of three thouſand footmen: to which effect the Pope ſent to *Francis Guicciardin*, who had many yeares gouerned *Modena* and *Reggia*, ten thouſand duckats, with commiſſion to deliuer them to *Moron* to leuie footmen ſecretly, to be ready vpon the euent of theſe things, to whom *Guicciardin* ſhould ſhew fauour, but ſecretly, and in ſuch maner, that the *French* King might neither complaine of the actions of his Officers, nor make ill interpretation of the Pope. But not one of theſe deuices ſucceeded to any purpoſe. The armie by ſea that went to *Genes*, which was compounded of ſeuen galleys, foure Brigantines, and certaine ſhips, preſented themſelues in vaine afore the port, for that the Duke *Fregoſa*, knowing beforehand of their coming, had well manned and furniſhed the towne: inſomuch as finding no mutinies, they retired into the riuer of *Leuant*: and in *Lombardie* all that had bene negociated, and that *Ierome Moron* was to come to *Reggia*, being in the mouth of many of the exiles, *Federike de Boſſolo* hauing intelligence of it, went to *Millan* to giue knowledge thereof to *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, who ſupplied the place of his brother that a litle before was gone into *France*. By reaſon of which aduertiſement, he aſſembled the bands of men at armes that were lodged in diuers places, and after he had giuen order that *Federike* ſhould leade thither a thouſand footmen of his ſubiects, he went ſuddenly to *Parma* with foure hundred lances; and in the way he was from time to time made more certaine of thoſe things which *Federike* had reported to him, by reaſon the baniſhed men, not obſeruing the order that was giuen them to make their aſſemblies ſecret, were openly gone to *Reggia*, requiring men in all places, and giuing manifeſtly to vnderſtand, that they would immediatly attempt ſome new enterpriſe: in which maner of proceeding continued *Ierome Moron* that came after them, puſhed on perhaps with this reaſon, that by how much they ſhould diſcouer themſelues, by ſo much would it breed hatred and enmitie betweene the Pope and the *French* King. The vanitie of theſe ſubtill plots and enterpriſes appeared now manifeſtly to all men: and yet *Monſieur d'Eſcut* being arriued at *Parma*, determined in the morning following (a ſolemne day for the natiuitie of *S. Iohn* the *Baptiſt*) to preſent himſelfe afore the gates of *Reggia*, hoping to find an occaſion to take all or part of the exiles, either thinking that they hearing of his coming, would flie out of the towne, or elſe that there being no ſtrength of forreine ſouldiers, the Gouernour (being a perſonage eſtranged from the profeſſion of warre) would for feare deliuer them priſoners vnto him: or poſſibly hoping that the townesmen being in feare, he ſhould get ſome occaſion to enter. The Gouernour had ſome inkling of this matter, and albeit (the aſſailing of *Genes* being not yet come to his knowledge) he thought it not very likely, that *Monſieur d'Eſcut* giuing as it were a beginning to the warre without the Kings commandement, would

Francis Guicciardin the writer of this hiſtorie.

enter in warlike manner vpon the lands of the Pope: yet looking into the ordinary furies and importunities of the *French* nation, to the end not to be altogether vnprouided, he ſent preſent direction to *Guido Rangon* lying vpon the confines of *Modena*, to come the ſame night to *Reggia*, and appointed that that part of the footmen leuied by *Moron*, which lodged neareſt that place, ſhould likewiſe march thither: That the people of the towne, in whom he knew was no great loue to the *French*, at the ſounding of the great bell, ſhould be at the guard of the gates, where euery one ſhould receiue his charge. The morning following, *Monſieur d'Eſcut* arriued with foure hundred lances, and *Federike de Boſſolo* who was ſome mile behind him, came after with a thouſand footmen. When *Monſieur d'Eſcut* was neare the towne, he ſent to the Gouernour a Captaine of his, called *Monſieur Bonneual*, to tell him that he would ſpeake with him: and it was agreed, that *Monſieur d'Eſcut* ſhould come to the poſterne that entreth vpon the Rauelin of the gate that looketh towards *Parma*, and that the Gouernour ſhould come to the ſame place, and that each ſhould aſſure the other vpon their faith. Thus *Monſieur d'Eſcut* being firſt come, and alighted from his horſe, he approched the gate, accompanied with many Gentlemen; and the Gouernour iſſuing out of the wicket, they began to parley together: the one complained, that contrary to the articles of confederation, there was receiued and ſupported in the townes of the Church, the baniſhed men, which were drawne into companies to trouble the eſtates of the King: and the other, that he was entred at vnawares with an armie vpon the lands of the Church. But as they were debating theſe complaints, certaine of the inhabitants (contrary to the order ſet downe) hauing opened one of the gates, to let in a cart loaden with meale; *Monſieur de Bonneual* who ſtood right againſt the gate (for the traine of *Monſieur d'Eſcut* which were diſperſed about the walls, enuironed a part of it) aduanced with certaine men at armes to enter the gate: but he was repulſed, and the gate ſhut with a great clamour, which piercing euen to the place where *Monſieur d'Eſcut* and the Gouernour conſulted together, was the cauſe that they of the towne and certaine of the exiles of whom the walls of the Rauelin was full, diſcharging their harquebuſes vpon ſuch as ſtood neare to *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, they hurt *Alexander Triuulce*, in ſuch ſort that he died of it within two dayes after, although he had not deſerued ſuch a ſtroke, for that he had diſſwaded the enterpriſe of *Reggia*. The reſidue fled, and no other thing preſerued *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, but the feare of him who aimed at him, leſt he ſhould hit the Gouernour. *Monſieur d'Eſcut* was aſtoniſhed much, and began to complaine of the breach of faith, and not knowing what courſe to take, whether to tarry or to flie, the Gouernour tooke him by the hand, and perſwading him to follow him vpon his faith, he led him into the Rauelin, being accompanied with none other of his traine, then *Monſieur de la Motte*, a Gentleman of *France*: and it was a wonderfull thing, that all the bands of men at arms when they heard that *Monſieur d'Eſcut* was entred within, for the opinion they had that he was taken priſoner, betooke themſelues to flight, with ſuch feare, that many of them caſt away their lances by the way; and a very few taried for *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, who after long reaſoning, being certified that the diſorder grew by his owne people, was immediatly diſmiſſed by the Gouernour, who would not retaine him, becauſe of the faith giuen, and for the commiſſions he had from the Pope to make no demonſtration againſt the King: of the retaining of whom, the rebellion of the Eſtate of *Millan* would not haue followed, as many beleeued. For although the men at armes had betaken themſelues to flying, yet being purſued by none, for that there were but very few horſemen within *Reggia*, and meeting vpon the limits and confines of the countrey of *Reggia* with *Federike de Boſſolo*, who haſted to march on with a thouſand footmen, they ſtayed and drew themſelues againe into order: and the feare that was begun at *Parma* and at *Millan*, by the firſt rumors that came that *Monſieur d'Eſcut* was holden priſoner, and the men at armes broken, had not continued, if it had bene knowne that the bands of men at armes had bene whole, chiefly ſeeing there was neare at hand neither armie nor forces to make any ſtirre, and that many other Captaines of men at armes were remaining there. As ſoone as *Monſieur d'Eſcut* had reaſſembled his companies of horſemen and footmen, he retired to *Coriago*, a village in the countrey of *Reggia* not ſixe miles from the Citie; and a few dayes after, he withdrew himſelfe beyond *Lenzo* into the confines of *Parma*, and ſent *Monſieur la Motte* to *Rome*, to tell the Pope what moued him to go to *Reggia*, and to ſolicite that according to the capitularions which were betweene the *French* King and him, he would chaſe out of the dominions of the Church ſuch as had rebelled againſt the King.

Monſieur d'Eſcut before Reggia.

Now

Now about this time there happened at *Millan* a matter which brought to the *French* men no ſmall aſtoniſhment, as if the heauens would admoniſh them by maniteſt ſignes of their future calamities. For, vpon Saint *Peters* day, the Sunne being now ſet, and the firmament cleare, there fell from the aire as it were a fire afore the gate of the Caſtle, whither were brought many barrels of gunpowder, drawne out of the Caſtle to be ſent to certaine places of ſtrength; and the fire hauing taken the powder with an horrible noiſe, there was a very faire tower of marble builded ouer the gate, on the top whereof was the clocke, which was caſt downe euen to the foundation; and not onely the Tower, but the wals and chambers of the Caſtle, with other buildings adioyning to the Tower: and at the ſame time the whole Caſtle, together with all the Citie of *Millan* trembled for ſuch a ruine and ſo great a tempeſt, which blew into the aire from ſundry places huge and great ſtones, whereby many people were hurt, and ſome cruſhed together and buried vnder the ruines, wherewith the Caſtle greene was ſpred and couered in ſuch ſort, that all men were maruellouſly aſtoniſhed, but chiefly when they ſaw the ſtones of incredible greatneſſe which the furie of the tempeſt had caſt more then fiue hundred paces from the place. This accident happened in the very houre wherein the people of all ſorts were gone for their recreation to take the aire vpon the greene, ſo that there were ſlaine more then an hundred & fifty footmen of the caſtle; and the Captains of the Rock and of the Caſtle, together with others ſo amazed and deſperate both in courage and counſell, and ſo great a ſpace of the wall broken downe, that if the people would haue taken armes, they might eaſily haue taken the Caſtle that night. *Lightning vpon the Caſtle of Millan.*

But when the Pope was aduertiſed that *Monſieur d'Eſcut* was come euen to the gates of *Reggia*, taking occaſion thereby to iuſtifie his actions, he complained greatly thereof in the Conſiſtorie of Cardinals, and concealing the confederation made ſecretly afore with the Emperour, and alſo the direction that both their galleys ſhould be armed to aſſaile *Genes*, he declared, that ſince *Monſieur d'Eſcut* had attempted to take *Reggia*, it was to be ſuppoſed that the *French* King bare no good mind to the Sea Apoſtolike; and therefore that for the defence thereof he was conſtrained to ioyne with the Emperour, in whom had neuer bin diſcerned any thing vnworthy of a Chriſtian Prince, as well in all his other actions, as in that he had lately ſhewed himſelfe at *wormes* ſo zealous a protector of Religion. Making ſhew then preſently to contract with *Don Iohn Emmanuel* the Emperours Embaſſadour, the confederation which had bene concluded afore, *Proſper Colonno*, to whom it was determined to giue the charge of that buſineſſe, was preſently ſent for to *Rome*, to the end to conſult with him, both in what maner, and with what forces they ſhould enter into open warre, ſeeing that ambuſhes and ſudden aſſaults had not ſucceeded well, as indeed the deſigne of *Coma* had no better iſſue then the enterpriſe of *Genes*. For, as *Manfroy Paluoiſin* and *Matto de Brinzi* were by night drawne neare the walls of *Coma* with eight hundred footmen, as well *Italians* as Lanceknights, hoping that *Anthonie Ruſqua* a Citizen there, would breake downe ſo much of the wall next adioyning to the houſe where he dwelt, as they ſhould haue meanes to enter into the Citie; where, for that there were very few *French* men, they ſuppoſed to find no reſiſtance; and after they had expected a good ſpace of time, the Gouernour of the place, aſſembling together all the *French* men, with certaine of the townesmen, whom he held for the moſt faithfull (who were notwithſtanding fewer in number then they that were without) came and charged them againſt their expectation, and turned them ſo eaſily to flight, that many were of opinion, he had corrupted the *Almaine* Captaines both with money and promiſes. Vpon the lake three barkes were ſunke, and ſeuen taken, a many of the enemies made priſoners, and amongſt others *Manfroy* and *Matto*, who fled by the way of the mountains: and ſuffering the Lanceknights to go their way, the reſidue were led to *Millan*, where *Manfroy* & *Matto* were publikly quartered, who firſt confeſſed that *Bartlemew Ferrier* of *Millan*, a man of authoritie, was conſenting to the practiſes of *Moron*; by reaſon whereof he was impriſoned together with his ſonne, and afterwards condemned to the ſame puniſhment, for that he had not reuealed that *Moron* had induced him by ſecret meſſages, to practiſe innouations, and to raiſe enterpriſes againſt the King. At which time, the Pope knowing of what oportunitie the Eſtate of *Mantua* was for the warres of *Lombardie*, he tooke into his pay *Federike* Marquis of *Mantua* with two hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horſemen, and indued him with the title of Captaine generall of the Church: and before the Marquis entred into the Popes pay, he renounced the Order of Saint *Michael*, and *The Marquis of Mantua for the Pope.*

and returned the Coller and Enſigne that the King accuſtomed to giue to thoſe that were receiued into that Order.

The reſolution for the warre againſt the Frenchmen.

It was reſolued at *Rome* by the Pope and the Emperours Embaſſadour, touching the maner to proceed in this warre, according to the counſell of *Proſper Colonno:* That along the frontiers of the Church, inuaſion ſhould be made with all ſpeed poſſible vpon the eſtate of *Millan*, with the companies of men at armes of the Pope and the *Florentines*; the which (comprehending therein the bands of the Marquis of *Mantua*) amounted to the number of ſixe hundred men at armes, to them were to be adioyned all the bands of men at armes which the Emperour had in the Realme of *Naples*, almoſt equall in number to theſe: That there ſhould be leuied ſixe thouſand footmen *Italians:* That the regiment of two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen which were with *Adorno* in the riuer of *Genes*, ſhould come to the armie, which was to aſſemble and ioyne together betweene the countreys of *Modena* and *Reggia:* That the Marquis of *Peſquiero* ſhould bring thither two thouſand other footbands from *Naples:* That there ſhould be leuied of the common purſe of the Pope and the Emperor, foure thouſand Lanceknights and two thouſand *Griſons*: That hereunto ſhould be alſo ioyned the two thouſand *Swiſſers* which remained voluntarily in the Popes pay: for the reſidue being diſcontent becauſe they remained ſo long without doing any thing, and for that the ſeaſon of haruelt approched, were now returned to their countrey afore *Monſieur d'Eſcut* came to *Reggia*, neither could the Pope retaine them any longer, notwithſtanding he had vnprofitably conſumed amongſt them an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats. Beſides theſe prouiſions, it was determined, that with the authoritie of the Pope and the Emperour, there ſhould be inſtance made to the Cantons of the *Swiſſers*, to aduance ſixe thouſand footmen, as they were bound by the contract which the Pope had made with them, and to refuſe to miniſter any ſuccours to the *French* King: to which end, the Pope alledged, that the confederation which he had made with them, was afore that which they had contracted with the *French* King: That if theſe demands were obtained, the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be inuaded on that ſide towards *Coma*, in which quarter was hope that there would eaſily be made ſome inſurrection, by reaſon of the great multitude of baniſhed men, being of many honorable families, and for that the reuerence and affection which the people were wont to beare to the name of King *Lewis*, was conuerted into hatred, and that not litle; ſeeing the men at armes ordinary for the guard of that Eſtate, being ill payed, through the bad order the King vſed in his affaires (who partly by neceſſitie and partly by will, was ſurcharged with huge expences) liued at great libertie: the Gouernours who tooke the more boldneſſe by the negligence of the King, did not miniſter ſuch iuſtice as they had bene accuſtomed to do, and in the time of the late King, who bearing much affection to the Duchie of *Millan*, had alwayes a particular care to the intereſts of the people of that Duchie: and (which preſſed them much) they were conſtrained, according to the cuſtome of *France*, to lodge continually in their houſes the officers and ſouldiers of the *French*, which although it was not at their charges, yet the trouble being perpetuall, it was very intollerable and grieuous. And albeit it was a yoke which they bare during the time of the late King, who enforcing the example of *Paris*, would neuer exempt the ſubiects of *Millan*, yet for that ſuch a diſcommoditie brought with it the other euils that were ſpoken of, it ſeemed to them for the preſent much more grieuous: and hereunto was added the nature of the people, deſirous of new things, together with a vehement inclination which men haue to deliuer themſelues from preſent perplexities, not conſidering what will follow afterwards.

The rumour of this warre intended by the Pope and the Emperour with ſo mightie preparations coming to the eares of the *French* King, conſtrained him to looke to the defending of *Millan* with no leſſe mightie prouiſions: wherein the firſt deliberation was, that *Monſieur Lautrech* who was gone to the Court for certaine particular affaires, ſhould preſently returne to *Millan*. And albeit *Monſieur Lautrech* doubting the inconſtancie and negligence of the King and ſuch as gouerned, refuſed to go, vnleſſe they firſt deliuered him in preſt three hundred thouſand duckats, which he affirmed to be neceſſary for him for the defence of that Eſtate: neuertheleſſe being ouerruled by the importunities of the King and his mother, and beguiled with the promiſes and oathes as well of them, as of ſuch as had the charge of the treaſure, that he ſhould no ſooner arriue at *Millan*, then the money ſhould be there preſent, he returned thither with great diligence, putting order carefully for all things neceſſary for defence: for the which he ſet

Monſieur Lautrech returneth to Millan

downe

downe this order with the King: That to the Kings men at armes which were then in *Lombardie*, ſhould be ioyned the ſixe hundred men at armes, and ſixe thouſand footmen which the *Venetians* were bound to contribute to the Kings ſeruice, whom they offered to aduance ſpeedily, making their men at armes to march by the countrey of *Verona* and *Breſſia*: That there ſhould be leuied ten thouſand *Swiſſers*, holding for certaine that they would not be denied, by vertue of the new confederation: That they ſhould cauſe to paſſe into *Italy* ſixe thouſand aduenturers; and to adioyne to the whole armie certaine bands of *Italian* footmen. With which forces he hoped without great danger to be able to aduenture y fortune of a battel, or not being ſtrong enough ſo to do, that at leaſt ſufficiently furniſhing his places with garriſons of men, and temporizing in defending of them, he ſhould bring to paſſe that the enemies would become wearie and diſcontented: of whom, the one by his naturall prodigalitie and huge expences diſburſed in the warre of *Vrbin*, was drained of money; and for the other he could not draw ſo great a quantitie from his kingdomes, as was thought could ſuffice to furniſh the expences of ſuch a warre for any long ſeaſon. Furthermore they thought that *Alphonſo d'Eſte* deſpairing of his owne eſtate if the victory fell to the Pope, would either riſe to recouer that which he had loſt, or at leaſt ſtanding vpon his guard, would ſo hold the Pope in ſuſpition, that he ſhould be conſtrained to leaue many bands of ſouldiers for the guard of the townes adioyning to his confines and limits. Theſe were the counſels and preparations of both parts, the King neuertheleſſe labouring by all meanes (but in vaine) to appeaſe the Pope. At this time *Proſper Colonno* was at *Bolognia*, from whence without tarrying for the regiments that were to come from the kingdome of *Naples*, or the Lanceknights, (after he had muſtered his other companies, and left ſufficient garriſons within *Modena*, *Reggia*, *Bolognia*, *Rauenna* and *Imola*, for feare of the Duke of *Ferrara*) he marched and incamped vpon the riuer of *Lenſa* within fiue miles of *Parma*, full of great hope that the *French* men could haue no *Swiſſers*, and that as well for that, as for the ill diſpoſition of the people, he ſuppoſed they would rather abandon then defend the Duchie of *Millan*; but it happened otherwiſe. For the Cantons, notwithſtanding the Cardinall of *Sion*, and the Embaſſadours of the Pope and the Emperour, made great inſtance to the contrary, determined to giue men to the King, as they were bound by the laſt conuentions: and whileſt they were in preparing, *George Sopreſſan* was deſcended to *Millan* with foure thouſand footmen *Valeſians*: by reaſon whereof *Monſieur Lautrech* deſirous to defend *Parma*, ſent thither *Monſieur d'Eſcut* his brother with foure hundred lances and fiue thouſand *Italian* footmen, ouer whom *Federike de Boſſolo* was Colonell. Moreouer, it was vnderſtood that the *Venetians* muſtered their men at *Pontuiquo*, to ſend them ſpeedily to the aide of the *French* King, and alſo that the Duke of *Ferrara* leuied footmen. Therefore *Proſper* knowing he ſtood in need of greater forces, kept himſelfe incamped ſeuen dayes in that place, during which time, there ioyned to the armie foure hundred *Spaniſh* lances led by *Anthonie de Leua*, which came out of the kingdome of *Naples*, together with the Marquis of *Mantua* with part of his regiments; and yet for his coming, being Captaine generall of all the ſouldiers of the Church, the authoritie of *Proſper Colonno* was nothing diminiſhed, in whoſe perſon, according to the will of the Pope and the Emperour, reſted the gouernment of the whole armie, but without any ſupreme title, for that *Francis Guicciardin* had abſolute power to command ouer the whole regiments of the Church, and namely ouer the Marquis of *Mantua*, vnder the title of Generall Commander ouer the armie; a place which he exerciſed with right great authoritie, and otherwiſe then the Commiſſaries had bene accuſtomed. After this, *Proſper* led the armie to *S. Lazaro* within a mile of *Parma*, by the way that goeth to *Reggia*; with purpoſe to paſſe no further till the Marquis of *Peſquiero* were arriued, who was expected to come from *Naples* with three hundred lances and two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen; and vntill the Lanceknights were come. At that time there were no other violences done to the countrimen of *Parma*, then by deuiſing to turne the waters, and breaking downe their mils, to take from them all meanes of grinding. But euery one expected when the Lanceknights would come; and to hinder their paſſing, the *Venetians* at the inſtance of the *French*, ſent part of their regiments vpon the territories of *Verona*; for that being come to *Inſpruch*, they ſought to receiue at *Trent* their firſt moneths pay, and required that there might be ſent to meete them, a certaine number of horſemen, to the end that when they had deſcēded to *Montbaldo*, they might with more ſuretie paſſe on with their bands: whereupon *Proſper Colonno* had diſpatched to *Mantua* two hundred light horſemen, to the end that

Francis Guicciardin Generall commander ouer the armie.

ioyning with two thouſand footmen commanded by the countrey of *Mantua*, they might aduance together with the artilleries of the Marquis, who (to be the more acceptable to the Pope and the Emperour) proceeded in all things as if it had bene his owne cauſe, and not as one that was in their pay. But it was much more difficult to ſatisfie the pays of the Lanceknights at *Trent*, for that the Pope payed not onely his owne part, but alſo the Emperours portion, and there could no money be paſſed ouer the lands of the *Venetians* but with great perill. Then the Lanceknights vnderſtanding in what ſort they ſhould be hindered by the *Venetians*, required greater forces, varying euen in the time and way of paſſing the mountaine, notwithſtanding that the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, who was arriued vpon the lands of *Modena*, and to whom there was ſent from the campe two hundred men at armes and three hundred *Spaniſh* footmen, turned vpon the territories of *Mantua*. At laſt the Lanceknights hauing no patience to attend the time they had ſet downe and ſignified, ſent a new aduertiſement that they would come fiue dayes ſooner, affirming that they would not expect the horſemen more then one day at the foote of *Montbaldo*, and that if they came not, they would returne backe againe. At which time foraſmuch as the Marquis of *Peſquiero* could not come thither, they were conſtrained to ſend from the campe in great diligence *Guido Rangon* and *Lewis Gonzaga*, which neuertheleſſe was to no purpoſe, for that (as *Proſper* had alwayes affirmed) the *Venetians* were not able to ſtop the paſſage to ſixe thouſand footmen, being as well Lanceknights as *Griſons*, who had encountred their horſemen; and for the *Italian* footmen, they had no courage to oppoſe againſt them. For which reaſon, and for that the Senate (who abhorred that the warre ſhould be managed vpon their owne Eſtate) ſought to ſatisfie the *French* men more with demonſtrations then with effects, they cauſed to retire towards *Verona* all their bands and regiments the day before the Lanceknights ſhould paſſe; ſo that the Lanceknights went to *Valegge* without any impediment, and the day after they drew vpon the confines of *Mantua*: and as ſoone as the Marquis of *Peſquiero* was come to the campe, the armie that had remained three dayes at *S. Lazaro*, marched the day following to *S. Martin*, where the Lanceknights and *Griſons* ioyned with them the ſame day.

The Captaines of the League take counſell together.

Thus all the forces appointed being come together, the Captaines began to conſult what was to be done: Some gaue counſell to beſiege *Parma*, for that it was the firſt and chiefe towne of the frontier, and that it was not ſafe for the armie that was to come on to leaue it behind, in regard of the incommodities of victuals, and conduct of money, and other prouiſions that might be neceſſarie; nor profitable for the townes that ſhould remaine betweene *Parma* and *Bolognia*. They alledged, that the footmen that were within *Parma* were of no great worth, becauſe the moſt part of them were leuied in haſte, and that among ſuch there were alwaies ſome that would flie from the campe, as well for the difficultie of their payes, as for want of foode: that the circuite of the towne was great, and the people ill diſpoſed, who, though they were abated in courage, would yet take heart when they ſaw the armie neare the wals; ſo that battering the Citie in many places, it would be hard for the *French* men at one time both to reſiſt the enemie without, and to keepe guard vpon the people that were within. Others affirmed that the Citie was well fortified, that it had a ſufficient garriſon, and touching the footmen that were fled from them, they were cowardly and vnprofitable people, but that thoſe that were reſolute and experienced in warre remained ſtill, together with many bands of the *French* men at armes, all well reſolued to defend themſelues valiantly: and that otherwiſe *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, *Federike de Boſſolo*, and ſo many other Captaines, would not haue ſhut vp themſelues therein: That it was well knowne (the maner of warfaring and to keepe and defend a place being of late time changed) how difficult the taking of townes was become: and that it was diligently to be conſidered, in what degree of reputation the armie ſhould ſtand, if they did not accompliſh the firſt enterpriſe: That all men held it neceſſarie to plant before *Parma* their artilleries in two ſeuerall places, but where were the artilleries and other prouiſions neceſſary in the field? That they could not be brought thither without the loſſe of certaine dayes, which would be an intermiſſion (beſides too much time already loſt) during the which the *Venetian* companies and the moſt part of the *Swiſſers* would ioyne themſelues with *Monſieur Lautrech*, who was dayly expected at *Cremona*: That part of the regiment of *Swiſſers* was already arriued, and the aduenturers of the *French* armie came on apace. And what may be expected of the armie being intangled with the ſiege of *Parma*, if *Monſieur Lautrech* ſhould come and plant his campe in ſome

place

place adioyning? from whence, vnleſſe we could force him to fight, he might vexe the conuoyes of the forragers, and giue impediments to the victuals which dayly were brought from *Reggia*, as already thoſe within *Parma* continually did: That it were a better counſell, to make prouiſion of victuals for certaine dayes, to leaue *Parma* behind, and to proceed to ſurpriſe *Plaiſance*, in which Citie, being of a farre greater circuite, were but a few ſouldiers in garriſon, the place voide of fortifications and artilleries, and the people of the ſame diſpoſition with them of *Parma*, but more able to reuenge, and themſelues not being ſo much afflicted, and hauing ſo few ſouldiers within: That for theſe reaſons it was not to be doubted, that making their approches, they ſhould preſently take it. Furthermore, *Proſper Colonno* being of the ſame aduice, ſaid he knew a place, by the which it was impoſſible to hinder their entrance, which was the ſame by the which *Francis Sforce* (at that time Captaine ouer the peoples of *Millan*) made his victorious entrie againſt the *Venetians*, who had occupied it after the death of *Philip Maria Viſconte*: That *Plaiſance* was a Citie very plentifull of victuals, and was a place ſo fit to aſſaile *Millan*, that the *French* men would be conſtrained to retire thither the moſt of their forces, by which meanes the Cities adioyning to *Parma* ſhould ſtand in no danger. Laſtly, *Proſper* held himſelfe aſſured, that paſſing the riuer of *Po* onely with light horſemen, and ſo marching with diligence to *Millan*, that Citie would draw into tumult, hearing of the rumor of his name: and ſuch was his opinion afore he parted from *Bologna*, by reaſon whereof, not thinking it needfull to ſtay about the taking of any particular place, he would not haue a plentifull prouiſion of artilleries nor munitions. In this varietie of opinions, it was very ſecretly reſolued by ſuch as had authoritie to determine, that as ſoone as ſufficient prouiſion might be made of meale and bread to nouriſh the armie for foure dayes, a regiment of fiue hundred men at armes, part of the light horſemen, the regiments of *Spaniſh* footmen, and fifteene hundred *Italian* footmen, ſhould march with great ſpeed towards *Plaiſance*, and that the reſidue of the armie ſhould come after, the which could come on but with a ſlow pace, by reaſon of the artilleries, victuals, and many other impediments: and it was aſſuredly beleeued, that vpon the arriuall of the firſt companies, either the Citie would declare it ſelfe for the Church, or if that happened not, they would be a reaſonable let for the entring of ſuccours, ſo that the reſidue of the armie arriuing, they made no doubt to carry it. But it happened that the day before the armie ſhould remoue, certaine troupes of *French* horſemen hauing paſſed the riuer of *Po*, ranne vp euen as farre as *Buſſetto*, which cauſed a bruite to runne, that the whole *French* armie was come ouer *Po*; and therefore that accident breaking the deliberation that had bene made, the departing of the bands was deferred vntill the truth were knowne; for the diſcouery whereof they diſpatched *Iohn de Medicis* Captaine of the Popes light horſemen with a troupe of foure hundred horſe. But that which moſt troubled this deliberation, was the ambition and controuerſie that fell betweene *Proſper* and the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, betweene whom was no great agreement before. *Proſper* contended to leade the vantguard, and the Marquis on the other ſide alledged that it was not reaſonable that the regiments of *Spaniſh* footmen ouer whom he was Colonell, ſhould go to any expedition without him. For which iealouſie of the Captaines, dangerous (moſt commonly) for the affaires of Princes, notwithſtanding it was knowne within few houres after, that thoſe bands of *French* men were returned beyond *Po*, and that *Monſieur Lautrech* ſtirred not, yet the firſt reſolution was not followed: but what by the diuerſitie of opinions, and for the naturall ſlowneſſe of *Proſper*, things had proceeded with greater delayes, if the Popes Agent had not ſtirred them vp, declaring with words full of efficacie, how much the Pope might take offence (and that iuſtly) that they proceeded ſo ſlowly; and that they could not in any ſort excuſe themſelues towards him of the delayes and reſpites they had vſed till then, firſt in expecting the *Spaniards*, and then the Lanceknights: which words being ſcarcely vttered, they reſolued (but more in maner of tumult, then by maturitie of counſell) to plant the campe before *Parma*, wherein euen ſuch as the day before had aſſured the contrary, affirmed that they might haue hope of the victory, chiefly for that many footmen ceaſſed not to iſſue out of *Parma* for want of money and food. But it was neceſſary to ſtay yet certaine dayes, both to tary for two other Cannons that were expected from *Bologna*, and to make prouiſion of many things neceſſary for the aſſailing of townes with artillery; matters which *Proſper* had before refuſed: the which, either by negligence, or mutation of counſell, brought no litle preiudice to the enterpriſe, for that *Monſieur Lautrech* wonne ſo much the more time to aſſemble his companies which he

expected out of *France*, from the *Venetians*, and from the *Swiſſers*: ſo much doth it import wiſe Captaines (remembring how neceſſary it is in warres oftentimes to change counſels according to the varietie of accidents) to accommodate from the beginning as much as they can, prouiſions againſt all accidents, and counſels. In this meane while, the armie remaining idle, there was executed nothing touching the ſeruice of *Parma*, but certaine very light skirmiſhes: neuertheleſſe the third day after the campe was reduced to *S. Martin*, the armie paſſing beyond the riuer of *Parma* in the night, incamped vpon the way of *Rome*, in the ſuburbes of the gate that leadeth to *Plaiſance*, called *S. Croſſe*: which ſuburbes *Monſieur d'Eſcut* had burned the day before, doubting their coming.

A briefe deſcription of Parma.

The towne of *Parma* is deuided by a riuer that beareth the name thereof, the water whereof is not ſo deepe, but it may be paſſed by foord, ſauing in very rainie ſeaſons: and the leſſer part of the towne, inhabited by people of baſe condition, which is about the third part of the whole, called by the inhabitants *Codipont*, is ſituated on that ſide towards *Plaiſance*. The Captaines made choſe of this place, the more eaſily to ſtop the entrie of ſuccours into *Parma*, but much more for that on that ſide the wall was weake, and of ſuch ſituation that it could not beate in flanke. The Marquis, who the day before went with certaine other Captaines to take view of the place, made his report that the battery might be begun the ſame day: but becauſe it was neceſſary (the better to remoue their defences) firſt to batter a tower vpon the top of the gate, where the wall was ſtrong and well cemented, all the day was waſted in that action, and a great Culuerin broken in the execution. The night following, the artillery was planted againſt the wall vpon the left hand of the gate to ſuch as entred, their purpoſe being to do the like on the right hand, and to leaue the gate in the midſt; for that hauing no conueniencie to beſtow the artilleries in two places ſeparate, there being brought to the campe no more then ſixe Cannons and two great Culuerins, it ſeemed that by conſtraining the defendants to extend themſelues for defence in a long ſpace, it would worke all one effect: but that deuice was not put in execution, for that there was on that ſide vpō the compaſſe of the trench that enuironeth the wals, a riſing or mount, ſo high, that vnleſſe it were either made plaine or layd open (which could not be done in ſo ſhort time) it would giue great impediment to the artillery to batter the wall. The wall being old and weake, made no great reſiſtance to the artilleries, which hauing now made two ſufficient breaches, the Captaines ſpake of giuing the aſſault the ſame day, notwithſtanding without any firme reſolution. But the Marquis, who with his *Spaniſh* footmen had the whole charge of the battery, hauing ſent certaine footmen to the breach, to diſcouer if they could, what fortifications they had within, as they were vpon the wall, began to make ſhouts and ſignes to the army to approch and enter, in ſo much that the footbands of the *Spaniards* and *Italians* ranne to the wall by heapes, and without any order. But being approched, and beginning to climbe the breach, vpon the which was ſlaine *Ierome Guicciardin* Leader of the footmen, the Captaines who at the bruite ranne thither, conſidering that of ſuch an aſſault, or rather a feeble and diſordered tūmult, could come no profite, cauſed them immediatly to retire: and this accident either qualified the deſigne, or at leaſt ſo ſerued for excuſe, that that day they forbare to follow the aſſault in order of warre. The day after they continued to batter the wall which ſtood whole in the midſt of the two breaches, and alſo a flanke, which had bene made within vpon the tower of the gate: but a bruite running through the armie, that by reaſon of the great rampiers which the *French* men had made, it would be hard to carry it with a ſimple aſſault, the Captaines ſent out to diſcouer the battery two footmen of each language, who, either for feare, or by their litle diligence, or perhaps being ſuborned (as ſome ſuppoſed) by others, brought word that there remained of the wall which had bene battered to the ground, more then fiue fadomes in height, and that thoſe within had caſt a very deepe ditch, and ſuch other fortifications, that it was determined to make mines neare to the wall that was battered, and to open the wall faſt by, and ſo with the ruines of the ſame, to fill the ditch that was reported to be made within, thereby to make the entrie more eaſie; and that when theſe things were brought to perfection, and that there were added to the artilleries of the armie two Cannons that came from *Mantua*, there ſhould be made another battery, in that place where the wall by turning makes an angle after it hath gone forthright a long ſpace, on the right ſide of the gate, on which ſide, the wall being caſt downe, they might beate the defendants in flanke. So they began then to caſt a trench on that ſide which had bene battered, and within a few dayes after,

The ſiege of Parma.

after another, the better to caſt downe the wall with the working of the mines: but thoſe works proceeded ſlowly, as well for that all the prouiſions neceſſary for ſuch actions were not yet in the campe, becauſe *Proſper* had diuers thoughts, as for that the earth where they digged was hard and difficult to open. Whileſt theſe things were in doing, with intention not to aſſault the towne vntill they were finiſhed, *Monſieur Lautrech* (who had bene ſlow to march, for the long tarying of ſuch as came to the armie) perceiuing that the moſt part of his men of warre were come, aduanced and marched fiue miles, holding alwayes along the riuer, hauing with him fiue hundred Lances, about ſeuen thouſand *Swiſſers*, foure thouſand footmen brought the ſame day by *Monſieur de S. Valier* out of *France*, and foure hundred men at armes with foure thouſand footmen vnder *Theodore Triuulce* Commander of the *Venetian* bands and *Andrew Gritti* their Commiſſary. There followed this armie the Duke of *Vrbin*, and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, the one as ſouldier to the *French* King, but without title and charge; and the other following the common hope of ſuch as were baniſhed. He expected alſo ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers* which the Cantons had made him grant of, who were already vpon the way, but according to their cuſtome, they marched ſlowly and with many difficulties; who being ioyned to his armie, he would not haue refuſed for the reſcue of *Parma* to aduenture the fortune of battell: and for this cauſe ſoliciting them and expecting, he ſtayed on the way, and went not farre from the ſhores of the riuer of *Po*. But fearing leſt in the meane while his brother might compound with the enemies, he ſent him word, that the cauſe why he ſtayed ſo long, was, that he tarried for a greater force of *Swiſſers*, who were neare at hand, and without whom thoſe that were already with him made difficultie to paſſe *Po*: yet that he would draw neare to *Parma*, and giue him a ſigne thereof by ſhooting off certaine peeces of artilleries; and that the day following he would accoaſt the enemies more neare, and prouoke them to fight, ſending out certaine troupes of his horſemen to skirmiſh with them, to the end he alſo might with better oportunitie iſſue out and ioyne with them; a matter which *Monſieur d'Eſcut* did chiefly ſolicite, affirming that he was not able to hold out aboue two or three dayes in that part of the towne, and not aboue two dayes more beyond the riuer, for that the towne was large and weake, and his forces remaining not aboue two thouſand footmen, for that many of them were ſtraggled away, and the men at armes, whereof there were no more but three hundred, vpon whom lay the burden of the ſeruice, were not able to make reſiſtance if the towne were aſſaulted in many places. Afterwards he came the ſame day he had promiſed to accoaſt the enemies, to the borough of *Zibello*, which is about twentie miles from *Parma*, and from thence he ſent foure hundred horſemen, to runne vp euen to the tents of the enemies, who hauing brought their mines euen to the wall, and afterwards turning and redoubling them in the place where the fire ſhould be put, Count *Guido Rangon* with the *Italian* footbands ouer whom he was Captaine generall, began to plant the artilleries on the other ſide of the wall: but the *French* men hearing the noiſe that was made in managing them, hauing abandoned the *Codipont* with their artilleries two houres before, retired in order and without noiſe to the other ſide the riuer: which being knowne to thoſe without, they entred the *Codipont* the ſame morning at the breake of day, ſome by the breach, and ſome by ſcaling ladders, and were receiued with great ioy by the *Parmeſans*, who were very deſirous to returne vnder the dominion of the Church: but their ioy was ſoone turned into heauineſſe, for that their houſes were ſacked and ſpoiled, no otherwiſe then as if they had bene enemies: and it was not to be doubted, that if certaine dayes before the artilleries had bene planted in the ſame place, but the *French* men had in the ſame maner abandoned the *Codipont*. After this they fell to breaking open the gates, which afore had bene rammed vp, and ſo the artillerie hauing paſſage euen to the ſhore of the riuer, they began to batter the wall that defendeth the other banke of the riuer: but it was now ſo late, that it was well knowne they could do no great matter for that day. The ſame day *Monſieur Lautrech* came and incamped vpon the riuer of *Taro* within ſeuen miles of *Parma*: and ſome ſuppoſed his coming ſo neare was to bid battell to the enemie, but others perſwaded themſelues that it was to the end that either he might be readie to receiue his brother and his companies if they iſſued out of *Parma* by night, being no longer able to hold out, or elſe (in caſe of compoſition) that he might come out of *Parma* in ſafetie with all his ſouldiers, and without any obligation, according to that which not many dayes after *Federike de Boſſolo* (who, as he walked about the rampiers, was hurt in the ſhoulder by the ſhot of an harquebuze) had begun to debate by meanes of the Marquis:

quis: but the parley was not ſo forward, as that there could be made any certaine coniecture of the will of *Monſieur d'Eſcut*. The truth was (according to the knowledge that was had afterwards) that *Monſieur Lautrech* was not determined to fight vnleſſe the *Swiſſers* came to him: for as much as notwithſtanding he was ſomewhat ſuperiour in numbers and valour of men at armes, and more mightie in artilleries, yet the armie of the enemie was ſtronger then he in footmen, wherein (reckoning the iuſt number) were found nine thouſand Lanceknights and *Spaniards*, two thouſand *Swiſſers*, and more then foure thouſand *Italians*.

But let all men conſider vpon how ſmall accidents in warre depend the things of greateſt conſequence. For it happened in the nicke, that the night after the day that the armie entred the *Codſpont*, aduertiſement came from *Modena* and *Bologna* that *Alphonſo d'Eſte* iſſuing out of *Ferrara* with an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen, amongſt whom were a thouſand as well *Corſicans* as *Italians* which *Lautrech* had ſent him, and with twelue peeces of artillerie, had ſurpriſed the boroughs of *Finalo* and *S. Felix*, and that it was feared leſt he would paſſe further: which troubled much the minds of the Captaines, notwithſtanding they had feare of ſuch a leuie long before, being not ignorant what inſtance the *French* men had made to him to that end: and yet they had not made at *Modena* ſuch prouiſion as might ſuffice for the ſuretie of that Citie; for that *Proſper* maintaining to the vttermoſt the contrary opinion, would neuer conſent that ſouldiers ſhould be drawne out of the armie to be ſent to *Modena*; either becauſe he repoſed much in the promiſes of the Duke, who was his deare friend, and with whom, euen by the Popes direction, he was interpoſed to ſolicite ſome accord; or for that he had no will to diminiſh the number of his men of warre, in a time when it was feared the enemie would approch, chiefly being of this nature, that he would do things ſurely, and deſired alwayes to haue in his armie more then was needfull; or for ſome other ſecret ends and conſiderations for which ſuch a matter was not diſpleaſing to him. But when newes came to them in the night, the Captaines preſently aſſembling together, determined that Count *Guido Rangon* ſhould preſently depart for *Modena* with two hundred light horſmen and eight hundred footmen, which being ioyned to the ſeuen hundred footmen that were left there before, they thought would be a garriſon more then ſufficient againſt the forces of *Alphonſo*. Now when they had taken order for this buſineſſe, there remained yet certaine houres afore it was day: and for as much as they had heard a litle before the aduertiſemẽt came, that *Monſieur Lautrech* was incamped the euening before vpon *Taro*, which aduertiſement was partly true and partly falſe (for it was reported that the *Swiſſers* were ioyned with him, and alſo it was not knowne that thoſe which were then in the armie, notwithſtanding his infinite requeſts, had promiſed him to come no further then *Taro*,) the Captaines, though they were not aſſembled for that matter, ſeeing (for that it was not yet day) that they had no occaſion or neceſſitie to employ themſelues ſeuerally in other affaires, began to reaſon among themſelues rather in forme of paſtime, then by way of counſell, into what eſtate things would be reduced now that *Monſieur Lautrech* did approch: and in this conference it ſeemed that the words of *Proſper*, the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, and *Vitelli*, tended to this end: That it would be hard to take *Parma*, if they planted not a batterie alſo on the other ſide the Citie; for that though the wall beyond the water ſhould be beaten downe, which they had begun to batter the day before, yet there would be a wonderfull difficultie to climbe vp from the bottome of the riuer to the banke, and that ſuch a matter could not be aſſayed without great danger, for that the artilleries and ſmall ſhot beſtowed vpon the three bridges ſtanding vpon the ſame riuer, and in the houſes there adioyning, would beate in flanke ſuch as offered to climbe the banke: They reaſoned, that the neareneſſe of *Monſieur Lautrech*, if he ſhould incampe in ſome place not far off towards *Po*, though he would not tempt Fortune, might be the cauſe that the aſſault could not be giuen without great danger: and that it was to be conſidered, that by reaſon of the pillage and ſacke which had bene lately made of part of *Parma*, there were many footmen gone away with their bootie, and the reſidue were more carefull to ſaue the things they had gotten then diſpoſed to fight: and that there was no ſoiourning there without many difficulties, diſcommodities and dangers, for as much as it would be neceſſary to ſend out euery day very great conuoyes, not onely to defend the forragers, but alſo for the ſuretie of victuals and money which came dayly, making a long circuite about the walls of *Parma*: and whileſt ſuch troupes ſhould be in the fields, it might come to paſſe that the reſidue of the campe ſhould haue occaſion at

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one and the ſame time to fight with the *French* men that were without, and with thoſe alſo that were within. They diſcourſed alſo, that if the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould reenforce himſelfe with moe bands of ſouldiers, they ſhould be driuen of neceſſitie to leuie from the campe farre greater forces for the ſuretie of *Modena* and *Reggio*: and that in ouerrunning the countrey with ſuch bands as he had, he might ſo hinder the reſort of victuals, that they ſhould be driuen to raiſe the campe; which haply could not be done without danger, matters being brought to ſuch a ſtrait. Theſe reaſons albeit they expreſſed an inclination to leuie the ſiege, yet were they ſo vttered, that it could not be diſcerned that they had any ſuch counſell and intention. At laſt, after they had ſpoken in this ſort a good ſpace of time, the Marquis of *Peſquiero* ſeeming to haue already comprehended the intention of the reſidue, ſaid vnto them: I perceiue wel enough that there is amongſt vs all one opinion, but euery one ſeuerally reſpecting his particular, is content to vſe ſilence, expecting that another ſhould make himſelfe the author, but for my part, I will haue no ſuch reſpect: It ſeemeth vnto me, that we remaine about the confines of *Parma* with danger, and without hope to do any good; and therefore to auoide a greater euill we ought to depart. *Proſper* added: The Marquis hath ſaid that which I purpoſed to ſpeake, if he had not preuented me. *Vitelli* confirmed the opinion of them both. But *Anthonie de Leua*, liking well that they ſhould ſtay no longer there, propounded, that it was to be conſidered, whether it were not better to go and aſſaile *Monſieur Lautrech*? But hereunto it was anſwered, that it would be very hard to conſtraine the enemie to fight; and to remaine there, would be a matter impoſſible, for that the difficulties that fell into conſideration if they remained about *Parma* would become farre greater, and alſo it might eaſily come to paſſe, that the regiment of two thouſand *Swiſſers* would not follow them, both for that many dayes before they had receiued commandement from the Cantons to depart out of the Popes pay, and alſo it was not likely that they would diſpoſe themſelues to fight againſt an armie wherein were ſo many footmen of the ſame nation; and that it could not be denied, but that by reaſon of the pillage made the day before, it would be very hard to moue the footmen that were diſordered. Therefore this counſell being reiected, it ſeemed that the opinion of all the Captaines drew to this, that it were beſt to breake vp the Campe from before *Parma*: but *Proſper Colonno* and the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, withdrawing themſelues apart from the reſidue, after long conference together, demanded of the Popes Legate, what he thought the Pope would ſay if they leuied the Campe; and the Legate anſwering the Marquis, What? ſhall we not take *Parma* to day, according as you aſſured vs yeſternight? the Marquis replied in his *Spaniſh* language, Neither to day, nor to morrow, nor after to morrow. Then the Legate replied, that it could not be doubted, but the Pope would be much diſcontented with the matter, for that it would wholly depriue him of the hope of the victorie: but the point of that deliberation conſiſted in the truth or error of the preſuppoſitions by them ſet downe; for that if to ſurceaſſe were a matter dangerous and without hope, it could not be doubted that to remaine there were great indiſcretion; but if it were otherwiſe, it would be a great diſorder to depart: and therefore he willed them to conſider well, both the eſtate of the armie, and the importance of things, weighing whether was the greater, either the danger or the hope. To which words *Proſper* and the Marquis replying, that all reaſons of warre aduiſed them to retire, the Legate not hauing the courage to oppoſe himſelfe againſt Captaines of ſo great authoritie, it was reſolued that the Campe ſhould breake vp the ſame day, and that preſent order ſhould be giuen to retire the artilleries from the walls; which being publiſhed through the Campe, it was blamed as too timorous by all thoſe that were not preſent at the counſell: in ſo much as the Legate and *Moron* ioyning together, laboured to draw *Proſper* from this deliberation: who making not ſtrange to conſult againe, but telling them (with words ſo much the more laudable, by how much was great or wiſe the perſonage that ſpake them) that he was of ſuch a nature that he thought it no ſhame to change counſell when better reaſons were ſhewed him, he cauſed all ſuch to be called together againe as were at the firſt reſolution: but the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, who was buſie about the retiring of the artillerie, and would not heare ſpeake of changing the firſt concluſion, refuſed to come; in ſo much as the matter remaining rather confuſed then reſolued, they proceeded to execute the firſt determination. Thus the ſame day, which was the twelfth from the day of their incamping, they returned to *S. Lazaro*; and at the departing there wanted not much of a very great diſorder, for that the Lanceknights demanding ſuch diſhoneſt conditions touching their payes, as could not

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be agreed vnto, refuſed to follow the armie; and forſaking the old Captaines that contradicted them, they created for Captaine one among themſelues who was ſ author of that ſedition; and it was feared leſt they would compound with the *French* men: neuertheleſſe in the end the armie being already gone, and all men deſpairing that they would alter their mind, they followed the armie. In which confuſion the armie being full of feare for ſo ſodaine a breaking vp, and for the tumult of the Lanceknights, if *Monſieur Lautrech* had come vpon them, without all doubt he had eaſily put them to flight. This deliberation grieued the Pope maruellouſly, who expected from day to day that newes ſhould be brought him that his ſouldiers were within *Parma*: and he ſuppoſed, that againſt all reaſon he was depriued of his hope of the victorie, finding himſelfe plunged into a moſt deepe ſea, and ſubiect to a heauie and intollerable charge, for that beſides the men at armes and the *Spaniſh* footmen, he ſupported all the charge of the warre: and which is yet worſe, he was doubtfull of the faith of the Captaines Imperials, as alſo were many others, who perſwaded themſelues, that the retiring of the Campe from before *Parma*, proceeded not of feare, but of art and cunning, as though they had ſuſpected that after the Pope had recouered *Parma* and *Plaiſance* (nothing elſe appertaining to him in the Eſtate of *Millan*) he would waxe wearie of the warre and the thoughts thereof, forbearing any longer to ſuſtaine ſo great a charge and trauel for the intereſts of another: and this was made apparent by the long tract and delay that was vſed in planting the campe afore *Parma*, and that they had beſtowed it in a place ſo inconuenient, ſeeing the leſſer part of the towne being taken, they were to deuiſe to take the other part with the ſame difficulties: and then they proceeded ſlowly in the ſiege, and alwayes deferring, as though they meant expreſly to giue time to the ſuccours of the *French*: and at laſt being in poſſeſſion of one part of the towne, they cowardly left it abandoned at the onely bruite that *Monſieur Lautrech* approched, who notwithſtanding was not the ſtronger. There were ſome others who ſuppoſed that it might proceede (without the priuitie of *Proſper*) of the cunning of the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, who detracted as much as he could, and was enuious at the glorie of *Proſper*. Neuertheleſſe it may be, that thoſe were of the ſoundeſt opinion, who beleeued that all was done with ſincerite, and that they were not moued with any other thing then a feare for the approching of *Monſieur Lautrech*, wherein they were greatly beguiled by the firſt aduertiſements, whereby they were giuen to vnderſtand that his forces were farre greater. But it is certaine that the *French* Captaines maruelled more then all the reſidue, being reduced into a very ſmall hope to be able to defend *Parma*, for that the *Swiſſers*, being gouerned more by their owne nature, then according to the neceſſities of thoſe that payed them, were very long in coming: which was the cauſe that many among them, not attributing to feare ſo ſodaine a diſcamping, iudged rather that *Proſper*, as a wiſe and very circumſpect Captaine, knowing what diſorder the ſacking of Cities brings vpon armies, and conſidering how hard it would be to reſtraine the ſouldiers from ſpoiling of *Parma*, eſteemed it a matter very dangerous to take it, the enemies being ſo neare. Whatſoeuer the cauſe was, *Monſieur Lautrech* after he had refurniſhed *Parma* with new bands, incamped at *Fontanella*, and three dayes after ſent part of the armie to take *Roccabianqua*, a borough of the territories of *Parma* neare to *Po*, which after it had bene battered with artilleries, the borough and the Caſtle were rendred by *Rowland Paluiſin* Lord of the place, himſelfe hauing libertie to depart. After this the armie pitched their tents betweene *S. Secondo* and *Taro*, to gouerne it ſelfe according to the proceedings of the enemies: and ſtood well reſolued, as well for the defence of *Parma*, as for that the new regiments of *Swiſſers* which were expected, were now arriued at *Cremona*; the coming of whom (although *Monſieur Lautrech* had commanded them to ſtay at *Cremona*) was the cauſe that the army of the enemies ſuppoſing themſelues not to be in ſafetie at *S. Lazaro*, retired to the riuer of *Lenſa*, on that ſide towards *Reggia*, with intention to draw yet further off, if the *French* men aduanced: yea the Captaines without further tarrying, had made a greater retrait if they had not bene retained by the complaints of the Pope and the Agents of the Emperour, together with the blame which they ſaw layed vpon them by the whole armie. The armies maintained themſelues in this ſort for many dayes, *Monſieur Lautrech* notwithſtanding making diuers incurſions with his horſemen and the ſouldiers of *Parma*, euen vp to *Reggia* by the way of the mountaine: wherein he gaue great impediment to the victuals which were brought to the enemies from *Reggia*, and that to the great diſcommendation of *Proſper*, who would hardly ſuffer his light horſmen to do ſeruice, and prouided ſlowly for the ſafetie euen of ſuch things as he might eaſily

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haue remedied. The affaires of the Emperour ranne the ſame fortune beyond the Mounts, for that being entred into the dominions of the *French* king on the coaſt of *Flanders*, with a mightie armie, and hauing beſieged *Meſieres* with great hope to carrie it, he found it could not eaſily be taken; and a ſtrong ſuccour of the *French* King coming to reſcue it, he retired, with great perill leſt his armie ſhould be ouerthrowne.

The Popes captaines and the Emperors take counſel to paſſe further.

But in *Italy* the thoughts of war were nothing diminiſhed for the ill ſucceſſes: becauſe the enemies to the *French*, not thinking any more to take *Parma* or any other towne, determined to enter further into the Duchie of *Millan*, adding to the armie ſo many bands of *Italians*, that in all they contained ſixe thouſand, which were leuied continually: and they were the more emboldened to take this reſolution, by a hope they had that there would of new deſcend to the pay of the Pope twelue thouſand *Swiſſers*: who albeit they had bene refuſed by the Cardinall of *Sion*, who ſolicited openly in their Diot againſt the *French*, and by *Ennius* Biſhop of *Verula* the Popes Legate, and the Emperours Embaſſadours, for that the Cantons would not deliuer them but for the defence of the dominions of the Church, and with expreſſe direction not to march to offend the Eſtates of the *French* King: yet for that they could not otherwiſe haue them, at laſt they accepted them vnder the ſame condition, hoping that when they were once deſcended into the regions of *Italy*, they might be induced to follow the armie againſt the Duchie of *Millan*, by meanes of their auarice and inconſtancie, or by the ſleights and corruptions that might be vſed with their Captaines. And in this deliberation to paſſe further, there was no great doubt made into what quarter they ſhould draw: for that, to continue the warre on this ſide the riuer of *Po*, they ſaw manifeſtly it could not be without right great difficulties, ſeeing there was no hope to take *Parma*: and if they ſhould leaue that Citie behind, they muſt go fight with the enemies; which would be an action euidently dangerous, for that they were lodged in a place of aduantage and well fortified with artilleries: to remaine betweene *Parma* and them, or to paſſe further without fighting, that could not be, for that being betweene the townes that were poſſeſſed by them, and the armie, they ſhould within a few dayes fall into want of victuals, by reaſon they could get none out of the countrey of the enemie, nor cauſe them to be brought further off: all which difficulties would be auoided in transferring the warre beyond *Po*, for that in that countrey, naturally abounding in all things, and which had not taſted of the harmes of the warre, they aſſured themſelues to find victuals ſufficient, and to meete with no impediment, euen to the riuer of *Adda*; for as much as leauing *Cremona* on the left hand, and drawing neare to the riuer of *Oglio*, there were no places to make reſiſtance, and they were perſwaded that the Senate of *Venice* would not (for the intereſts of others) expoſe their ſouldiers to the fortune of a battell. They beleeued alſo, that the *French* had not the courage to oppoſe againſt them, vnleſſe it were at the paſſage of the riuer *Adda*: and, which more is, the vniuerſall hope was, that the armie approching the *Venetian* frontiers, the Senate (for the ſuretie of their owne Eſtates) would call home the moſt part of the ſouldiers they had ſent to the ſeruice of the *French* King. And beſides all theſe things, to paſſe beyond *Po*, fell out very aptly for the armie to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*; a matter not of leaſt importance. But whileſt many neceſſarie prouiſions were in preparing for this deliberation, as artilleries, munitions, pioners, bridges and victuals: and whileſt bands of *Italian* footmen were leuied in *Tuſcane* and *Romagna*, Count *Guido Rangon*, by the Popes commandement, marched towards the mountaine of *Modena*, with part of the footmen that were already leuied, and with thoſe bands that were vnder his gouernment: which mountaine did neuer acknowledge other Lord then the Duke of *Ferrara*, either when *Modena* was vnder the iuriſdiction of *Ceſar*, or afterwards when it was vnder the dominion of the Church. But when the people of the countrey heard of this ſtirre, and that at the ſame time many footmen aſſembled in *Tuſcane* approched, they declared themſelues for the Church, not tarrying till they were aſſailed. At the ſame time *Boniface* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and ſonne to the late *Francis Bernardin Viſconte*, fled from *Millan*, for that certaine conſpiracies which he had practiſed againſt § *French*, came to light; a conſpiracy being alſo diſcloſed which was managed within *Cremona* by *Nicholas Varola*, one of the chiefe of the baniſhed men of that Citie, by reaſon whereof certaine inhabitants of *Cremona*, who were conſenting thereunto, were executed: and I know not which was greater in thoſe ſeaſons, either the ill fortune, or the raſhneſſe and folly of the exiles of the Duchie of *Millan*, of whom a great number followed the armie: for that not onely whatſoeuer they tooke in hand ſucceeded ill, but alſo giuing

uing themſelues to ſpoile all the countrey, they were the cauſe that there came not to the armie ſuch ſtore of victuals as was neceſſarie, without recompencing theſe euils (*Moron* onely excepted) by any diligence or intelligence of eſpials: but, which more is, *Proſper* hauing ſent them a long time before towards *Plaiſance*, when they had done great domages both vpon their friends and enemies, they fell at laſt into ſuch contention among themſelues by reaſon of the booties, that *Peter Scot* of *Plaiſance* a chiefe man among them, was ſlaine by *Hector Viſconte* and ſome others. In this meane while *Proſper* attempted to burne the barks of the bridge, which the *French* men had retired neare to *Cremona* with a very ſlender guard, to the end to winne ſo much the more time to enter into the countrey, whileſt *Monſieur Lautrech* ſhould reaſſemble barkes neceſſary to reedifie the bridge: but the longneſſe of the way was the cauſe that *Iohn de Medicis*, who was ſent to that effect with two hundred light horſmen and three hundred *Spaniſh* footmen, could not arriue vntill the night was paſſed: in ſo much as the mariners perceiuing the bruite that was made by the paiſants, retired the barkes into the midſt of *Po*, by meanes whereof the enemies who ſhewed themſelues vpon the ſhore, could not offend them. At laſt, when all things neceſſary to paſſe *Po* were prepared, the armie marched to *Breſſelle*, where was erected a bridge of barkes: but afore they paſſed ouer, for that vnto their purpoſe to offend another, was ioyned a neceſſitie to looke to their owne defence, there was ſent to the guard of the townes of the Church which ſhould remaine behind, *Vitello Vitelli* with an hundred and fiftie men at armes, the like number of light horſmen, and two thouſand footmen of the appointment of the *Florentines*; and likewiſe the Biſhop of *Piſtoya* went thither with the regiment of two thouſand *Swiſſers*, for that he thought it not ſafe to leade them againſt the *French*, in whoſe armie was ſo ſtrong a power of the ſame nation, deliuered to them by decree, and with their publike Enſignes: and ſo much the more for that they were not aſſured what the new companies of *Swiſſers* would reſolue, from whom, being aſſembled at *Coire*, there was dayly expectation of aſſured aduertiſements that they had taken the field. There was giuen in charge to the Biſhop and *Vitelli*, not onely to defend *Modena* and the other townes of the Church if any inuaſion were made, but alſo to aſſaile the Duke of *Ferrara*, who attributing to himſelf the glorie to haue deliuered *Parma*, and occupied *Finale* and *S. Felix*, paſſed no further, for that the Pope (whoſe hatred was increaſed for that ſurpriſe) proceeded againſt him with cenſures and excommunications of the Church, to depriue him of the Duchie of *Ferrara*. Thus the armie paſſed the riuer of *Po* the firſt day of October, and went to incampe at *Caſalmaior*, hauing conſumed in paſſing not onely all the day, but a great part of the night, by reaſon of the exceſſiue multitudes of ſuch as followed the campe, and becauſe of the baggage: and herein the Captaines found themſelues much deceiued, who perſwaded themſelues that all ſhould be paſſed before noone, in ſo much as what by the wearineſſe of the hindermoſt, and the darkneſſe of the night, a part of the artilleries, many munitions, with multitudes of ſouldiers remained behind in the night, diſperſed betweene *Po* and *Caſalmaior*, in danger to be made a prey to euery ſmall troupe of enemies that would haue ſet vpon them: yea it was not to be doubted, that if *Monſieur Lautrech* (who after he had aſſembled all his *Swiſſers*, came to incampe at *Colornio* the ſame day that the enemies incamped at *Breſſelle*) had paſſed ouer his bridge at *Caſalmaior*, which is but three miles from *Colornio*, at the inſtant that they made their paſſage, or at leaſt at midday had charged that part of the armie which was not yet paſſed, (for betweene *Breſſelle* and *Colornio* is not aboue ſixe miles) he had had a good oportunitie to bring his buſineſſe well to paſſe: but in warres many occaſions are loſt, for that the Captaines haue not alwayes knowledge of the diſorders and difficulties that happen amongſt their enemies.

The armie of the League paſſeth the riuer of Po.

The ſame night arriued at *Caſalmaior* the Cardinall *de Medicis*, whom the Pope had ſent as Legate into the armie. For although the Pope had already begun very ſecretly to giue eare to the Embaſſadour of the *French* King, yet for the feare he had leſt theſe contrary ſucceſſes, together with the burden of the warre which was almoſt wholly reduced vpon him, ſhould giue occaſion to the Emperour and his Agents to doubt, that to ſhake off ſo many difficulties and dangers, he would turne his thoughts to new deuices, he iudged that nothing could more aſſure them, and ſo by conſequence induce them to proceed more reſolutely in the warre, then to ſend vnto them the Cardinall *de Medicis*, who was his kinſman, and without whoſe priuitie and counſell (notwithſtanding he remained for the moſt part at *Florence*) he did no matter of importance, ſo that he carried the ſame authoritie with him as the Pope himſelfe had: and beſides, it was a

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matter much helping to ſupport the reputation of the enterpriſe which was ſomewhat declined: and laſtly, it was very likely that for the preſence of ſo great a perſonage the Captaines would deliberate vpon the affaires with more vnitie; a matter of no leſſe neceſſitie to be looked into, for that the diſcord betweene *Proſper Colonno* and the Marquis of *Peſquiero* appeared dayly more manifeſtly, which beſides other cauſes, was much augmented, becauſe the Marquis ſince the Campe was leuied from before *Parma*, ſeeking to lay vpon others the infamie of that deliberation, had ſignified to *Rome*, that the matter had bene ſo reſolued without his counſell or priuitie. The armie reſted one day at *Caſalmaior*, and then marched along the territories of *Cremona* to the riuer of *Oglia*, whither they approched in foure remoues of the camp: nothing of conſequence being done in the meane while, ſauing that as the armie was lodged in a Farme houſe called *la Corte de Frati*, there aroſe a great fray and mutinie between the footbands of the *Spaniards* and *Italians*, in the which the *Spaniards*, rather knowing how to vſe the occaſion, then by plaine force, ſlue many *Italians*: neuertheleſſe, by the authoritie and diligence of the Captaines, the matter was ſpeedily reappeaſed: and the day before, *Iohn de Medicis* who purſued the enemies (which the ſame day that the armie ſtayed at *Caſalmaior*, were paſſed the riuer of *Po* ſomewhat higher towards *Cremona*) brake a band of *Venetian* eſtradiots led by *Mercurio*, with whom were certaine *French* horſemen, who tooke priſoner *Don Lewis Gaetano* ſonne to the Duke of *Traietto*, whoſe Eſtate neuertheleſſe was holden by *Proſper Colonno*. But when they came to incampe vpon the riuer of *Oglia*, Fortune beholding with a good eye the affaires of the Pope and the Emperour, interrupted the diſaſtrous counſels of the Captaines, who had determined that from the Farme of the Monkes the armie ſhould go to lodge in the towne of *Bordelano*, which is about eight miles from thence, vpon the ſame riuer of *Oglia*: for it being a matter vnpoſſible to draw the artilleries thither by reaſon of the ill wayes, it was neceſſarie to ſtay in the towne of *Rebecca*, being in the mid way, and ſeparate onely by the riuer of *Oglia* from *Pontuiquo* a towne of the *Venetians*: in which place, as ſoone as they were lodged, they had aduertiſement, that *Monſieur Lautrech*, being followed by the *Venetian* regiments, hauing left at *Cremona* all his baggage, was come the ſame day to *S. Martin*, within fiue miles of that place, with full reſolution to meete the enemies in the field the day after, if they offered to paſſe any further. This troubled not a litle the minds of the Cardinall *de Medicis* and the Captaines, for that the Senate of *Venice*, at ſuch time as they ſent their people into *Monſieur Lautrech* his armie, had ſignified that deliberation to the Pope, with ſuch words, as they ſeemed not to be moued with any deſire of the *French* Kings victorie, but for that they had no iuſt cauſe not to obſerue the confederation. They were perſwaded afore, and the coming of the Cardinall did well confirme that opinion, that *Andrew Gritti* had ſecret commandement not to ſuffer his bands to fight: which coniecture being foũd to be falſe, it was neceſſary to leaue off all their former counſels, ſince it was confeſſed of all men, that the armie of the enemie was farre ſuperiour in forces; wherein, beſides the horſemen which were very ſtrong, and ſeuen thouſand footmen *French* and *Italians*, there were ten thouſand *Swiſſers*. But in the armie of the Pope and the Emperour, the numbers of Lanceknights were ſo much diminiſhed, and in ſome part the bands of the *Spaniards* abated, that they hardly amounted to the number of ſeuen thouſand; and of ſixe thouſand *Italians* (for that the moſt of them were newly leuied) their number came more into conſideration then their vertue. Then *Proſper* with the others determined to expect there the coming of the *Swiſſers*, who becauſe they were already vpon the way, and for that the Cardinall of *Sion* that led them, had ſent word that they ſhould not ſtay in any place, it was thought they could not tarry aboue three or foure dayes: and therefore the morning following, after the Captaines had diligently conſidered the ſituation of the place, they reduced into a better forme the lodging, which the night before had bene tumultuouſly made; not conſidering that they might be much offended by the artilleries of the towne of *Pontuiquo*, which was oppoſite vnto them; for that the Cardinall *de Medicis*, retaining ſtill his firſt impreſſions, held it for certaine that the *Venetians* who ſtood bound to the *French* King in no other conditions then to aide him with men for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, would neuer conſent that from their Townes any offence ſhould be done to the armie of the Church and the Emperour. There was one thing that ſeemed contrary to the reſolution to tarry for the *Swiſſers* at *Rebecca*, to wit, the difficultie of victuals; thoſe that were brought with the armie being not ſufficient to feed them but for a very few dayes; and for feare of the harmes done chiefly by the exiles of *Millan*, euery one vniuerſally flying, there came but very ſmall quantitie, and yet that

diminiſhed dayly. Therefore *Guicciardin* the Agent admoniſhed them, that ſeeing there was no abiding there for want of victuals, and that the coming of the *Swiſſers* might be ſtayed by many occaſions, it would haply be better not to ſtay there, but to retire backe againe fiue or ſixe miles vpon the ſame riuer to the confines of *Mantua*, where hauing at their backes the countries of their friends, they ſhould haue no want of victuals: and that which then might ſafely be done, when the enemies were approched, it might fall out they could not do without great danger. This counſell had not bene diſpleaſing to the Captains; but the late infamie of the retiring from before *Parma* kept them reſtrained from ſpeaking freely: being moued likewiſe with an hope that the *Swiſſers* could make no long tarrying, for that within ſixe dayes they might eaſily deſcend from *Coire* to the territorie of *Bergama*, from whence they had but a ſhort paſſage to ioyne with the armie. Thus then determining to awaite their coming at *Rebecca*, the prouiſions of meale carried with the armie were diſtributed by meaſure to all the bands; and becauſe there were in the campe no ouens portatiue, and the houſes wherein there were any, were taken vp by the ſouldiers, euery one baked for himſelfe vpon hote coles the part that was deliuered him: which incommoditie, ioyned to the ſmall diſtributions that were made of meale, was the cauſe that the bands of *Italian* footme, notwithſtanding they had plentie of wine and fleſh, fled ſecretly from the campe. But the third day *Monſieur Lautrech* who ſtayed at *Bordellano*, cauſed about noone-tide part of the artilleries to paſſe ouer *Oglia*, and ſent them to *Pontuiquo*, by the conſent of the *Venetian* Agent, notwithſtanding he made ſemblance of the contrary: and from thence, albeit it was almoſt night, they began the ſame day to diſcharge vpon the lodgings of the enemies; whoſe Captaines ſeeing into the manifeſt danger, notwithſtanding they might haue conueyed themſelues into a place where they might haue found defence in the couert of certaine litle hils, yet aſtoniſhed with the want of victuals, and their feare increaſing that the *Swiſſers* would make long tarrying, they cauſed the armie to depart the morning following by the breake of day, without noiſe, and without ſound of trumpet or drumme, their baggage drawne afore their companies, who marched in good order; and well appointed to fight: and they went to incampe at *Gabbioneta*, about fiue miles from thence vpon the confines of *Mantua*, confeſſing with one voice that they were deliuered from a great danger, partly by the benefite of fortune, and partly by the indiſcretion of the enemies: for as much as it is certaine, that if they had not ſtayed at *Rebecca* the very ſame day that they were appointed to go to *Bordellano*, there had not remained to them any, or very ſmall hope of ſafetie, for that the ſame or elſe greater neceſſities had conſtrained them to retire; and the retrait being more long, and the enemies more neare, the perill was moſt manifeſt. In like ſort it is moſt certaine, that the victorie had vndoubtedly fallen vpon *Monſieur Lautrech*, if he had marched to incampe neare the enemies the ſame day he ſent the artilleries to *Pontuiquo*, as many aduiſed him, and amongſt others the Captaines of the *Swiſſers*: for by reaſon of his neareneſſe, they had had no meanes to retire in ſafetie, chiefly ſeeing they could not range themſelues into battell ray for the impediments they ſhould haue receiued from the artilleries of *Pontuiquo*, nor remaine there aboue three or foure dayes by reaſon of famine. But whileſt (according to his nature) he deſpiſed the counſels of all others, laying open to the enemies the knowledge of the perill that was towards them, he gaue them cauſe to preuent his threatnings by their ſodaine departure. It was not then without reaſon that the *Swiſſer* Captaines told him after they had viewed the ſituation of the place (for *Monſieur Lautrech* who was remoued to accoaſt the enemies, finding that they were gone, went and lodged at *Rebecca*) that they had well deſerued the payes accuſtomed to be giuen to ſouldiers that had wonne the battell, ſeeing it was not long of them that they had not gotten the victorie. At *Gabbioneta* the armie of the League fortified their campe with great induſtrie, and remained there many dayes. But for that the coming of the *Swiſſers* ſeemed to be continually deferred, and for feare of the neareneſſe of the *French*, who were much the mightier, and made demonſtrations to ſet vpon them, they paſſed the riuer of *Oglia*, and went to incampe in the borough of *Oſtiano*, appertaining to *Lodowike de Boſſolo*, with intention not to depart from thence vntill the *Swiſſers* were come: which reſolution being made with wiſedome, was alſo accompanied with good fortune, for that at *Gabbioneta*, by reaſon of the low and ſhallow ſituation, the armie would haue receiued great domages by the abundance of raines and waters which fell as ſoone as they were gone.

A fault of M. Lautrech.

But whileſt thus idlely one of the armies pawſed at *Oſtiano* and the other at *Rebecca*, the Biſhop

ſhop of *Piſtoya* and *Vitelli* with the *Swiſſers* and bands of *Italian* footmen ioyned together, aſſailed the companies of the Duke of *Ferrara* that lay at *Finalo*: and although they were in a place both ſtrong by nature and well fortified by art, yet the *Swiſſers* preſenting themſelues very reſolutely to the danger, ouerthrew them and put them to flight, killing many of them, amongſt whom the Knight *Cauriano* was ſlaine in fight, with ſuch feare to the Duke of *Ferrara* who was at *Bondena*, that preſently abandoning that towne, he fled to *Ferrara*; and to the end the enemies ſhould not follow him, he retired with as great diligence the barkes whereupon he had caſt a bridge in the ſame place. In this meane while the regiments of *Swiſſers* were deſcended vpon the territories of *Bergama*, and yet being full of diſcord and difficulties, they ſtayed from paſſing any further, hauing expreſly refuſed to turne thēſelues to inuade the Duchie of *Millan*, as the Cardinall of *Sion* and the Agents of the Pope and the Emperour had inſtantly required them: and likewiſe made difficultie to ioyne with the armie that expected them at *Oſtiano*, as prepared to march againſt the *French* King, offering to go to any place that the Pope ſhould thinke good, in the eſtate of the Church, for the defence whereof they were entred into pay: and yet (according to their barbarous interpretation of things) they conſented to march to aſſaile *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, as Cities manifeſtly appertaining to the Church, or at leaſt to the which the *French* King had no certaine right. They required alſo, that afore they ſhould march, there might be ſent to them from the armie three hundred light horſemen, to the end that with their aide they might be able to get victuals in the countries through which they ſhould paſſe. In the end the light horſmen being come, who paſſed at vnawares with great diligence through the territories of the *Venetians*, they marched to come into ſome place neare the armie, that they might the more commodiouſly conſult and reſolue what was to be done: and in their way they gaue the chaſe to certaine bands of *French* men and *Venetians*, which were beſtowed at *Pontoglio* or rather vpon the lake of *Eupilo* to ſtop their paſſage. When they were drawne neare to the armie, there was continuall diligence vſed to diſpoſe them to ioyne againſt the *French*, in which ſolicitation many meſſengers and Embaſſadours paſſed betweene, and chiefly the Archbiſhop of *Capua* went to them in the name of the Cardinall *de Medicis*. At laſt, thoſe of the Canton of *Zurich*, who as they haue greater authoritie, ſo they make profeſſion to gouerne themſelues with greater grauitie, refuſed it conſtantly: and the others after many doubts and obiections, neither expreſly denied, nor accepted the demand that was made vnto them; for they refuſed not to follow the armie, but without declaration whether they would enter with them into the Duchie of *Millan* or no. So that by the counſell of the Cardinall of *Sion*, and their Captains, whoſe minds had bin won by many promiſes, the armie determined to march on, vnder this hope, that ſince they refuſed not to follow, they might eaſily be drawne into any place whither the armie ſhould go. Thus the bands of *Zurich* containing foure thouſand in number, turning towards *Reggia*, the armie after it had remained about a moneth betweene *Gabionetta* and *Oſtiano*, ioyned with the other *Swiſſers* at *Gambaro*, the two Legats of *Sion* and *Medicis* marching in the midſt of them with their Croſſes of ſiluer, enuironed with infinite weapons, artilleries, mankillers, and robbers: ſo much do men in theſe dayes abuſe the reuerence of Religion. They went in three remouings of camp through the lands of the *Venetians* to *Orciuecchi* a towne of their obedience, making this excuſe to the Senate, that it was a paſſage neceſſarie, and that they did it not for any deſire to offend them: in the ſame ſort as they excuſed themſelues when *Andrew Gritti* their Agent was conſtrained to giue way to *Monſieur Lautrech* to ſend artilleries to *Pontuiquo*. At *Orciuecchi* arriued certain Poſts ſent by the Lords of the Cantons to command the *Swiſſers* to depart from the armie; ſending alſo the like commandement by other Poſts to the bands that were in the *French* campe, ſaying, it was a thing vnworthy of their name, that their footmen ſhould ſerue vnder publike Enſignes in the armies of two enemies. But the effects of theſe commandements were diuerſe; for, the Poſts that were diſpatched to the campe of the League, were by cunning ſtayed in the way, ſo that they came not ſo farre as to thoſe bands that were with the Cardinall of *Sion*: but the *Swiſſers* that were in the *French* camp, departed almoſt all without bidding farewell; and that which moued them, was not ſo much the commandements that were ſent (as was beleeued,) nor the length of the warre, whereof they are wont to be impatient aboue all other nations, as the ſmall meanes which *Monſieur Lautrech* had to pay them, who receiued no money out of *France*, neither could the extreme exactions which he leuied vpon the Duchie of *Millan* ſuffice to ſatisfie them. Here may be fitly conſidered what

The Swiſſers leaued by the Pope would not march againſt the French king.

the malignitie and indiſcretion of officers may do in the houſes of Princes, who through negligence haue no care of things, or by their incapacitie are not able of themſelues to diſcerne good counſels from euill. For, three hundred thouſand crownes being prepared to be ſent to *Monſieur Lautrech* according to the Kings promiſe, the Ladie Regent the Kings mother, who bare ſo great emulation to his greatneſſe that ſhe forgot the profit of her ſonne, procured the Treaſurers and Receiuers, without the Kings priuitie, to turne that ſumme to another vſe: which was the cauſe that *Monſieur Lautrech* confuſed in himſelfe, and full of griefe, ſince that by the departing of the *Swiſſers*, the ſucceſſe of affaires which afore he eſteemed to be good and happie, was become very doubtfull, leauing garriſons in *Cremona* and *Piſqueton*, he reduced himſelfe with the reſidue of the armie to *Caſſan*, hoping to giue impediment to the enemies to paſſe *Adda*, as well in reſpect of other difficulties which follow armies that are to paſſe riuers when there ſtands reſiſtance vpon the ſhore oppoſite, as for that in that place the banke towards *Millan* is ſo high, that greater domage is done to the enemies with the artilleries, then can be receiued from them. On the other ſide, the Popes Legates and the Captaines being departed from *Orciueche*, when they had paſſed againe the riuer of *Oglio*, came in three remouings to *Riuolto*, not feeling any more the incommoditie of victuals, for that they were plentifully relieued by the townes of *Guiaradadda*, which the *French* men had left abandoned.

At this place both the armies were vpon termes, the one to winne, and the other to ſtop the paſſage of the riuer, *Proſper* and the other Captaines made preparation to build a bridge betweene *Riuolto* and *Caſſan*; which was a matter very doubtfull and hard for the impediment of the enemies: and there, hauing conſumed two or three dayes in ſundrie controuerſies and counſels, at laſt *Proſper* (who would not communicate his thoughts with the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, to the end he ſhould haue no intereſt in the glorie of that action, nor make any vſe of the *Spaniards* leſt they ſhould diſcloſe his deuice) cauſed ſecretly to be taken from the riuer of *Brembo* two ſmall barks, and ſent by night with great ſilence certaine bands of *Italian* footmen to paſſe the riuer right ouer againſt the towne of *Vaury*. *Vaury* is a towne open, diſcouered, and without wals, and hath his ſituation vpon the bankes of *Adda* fiue miles from *Caſſan*, where the riuer may conueniently be paſſed, and in the midſt of the towne there is a ſmall circuite of wals raiſed in forme of a litle Caſtle. *Huguo de Pepoly* Lieutenant to the men at armes which the *French* King had giuen to *Octauian Fregoſa*, had the guard of this place with a few horſemen, who hearing the noiſe that was made, preſented himſelfe vpon the ſhore, from whence he was preſently repulſed with force of ſhot, but it was thought he might eaſily haue made reſiſtance, if ſome number of harquebuziers had ioyned with thoſe horſemen he had with him; which he ſaid, he had demanded of *Monſieur Lautrech*. Euer as the footmen paſſed, they aſſembled together in a place within the towne, raiſed and ſomewhat ſtrong, expecting there the ſuccours which *Proſper* had appointed; who as ſoone as he was aduertiſed of that happie beginning, cauſed to be turned that way almoſt all the footbands of the army beſtowed in diuers boroughs of *Guiaradadda*, to whom he gaue this order, that thoſe that arriued firſt ſhould preſently paſſe, and the others afterwards vpon the ſame barkes and vpon two others that were appointed to follow the armie to ſerue for bridges ouer riuers, which by night were carried ouer land to the ſame ſhore: and as well himſelfe as the other Captaines with the Cardinall *de Medicis*, tooke forthwith the ſame way, leauing this commandement to ſuch as tarried at *Riuolto*, that if the *French* men retired from that quarter, they ſhould immediatly ſet vp the bridge. But at *Vaury* the ſucceſſe of the enterpriſe was vncertaine for certaine houres. For, if *Monſieur Lautrech* vpon his firſt aduertiſement of the paſſing of his enemies, had preſently turned thither one part of the armie, he had no doubt giuen them the ouerthrow: but after he had ſpent many houres in doubting what to do, he diſpatched thither *Monſieur d'Eſcut* with foure hundred Lances and the bands of *French* footmen, cauſing certaine peeces of artilleries to be drawne afterwards. *Monſieur d'Eſcut* and his regiments marched thither with great diligence, and began very reſolutely to charge the place where the enemies were retired, euen at the ſame time that the ſuccours which were expected appeared vpon the other ſhore, in hope of whom the enemies made a valiant defence, although *Monſieur d'Eſcut* deſcending on foot with all his men at armes, fought valiantly in the ſtraights of the ſtreetes; and it is not to be doubted (if the artilleries had come in time) but he had giuen them the ouerthrow. But now *Tegane* Captaine of the *Griſons*, and

The ſouldiers of the league paſſe the riuer of Adda.

and two Enſignes of *Spaniſh* footmen, ſupported by the Cardinall *de Medicis* and the Captains, made haſte to paſſe continually from the other ſide of the riuer, as faſt as the barks could carry them: and *Iohn de Medicis* more prouoked by his naturall magnanimitie and great deſire of glorie, then by any mans incitation, ſwam ouer the deepneſſe of the water vpon a *Turkiſh* horſe to the other ſide, giuing at the ſame time both feare to his enemies, and courage to his friends. At laſt *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, deſpairing of the victorie, notwithſtanding the artilleries arriued at the ſame inſtant, retired to *Caſſan* with the loſſe of an Enſigne; & afterwards *Monſieur Lautrech* departed from *Caſſan*, and retired to *Millan* with the whole armie: and there, not to loſe the occaſion to ſatisfie his hate conceiued afore, or elſe to make himſelfe feared and redoubted by ſuch a ſpectacle, he cauſed *Chriſtopher Paluoiſin* to be publikely executed, which was a thing pitifull to be ſeene, as well for the nobleneſſe of his houſe, the greatneſſe of his perſon, and his age, as for that he was committed to priſon many moneths afore the warre. By this paſſing ouer *Adda*, the name of *Proſper* was exalted to the heauens, which as well for his breaking vp from before *Parma*, as for his protracting, was infamous and diſpraiſed at *Rome* and in the whole armie: and, as it often happeneth that the memory of things formerly done, is put out by ſuch as follow afterwards, euery one commended him, and ſpake very well of him, for that without bloud and danger, yea altogether with counſell and induſtrie, worthy of a moſt expert Captaine, he had ſtolen from the enemies the paſſage of that riuer, which *Monſieur Lautrech* had ſo much promiſed himſelfe to impeach, that beſides that which he ſpake publikely, he had written to the King that he would abſolutely hinder it. And yet there wanted not ſuch, who with reaſons either true or apparent, laboured to diminiſh the glorie of this action, who alledged that there was not any vertue or rare induſtrie either in the inuention or in the execution: for that nature of her ſelfe teacheth all men who find the impediments of riuers and ſtrait paſſages, to ſeeke to paſſe either higher or lower, where there is nothing to ſtop them: That the paſſage of *Vaury* was neare at hand, very conuenient, and ordinarily frequented; and that *Monſieur Lautrech* had bene ſo careleſſe to guard it, that his negligence had left no place for induſtrie: for in what other thing could the prouidence of *Proſper* be recommended, then that with ſecrecie he had made prouiſion of the barkes, and managed the whole enterpriſe with neceſſary ſilence? Others, being perhaps too diligent cenſurers of things, and more ready to reprehend faults that be doubtfull, then to commend actions that be certaine, not content to diminiſh the renowme of his induſtrie, ſaid, there was in him neither prouidence nor order conuenient: for that ſending no commandement to thoſe bands to ſtirre that were appointed for ſuccours, who were lodged within *Treuy*, *Caruuage* and many other places, vntill he knew the footmen whom he had ſent before were poſſeſſed of *Vaury*, it came to paſſe that the firſt companies could not arriue vpon the ſhore of the riuer vntill noone, more then fourteene houres after the firſt bands of footmen were paſt: ſo that if *Monſieur Lautrech* as ſoone as he receiued the aduertiſement, had done that which he did many houres after, there is no doubt but he had recouered *Vaury*, and ouerthrowne thoſe footbands that were paſſed, for that the ſuccours would haue come too late. But ſuch interpretations did nothing obſcure the glorie of *Proſper*, for that commonly men do conſider things by the euent, in regard whereof, ſometimes with praiſe, and ſometimes with reproofe, (according as the ſucceſſe is happie or contrary) they alwayes attribute that to prouidence, which for the moſt part proceeds of fortune. *Monſieur Lautrech* being departed from the ſhores of *Adda*, it was not to be doubted that the enemies who the day following builded a bridge betweene *Riuolta* and *Caſſan*, would draw neare to *Millan* as faſt as they could: yet *Proſper*, whoſe counſell, vſually blamed by the vulgar ſort, was approued by ſuch as are skilfull in the art of warre, was of mind, that in taking a longer circuite, they ſhould march the firſt day to incampe at *Marignan*, a towne of equall diſtance from *Millan* and *Pauie*. For it being vnpoſſible becauſe of the hardneſſe of the time, now very cold and rainie, to keepe the field, he iudged it beſt to draw neare to *Millan* on that ſide, by the which (if, as was ſuppoſed, he found it hard to enter) he might immediatly turne to *Pauie*, where *Monſieur Lautrech* had left no garriſon, for that he ſought to reduce all his forces to *Millan*: of which Citie being plentifull of victuals, and very commodious, he would make the ſeate of the warre. On the other ſide, *Monſieur Lautrech* whoſe footmen were reduced to a very ſmall number, had purpoſed from the beginning to guard onely the Citie of *Millan*: but conſidering afterwards that if he abandoned the ſuburbes, he ſhould giue way to the enemie to lodge there, and thereby oportunitie to at-

tend at their eaſe how they may compaſſe the taking of the towne, he determined as yet to defend the ſuburbes: which was indeed a reſolute and wiſe counſell, if it had bene accompanied with ſuch vigilancie as appertained, and by meanes whereof (conſidering the vnlooked for accidents that fell a few dayes after) things had come to another iſſue then they did. But the armie of the League, the greateſt part whereof was lodged at *Marignan*, and the *Swiſſers* more forward in the Abbey of *Clernault*, when they had remained there three dayes to expect the artilleries which could not follow becauſe of the bad wayes, preſented themſelues the nine and twentieth day of Nouember before *Millan*, with this intention, that if they could not enter the ſame day, to depart the day after to *Pauie*, whither was already diſpatched part of the light horſemen to take poſſeſſion of the towne. And it happened that morning (which was a matter worthy of note) that the Legates and Chieftaines of the armie ſtaying in a medow neare to *Clernault*, to giue way to the *Swiſſers* to paſſe, there came an old man of vulgar aſpect and habit, came and preſented himſelfe vnto them, who telling them that he was ſent by thoſe of the Pariſh of S. *Siro* in *Millan*, ſolicited and preſſed them with great exclamations to paſſe further, for that there was order taken, that not onely the Pariſh of S. *Siro*, but all the people of *Millan*, vpon the approching of the armie, would riſe and take armes againſt the *French* men at the ringing of the bels of euery Pariſh: and this matter ſeemed afterwards more admirable, for that notwithſtanding any diligence that was vſed to find him againe, they could neuer either learne what he was, or by whom he was ſent.

The taking of Millan by the League.

The armie then marched in order towards *Rome* gate, and the great artilleries ſtayed at the entrie of a way which turneth to *Pauie*. The Marquis of *Peſquiero* who was in the forefront of the battell with his bands of *Spaniſh* footmen, as the night came on, drew neare the trench that is betweene *Rome* gate and the port *Theſin*, and preſenting his harquebuziers againſt a baſtillion made in a place called *Vicentino*, neare the gate named *Lodowikes* gate, more to make triall, then in hope to carry it, the *Venetian* footbands that guarded the place, after they had with much ado endured the preſence of the enemies, turned their backes with incredible cowardize, and betooke themſelues to flight, and the *Swiſſers* in like ſort that lay neare them: ſo that the *Spaniſh* footbands paſſing the trench and the rampier without any impediment, entred the ſuburbes, and in their entrance tooke and hurt lightly *Theodore Triuulce*, who being all diſarmed, haſted to the bruite vpon a litle nagge, who payed afterward to the Marquis of *Peſquiero* for his libertie twentie thouſand duckats. *Andrew Gritti* ſaued himſelfe with great difficultie, and when by flying he had vnited himſelfe with the *French*, they retired all together into the towne, by fetching a very long compaſſe: but for that they had made no prouiſion for their defence, and that they had but a few footmen, and therewithall the people being ready to rebell, they made a ſtand about the Caſtle. On the other ſide, the Marquis of *Peſquiero* who followed diligently his good fortune, being approched neare to *Rome* gate (the gates of the Citie and thoſe of the ſuburbes beare all one name) was receiued into the towne by the chiefe of the *Gibelin* faction, who had ſeized vpon the gate: and not long after the Cardinall *de Medicis*, the Marquis of *Mantua*, *Proſper*, and part of the armie, made their entrie in the ſame ſort by the port *Theſin*, the victors being almoſt ignorant in what maner or by what diſorder they had ſo eaſily wonne ſuch a victorie. But the principall cauſe proceeded of the negligence of the *French* men, for as much as *Monſieur Lautrech*, as was diſcerned afterwards, had no aduertiſement that the enemies were remoued that day; yea it was beleeued, that for the diſaduantage of the wayes, being very foule with the great raines that fell, he aſſured himſelfe the enemies would not make their artilleries march that day, without the which he neuer thought they would go about to aſſault the rampiers: ſo that at the ſame time when they made their entrance, he was walking vnarmed in the Citie of *Millan* with other Captaines, without thinking of any ſuch thing; and *Monſieur d'Eſcut* being wearie with watching the night before, was layd downe to ſleep in his owne lodging: and yet it was beleeued that if afterwards in flying he had reaſſembled his people vpon the Caſtle greene, he had had no litle occaſion to offend his enemies, one part of them being lodged very diſorderly within *Millan*, another part ſtaying in the ſuburbes with the ſame diſorder, and the reſidue being diſperſed and lodged without in great confuſion. But being hindred by feare and the error of the darkneſſe, to diſcerne in ſo ſhort a time the eſtate of the enemies, he departed the ſame night with the armie to *Coma*, where leauing fiftie men at armes and ſixe hundred footmen, he tooke his way by the Pariſh of *Inzina*,

and

and ſo after he was paſſed *Adda* to *Lecquo*, he drew to the countrey of *Bergama*, the Caſtle of *Millan* remaining well guarded and furniſhed. *Lode* and *Pauie* followed the example of *Millan*: and at the ſame time the Biſhop of *Piſtoya* and *Vitelli*, who leauing *Parma* behind them, had taken the way to *Plaiſance*, were willingly receiued into that Citie, as they were alſo afterwards into *Cremona*, whither the newes being come, not onely of the taking of *Millan*, but alſo that the *French* were ouerthrowne, the people ranne to armes, and began to call vpon the name of the Empire and Duke of *Millan*: which being vnderſtood by *Monſieur Lautrech*, who was now arriued vpon the territories of *Bergama*, he diſpatched thither *Monſieur d'Eſtut* with part of the armie to recouer it: who being repulſed by the people, *Monſieur Lautrech*, notwithſtanding he had very ſmall hope of good ſucceſſe by reaſon of the ſuccours they might eaſily receiue from ſo many *Swiſſers* as were within *Plaiſance*, went thither with the whole armie, hauing firſt giuen order that *Federike de Boſſolo* ſhould abandon *Parma*, for that he thought himſelfe vnable to furniſh ſo many places; which enterpriſe ſucceeded well. For, although the Cardinall *de Medicis* as ſoone as he vnderſtood of the rebellion of *Cremona*, had ſent word to ỹ Biſhop of *Piſtoya*, that to aſſure himſelfe of ſuch a conqueſt, he ſhould diſpatch thither part of the *Swiſſers*: yet he, who would neither deuide them, nor intangle himſelfe with other affaires, for a deſire he had to go with them to the enterpriſe which was determined againſt *Genes*, lingred ſo long, that *Monſieur Lautrech* holding as yet the Caſtle, & finding there no other reſiſtance then of the people, who preſently ſent Embaſſadours to him to demand pardon for their fault, recouered it eaſily. By which euent *Monſieur Lautrech* reſumed courage, who ſent forthwith to *Federike de Boſſolo* not to abandon *Parma*: but he being departed afore the ſummons came, had paſſed *Po* with his regiments, and *Vitelli* who went to *Plaiſance* with his companies, and was not farre from *Parma* when *Federike* departed, being called in by an vniuerſall conſent of the people, was now entred. The Captaines of the League deuiſing how to recouer the reſidue of the Eſtate, with a reſolution to be no more at ſo great expences, diſpatched from *Millan* at the ſame time the Marquis of *Peſquiero* with the bands of *Spaniards*, the Lanceknights and the *Griſons*, to lay ſiege to *Coma*; and when they had begun to batter it with the artilleries, the defendants deſpairing of reſcue, agreed to render it vp, vnder condition of ſafetie of life and goods, as wel to the *French* bands as to the inhabitants of the towne: and yet as the *French* men were vpon their departure, the *Spaniards* made their entrie, and ſacked it, to the great infamie of the Marquis, who being afterwards accuſed of faith-breaking by *Iohn de Chabannes* chiefe of the *French* bands within *Coma*, was by him defied and challenged to the combat.

Thoſe of the League ſent at the ſame inſtant the Biſhop of *Verula* to the *Swiſſers*, to aſſure them of their wils: but they, as ſoone as he was come to *Belinzone*, committed him to ward, for that being diſcontented that their footmen had marched againſt the *French* King, they did not onely complaine of the Cardinall of *Sion* and the Pope, but alſo of all their officers, and among others of this Biſhop of *Verula*, for that being the Popes Nuncio with them at ſuch time as they leuied their footmen, he laboured to induce them to ſwarue from the exception wherewith they had bene accorded. The affaires of the warre were reduced into theſe termes, with a great hope of the Pope and the Emperour to confirme the victorie, for as much as the *French* King could not ſo ſuddenly ſend new companies into *Italy*; and the power of thoſe who had wonne *Millan* from him, with the moſt part of the Duchie, ſeemed ſufficient not onely to preſerue it, but alſo to get that which remained yet in the hands of the enemie. Yea the Senate of *Venice* amazed at this ſucceſſe, and fearing leſt the warre begun againſt others ſhould fall vpon them, gaue hope to the Pope to cauſe the *French* bands to depart out of their lands. But ſudden thoughts began quickly to ſpring of an accident vnlooked for. For, newes came that Pope *Leo* was dead ſuddenly the firſt day of December: who as he lay at the village of *Magliana*, whither he went oftentimes for his recreation, hearing the newes of the taking of *Millan*, entred into ſuch an extreme paſſion of ioy, that the ſame night he fell into a ſmall feauer; by reaſon whereof he was remoued the next day to *Rome*, where he died within very few dayes after, notwithſtanding the Phyſitions in the beginning made no great reckning of his diſeaſe; not without great ſuſpition that he was poiſoned (as was reported) by *Barnaby Maleſpina* his Chamberlaine, who was appointed to giue him drinke: who although he was impriſoned for the ſuſpition that was had of him, yet the matter went no further, for that the Cardinall *de Medicis* as ſoone as he came to *Rome* ſet him at libertie, fearing to fall further into the diſgrace of the *French* king, by

The death of Pope Leo the tenth.

by whoſe practiſe it was ſecretly whiſpered, but by authors and coniectures vncertaine, that *Barnaby* had giuen him the poiſon. He died, if we conſider the common opinion of men, in very great glorie and felicitie, not onely for that by the taking of *Millan* he ſaw himſelfe deliuered of dangers and ineſtimable expences, by reaſon whereof being much drained of money, he was conſtrained to make prouiſion of more by all kind of meanes; but alſo for that a few dayes afore his death he receiued aduertiſement of the taking of *Plaiſance*; and the very day he died, newes came to him of the winning of *Parma*; a matter ſo greatly deſired by him, that at ſuch time as he determined to make warre againſt the *French* men, it is very well remembred that he ſaid to the Cardinall *de Medicis* who laboured to diſſwade him, that nothing moued him more then a deſire to recouer to the Church thoſe two Cities, and that whenſoeuer God ſhould giue him ſuch a bleſſing, it would not grieue him to die. He was a Prince in whom were many things worthy both to be commended and blamed, and who greatly deceiued the hopes that were had of him when he was created Pope, for as much as he gouerned himſelfe with greater diſcretion, but with farre leſſe bountie then was expected. By the death of the Pope the affaires of the Emperour began much to decline in *Italy*, and it was very likely (ſuch an enemie being taken away, with whoſe money the whole warre was both begun and continued) that the *French* King would enter into new courage, and diſpatch a new armie into *Italy*, and that the *Venetians* for the ſame cauſes would recontinue the confederation they had with him: ſo that the deuices to aſſaile *Cremona* and *Genes* were at an end: and the officers of the Emperour, who till then had with difficultie payed the *Spaniſh* bands, were conſtrained to diſmiſſe a part of them, and not without danger, ſince there were yet holden for the King *Cremona*, *Genes*, *Alexandria*, the Caſtle of *Millan*, the Caſtles of *Nouaro* and *Treſſa*, *Piſqueton*, *Domuſſola*, *Arona*, and all the Lake *maior*: beſides, the Rocke of *Pontremo* was eftſoones returned to his deuotion, which being loſt before, was recouered by *Sinibaldo de Fieſque* and the Count *Noceto*. Neither had the affaires of the *French* King any good ſucceſſe beyond the Mounts, for that the Emperour raiſing warre vpon the coaſt of *Flanders*, had taken from him the Citie of *Tournay*, and not long after the Caſtle, wherein was a great quantitie of artilleries and munitions. Thus then by reaſon of the Popes death, new gouernments, new counſels, and new eſtate of affaires were introduced into the Duchie of *Millan*. The Cardinals of *Sion* and *Medicis* went preſently to *Rome*, to be preſent at the election of a new Pope. The Imperials retained with them fifteene hundred *Swiſſers*, and diſmiſſed all the reſidue, together with the Lanceknights, who went their way. The bands of the *Florentines* tooke their way to returne into *Tuſcane*. Touching the regiments of the Church, *Guido Rangon* led one part of them into *Modena*, and the other remained in the Eſtate of *Millan* with the Marquis of *Mantua*, and that more of his owne reſolution then by the conſent of the Colledge of Cardinals, who ſtanding deuided among themſelues, could determine nothing: in ſo much as *Monſieur Lautrech* making his complaints vnto them, that the ſouldiers of the Church remained in the Duchie of *Millan*, to the preiudice of the *French* King, who for the laudable deportments of his predeceſſors towards the Church, had obtained the title of Protector and eldeſt ſonne of the ſame; they could not agree to returne any other anſwer or reſolution, then that they referred him to the determination of the Pope to come. Of thoſe *Swiſſers* that were within *Plaiſance*, a part of them went with the Biſhop of *Piſtoya* to *Modena*, for the defence of that Citie and *Reggia* againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, who after the death of Pope *Leo* had taken the field with an hundred men at armes, two thouſand footmen, and three hundred light horſemen, and after he had recouered by the will of the inhabitants *Bondino*, *Finalo*, the mountaine of *Modena*, and *Garfagnana*, and with the ſame facilitie had taken *Lugo*, *Bagnacaual*, with other townes of *Romagna*, was gone to incampe at *Cento*. The *Swiſſers* of the Canton of *Zurich* continued at *Plaiſance*, who for that they would not ſuffer themſelues to be ſeparated, could not be intreated that a thouſand of them might go to the guard of *Parma*; which Citie remaining almoſt diſfurniſhed, gaue courage to *Monſieur Lautrech* being then within *Cremona* with ſixe hundred Lances, and fifteene hundred footmen, to aſſay to take it, being ſpecially induced thereunto by *Federike de Boſſolo*, who for the peculiar knowledge he had in ſuch enterpriſes, carried great credite in that action.

The French men before Parma.

It was then determined that *Monſieur de Bonneual* with three hundred Lances, and *Federike*, and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, the one with the *French* footmen, and the other with the *Venetian* bands, containing in all the number of fiue thouſand bodies, ſhould endeuour to ſurpriſe *Parma*, wherein

wherein were ſeuen hundred *Italian* footmen, and fiftie men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and the people affected to the Church, but ill armed, and much diſcouraged by the memorie of the *French*, and the violences of *Federike*: whereunto was added, that of that part of the towne which had bene battered by the campe of the Church, the walls lay yet on the ground without any repairing. Furthermore, the Sea of *Rome* was in vacation, by reaſon whereof the minds of men are alwaies wont to be variable, and the Gouernors to looke rather to their owne ſafetie, then to the defence of townes, becauſe they know not for whom they ſhould put themſelues into danger. With theſe foundations then the *French* footmen were ſent downeward by the riuer of *Po*, euen vnto *Torricella*, where the bands of men at armes that were come from *Cremona* by land, ioyned with them: and many barkes being ſent thither from *Cremona*, they paſſed ouer *Po* by night to *Torricella*, which is within twelue miles of *Parma*, and it was ordered that *Marke Anthonie Colonno* ſhould follow them with the *Venetian* footbands that were lodged vpon *Oglio*: which *Francis Guicciardin* (who according to the commiſſion of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, was gone from *Millan* to *Parma*, to guard it) hauing diſcouered the ſame night, he aſſembled the people in the night, and hauing encouraged them to defend themſelues, he cauſed to be beſtowed among them a thouſand pikes, which two dayes before he had ſent for from *Reggia*, doubting what might happen. He was alwayes buſie about the prouiſions neceſſarie for defence, perceiuing many difficulties, as well for that the ſmall number of ſouldiers within the towne were not ſufficient to defend it, without the aide of the people, vpon whom in thoſe ſudden and dangerous caſes could be laid no firme foundation, conſidering the nature of the common people; as for that it was impoſſible to let the enemies from entring the *Codipont*, for which cauſe he retired the ſouldiers & all the townesmen into the other part of the Citie, but not without great difficultie. For many of the people perſwading themſelues vainely, that it might be defended; and ſeeming to the inhabitants of that quarter, a hard matter to abandon their owne houſes, they could not be diſpoſed to it neither with reaſons nor with authoritie, vntill they ſaw the enemies approach: who, becauſe the inhabitants were ſo long afore they would be perſwaded to retire, lacked not much to haue entred with them pelmel into the other part of the towne, where there were many difficulties, and chiefly want of money, and that in an euill time, being the ſelfe ſame day wherein they were to pay the footbands, who proteſted to go out of the towne if they were not ſatisfied of their payes within foure and twentie houres. The firſt day *Federike de Boſſolo* with three thouſand footmen and certaine light horſemen, entred the *Codipont* which was left abandoned. The day after *Monſieur de Bonneual* arriued there with the *French* Lances, and *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with two thouſand *Venetian* footmen, with no other artilleries then two Sakers, for that the ill wayes all along *Po* being low grounds, and in that ſeaſon full of water, made the cariage of great artilleries impoſſible, or at leaſt very difficult: and that not without loſſe of time, contrary to their hopes, grounded altogether vpon celeritie and diligence, for that lingring much they feared leſt *Parma* ſhould receiue ſome reſcue either from *Modena* or from *Plaiſance*. Neuertheleſſe the inhabitants becauſe of the aduertiſements which they had from certaine countreymen that were fled, ſtood poſſeſſed with an opinion that the great artilleries were coming: ſo that they were entred into a wonderfull feare in that reſpect, and much more for that *Federike* hauing taken in the countrey certaine citizens, and cunningly made them beleeue by certaine rebels of *Parma* which he had with him, that *Marke Anthonie* and the *French* men came after with a great armie and with artilleries: and after he had let them go to *Parma*, they brought newes touching the forces of the enemies and other things, much more then was true, and ſo repleniſhed the people with terror, that not onely the Commons through all the quarters of the towne, but euen their councell and Magiſtrates, who had the charge of publike affaires, began openly to intreate the Gouernour, that for the ſafetie both of himſelfe and his ſouldiers, and to deliuer the Citie from the danger of ſacking, he would ſuffer them to compound with the enemies: whereunto the Gouernour reſiſting both with reaſons and requeſts, and the time conſuming in debating, there happened this new difficultie, that the pay day being come, the ſouldiers that were drawne into inſurrection, publiſhed in maner of tumult, that if they were not payed they would depart the towne. The Commiſſarie neuertheleſſe obtained with many perſwaſions of the inhabitants, to furniſh part of the money, the which though they had promiſed before, yet they were become ſlow to performe: and he declared vnto them that in all euents and changes, that action would

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ſtand them in no ſtead for iuſtification with the Pope to come. With this money he reappeaſed the tumult as well as he could, for which cauſe the feare of the people was augmented: and the ſouldiers, who by reaſon of their ſmall number ſaw themſelues at the diſcretion of the people, and knew that all wauered, entred into ſuſpition leſt the forces both within and without ſhould ſet vpon them at one time: in ſo much as they rather wiſhed that the Citie would render by accord, vnder capitulations of their ſafetie, then to continue in that danger. In this eſtate of affaires reduced to ſuch extremities, it was neceſſary for the Gouernour to ſhew himſelfe conſtant, who ſometimes aſſuring the ſouldiers that the perill was as well common to him as to them, and ſometimes comforting the principals of the towne aſſembled in councell, and diſputing with them, he told them there was no cauſe of feare, for that he was aſſured the enemies cauſed not their great artilleries to march, without the which it was ridiculous to feare that they would offer to enter the towne by force with ſcaling ladders, the yong men and the ſouldiers that are within being ſufficient to make reſiſtance againſt a farre greater violence: That he had ſent to require ſuccours at *Modena*, where were the *Swiſſers*, *Vitelli*, and *Guido Rangon*, with their companies, not doubting, but that the day following at the furtheſt, he ſhould be ſo ſupplied, as the enemie would be enforced to depart: That *Vitelli* and *Rangon* as well in regard of their owne honour, as for feare leſt by loſing of *Parma* there happened not a greater diſorder, would make haſte to come, ſpecially ſeeing they had ſo many men with them: That he had ſent to *Plaiſance* to the ſame effect, and that for the ſame reaſons he had great hope to be relieued from thence: That touching themſelues they ſhould conſider that the Pope being dead, who had exalted and honored him with the place wherein he was, there remained to him no intereſt or bond (if things ſtood vpon ſuch terms as they imagined) why he ſhould willingly ſubmit himſelfe to a perill ſo apparent; for that (as experience hath alwayes made manifeſt) the officers of the Pope deceaſſed are not to expect of the Pope to come any degree of recompence, ſince it may eaſily happen that the new Pope may be an enemie to *Florence* his naturall countrey: and therefore that neither for publike reſpects nor priuate ends he had any cauſe to deſire the greatneſſe of the Church, but that on the contrary many accidents might happen, by reaſon whereof the diminution of the ſame might be more acceptable to him: That touching himſelfe, he had not within *Parma* either wife, children, or any goods, for the which he might feare that *Parma* returning vnder the gouernment of the *French*, they ſhould be expoſed to their luſt, inſolencie and rapines. And thus ſince he had no cauſe to hope for any profite by the defence of *Parma*, nor if they rendred it, to feare the aduerſities they had found vnder the hard yoke of the *French*, and hauing expoſed his perſon (if it were taken by force) to the ſame dangers that they did, they might be aſſured that no other thing moued him to remaine conſtant, then the manifeſt knowledge he had that the enemies without their great artilleries, had no abilitie to force the towne, of which he was certaine they had none at all: whereof if he had any doubt, he would not ſtand againſt the accord, hauing no leſſe care of his owne ſafetie, then all others had of theirs; ſeeing withall, that the Sea being vacant, and he being in *Parma* with ſo ſmall a companie as was vnable to oppoſe againſt the will of the people, he could not be within danger of imputation, and much leſſe ſtand charged with their reuolt. With theſe reaſons, ſometimes ſpeaking apart to many particulars, ſometimes diſputing with them all together, and ſometimes in leading them along the walls, and making other prouiſions, and by that meanes ſpending the time, he entertained them all the night: and he was not ignorant, that notwithſtanding they had a vehement deſire to compound with the enemie, for no other cauſe then for the extreme feare they had to be forced and ſacked, yet they were retained by this conſideration, that in according without his conſent, they could not auoide the note of rebels. But as ſoone as the day appeared, which was the day dedicated to Saint *Thomas* the Apoſtle, they began to know by the bullets that were ſhot from the two Sakers planted there the ſame night, that the enemies had no peeces for battery: which made the Gouernour to hope, that returning to counſel he ſhould find them changed and aſſured, but he found a diſpoſition quite contrary, and that their feare was ſo much the more augmented, by how much (it being now day light) they eſteemed themſelues nearer the perill: in ſo much as without hearkening to any reaſon, they began not onely with manifeſt inſtance, but alſo with proteſtations, and almoſt threatnings to compell him to conſent to the compoſition. To whom he anſwered roundly, that ſince it was not in his power to hinder them frō ſuch ſpeeches and ſuch thoughts, as he might do, if he had in *Parma* a greater

ſtrength,

ſtrength, there remained to him no other ſatisfaction of the iniurie which they determined to do to the Sea Apoſtolike, and to him who was officer to the ſame, then that he ſaw if they tooke ſuch a reſolution to accord, they could not auoid the infamie of rebellion and diſloyaltie to their Lord: and he layed to their charge with vehement words, the oath of homage and fidelitie, which a few dayes before they had ſolemnely made betweene his hands to the Sea Apoſtolike in the great Church, and told them, that though he ſaw afore his eyes their manifeſt death and deſtruction, that they might aſſure themſelues they ſhould draw from him no other concluſion, then that he would continue to make good his faith in that ſeruice, vntill either by ſupplies of new bands, or by the coming of great artilleries to the campe of the enemies, or ſome other accident happening, he were ſatisfied that the danger was greater to loſe the towne, then the hope to defend it. After which words going out of the councell, partly that they might remaine in their eares and minds with the more authoritie, and partly to giue order to manie neceſſarie things, if (as was ſuppoſed) the enemies ſhould offer to giue the aſſault that day, they remained in ſuſpence and almoſt confuſed for a long time. In the end feare preuailing aboue all other reſpects, and hauing reſolued to ſend out at aduenture to ſolicite an accord, they diſpatched ſome among them to the Gouernour, to proteſt vnto him, if he cõtinued obſtinate not to conſent that they might ſaue themſelues, they were determined to do it by their owne meanes, to auoide the euident perill they were in to be ſacked. But at the very inſtant that they were determined to vtter their embaſſage, there began to be heard the cries of ſuch as guarded the gates and the walls, together with the alarme ſounded by the bell of the higheſt tower of the Citie, which gaue the ſigne that the enemies being iſſued out of the *Codipont* in order of battell, made their approches to the wals to giue the aſſault: by which occaſion the Gouernour turning himſelfe to thoſe that had not as yet ſpoken, ſaid vnto them, Although » we were all willing, it is now no time to come to accord: we muſt now either defend our ſelues » honorably, or ſee our Citie put to ſhamefull ſacke, or remaine priſoners, vnleſſe you wil follow » the example of *Rauenna* and *Capua*, who were ſacked euen as they were ſoliciting an accord with » the enemies that ſtood at the wals. I haue hitherto done as much as may be done by a mã alone, » & haue brought you for your good to this paſſe, either to ouercome or die. If now I alone could » defend this Citie, I would employ my ſelfe to the vttermoſt: but this cannot be done without » your aid: Be not then leſſe reſolute to defend your liues, your goods, & the honor of your wiues » and children (as you eaſily may,) then you haue bene importunate to deſire without any neceſ- » ſitie to run into the ſeruitude of the *French*, who (as you know) are your capitall enemies. After » theſe ſpeeches, he turned hs horſe away, and left them all confuſed with feare: and for that they thought it now no fit time to proue other remedies, they left all parleys of accord for the preſent neceſſitie they had to defend themſelues: for that one part of the enemies, who the day before had gotten together in the country great ſtore of ſcaling ladders, being approched to the Baſtillion which *Federike* had builded on that ſide towards *Po*, inuaded it valiantly, and at the ſame time was a furious aſſault giuen to the gate that leades to *Reggia*, as alſo the fight was begun in two other places, with ſo much the more difficultie of defence to them within, by how much the enemies were more freſh, and encouraged by the words of the Captaines, and chiefly of *Federike*; and that the men of the towne filled with terror went not to the wals (except a very few) but the moſt part of them, ſhutting themſelues within their houſes, as though euery moment they had expected the vtter ruine of the Citie. Theſe aſſaults being many times renewed, continued the ſpace of foure houres, the danger of the townesmen diminiſhing continually, not onely for the wearineſſe of the enemies, who by the wounds and harmes they receiued in many places, began to loſe heart, but alſo for that the townesmen, who ſeeing the defence ſucceed well, tooke courage, and ran of all hands readily to the the wall, the Gouernour not forgetting carefully to make all neceſſary prouiſions: in ſo much as afore the aſſault ceaſſed, not onely all the people was run thither, and the Churchmen alſo to defend the wall, but an infinite number of women, who were ready to carry wine and other refreſhings to their husbands: in ſo much as the enemies without deſpairing of the victory, retired with the loſſe of ſome, and many wounded, to the *Codipont*, from whence they diſlodged the morning following, and ſo returned beyond *Po*, after they had remained a day or two about the borders of *Parma*: *Federike* confeſſing that in this expedition, whereof he was the author, nothing had more beguiled him, then that he could neuer haue beleeued, that a Gouernour who was no man of warre, and was but

newly come into that Citie, would rather throw himselfe into danger without any hope of profite, (the Pope being dead) then seeke for his safetie, which he might do without any dishonour or infamie.

This defending of *Parma* was very hurtfull to the affaires of the *French*, for that it gaue to the people of *Millan* and other subiects of that State, greater courage to defend themselues then they had before: and specially when they knew how few soldiers were therein, and that they had receiued no succours, for that none came from *Plaisance*, neither did the *Swissers* that were within *Modena*, nor *Guido Rangon*, nor *Vitelli*, once send out any men to the succours of *Parma*: *Guido* alledging for his excuse, that notwithstanding the Duke of *Ferrara* because he could not take *Cento* defended by the *Bolognois*, was retired to *Finale* at such time as the *Swissers* arriued, yet there was danger lest he would come and assaile *Modena* being made naked of the garrison: and the Bishop of *Pistoya* wauering and standing troubled and vnresolued for the instant requests which *Guicciardin* made to him, and the perswasions of *Vitelli*, who for their owne interests stirred him vp to passe into *Romagna* with the *Swissers*, to the end to stop the passage of the Duke of *Vrbin*, stayed so long to resolue, that he did neither the one nor the other of these matters, for that *Parma* defended her selfe, and in *Romagna* no impediment was giuen to the Duke, because in the end the *Swissers* would not march for want of their payes: which Duke, and with him *Malatesta* and *Horace* of the family of the *Baillons*, passed, the one to recouer his Estates lost, and the other to returne to *Perousa*, hauing assembled at *Ferrara* two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horsemen, and three thousand footmen; who willingly followed them, partly for friendship, and partly for hope of spoile: for neither of the *French* men nor *Venetians* they could obtaine anie other fauour then to suffer whomsoeuer had taken their pay, to follow them, and that the *Venetians* were contented that *Malatesta* and *Horace* should depart out of their pay. Thus they went from *Ferrara* to *Lugo* all along *Po*, and finding nō impediments in the Estate of the Church, when they drew neare the Duchie of *Vrbin*, the Duke being called in by his people, recouered presently his whole Estate, except that which was holden by the *Florentines*, and so turning towards *Pesera*, he tooke the towne with the same facilitie, and within few dayes after the Castle: and following his good fortune, when he had chased out of *Camerin*, *Iohn Maria de Varano* the ancient Lord, who to make himself the more honorable had obtained of Pope *Leo* the title of Duke; he placed there *Sigismond* a yong man of the same family, who pretended to haue a better right in the same Estate; and yet the said Duke, who was withdrawne into *Aquila*, kept still the Castle. These things being dispatched, he turned with *Malatesta* and *Horace Baillon* to *Perousa*, of which place the *Florentines* had taken the defence, not so much of their owne accord, as following the will of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, pushed on either by the hatred and enmitie that he bare against the Duke of *Vrbin* and the *Baillons*, or for that he thought their neighbourhood might put in danger the authoritie he had in *Florence*, or else for that aspiring to the Popedome, he sought to get the reputation that he alone was the defender of the Church during the vacancie of the Sea, the Colledge of Cardinals hauing no care to defend any part of the Ecclesiastike dominion, either in *Lombardie*, in *Tuscane*, or elsewhere: the same proceeding partly by the diuision of the Cardinals into many factions, euery one of them being plunged into thoughts of deepe ambition to climbe to the Popedome, and partly for that there could not be found either in the treasurie Pontificall, or in the Castle Saint *Angelo*, any summe of money that Pope *Leo* had left, who by his prodigalitie had not onely consumed the moneys which *Iulio* his predecessor had left him, with an incredible quantitie of treasure, which he had gotten by the creation of new offices, with diminution of fortie thousand duckats by the yeare of the reuenues of the Church, but also had left great debts, & laid to pawn all the iewels & other precious things of the Pontificall treasurie: so that it was wittily said by some, that other Pontificacies ended with the death of the Popes, but that of *Leo* was to continue many yeares after. Onely the Archbishop *Vrsin* was sent by the Colledge to *Perousa*, to the end to reconcile the *Baillons*; but he being suspected to *Gentil*, for the alliance he had with the sonnes of *Iohn Paul*, and in that he proposed conditions vnsure for him, medled with that matter in vaine: in so much as the last day sauing one of the yeare, the Duke of *Vrbin*, *Malatesta* and *Horace Baillon*, with *Camilla Vrsin*, who being followed by certaine voluntaries was newly vnited with them, went to incamp at *S. Iohns* bridge, and frō thence running vp to the Bastillion and other places thereabouts, they did

The Duke of Vrbin reenterteth his Estates.

did great domages as well by night as by day to the Citie of *Perouſa*, whither beſides the fiue hundred footmen which *Gentil* had leuied, the *Florentines* (who when the Duke turned to *Peſera*, had leiſure to prouide them) had ſent two thouſand footmen and an hundred light horſemen vnder *Guido Vaine*, and an hundred and twentie men at armes, with an hundred light horſemen vnder *Vitelli*. At which time the Duchie of *Millan* was in good quiet, no other thing being done by either of the parties then certaine roades and pillages: and the better to execute thoſe domages vpon places holden by the Church, thoſe bands of *French* men which were remaining in *Cremona* being two thouſand footmen, had dreſſed a bridge vpon *Po*, by the oportunitie whereof paſſing oftentimes vpon the territories of *Plaiſance* and *Parma*, they endomaged the whole countrey. And notwithſtanding *Proſper* by the incitation of the other Captains publiſhed that he would go take *Trezzo*, and had already ſent thither artilleries, yet he performed it not, alledging that it was not conuenient that the army ſhould be intangled in any place, to the end that if the *French* men ſhould enter into any action againſt the State of the Church, he might be able to ſuccour it. And it ſeemed herein that his thoughts were different from his words, for that when he was told that the *French* campe was planted before *Parma*, making no ſigne that he meant to ſuccour it, he ſaid it was expedient to expect the iſſue; and at ſuch time as *Plaiſance* remained diſfurniſhed of garriſon, for that the *Swiſſers* of the Cantons of *Zurich*, were ſuddenly gone away according to the ſummons of their Lords, *Proſper* did what he could to let the Marquis of *Mantua* for going from *Millan* with his bands, who notwithſtanding hauing put himſelfe into *Plaiſance*, ſuſtained that Citie, to his great praiſe, with the foot-bands of his eſtates, and ſometimes lending money. Neither was there any prouiſion made againſt ſo many dangers by the election of a new Pope, which was deferred to ſo great preiudice of the State Eccleſiaſtike, to giue time to the Cardinals that were abſent to reſort to *Rome*; and laſtly for that the Cardinall of *Iurea* going from *Thurin* to *Rome*, was detained in the Eſtate of *Millan* by the commandement of *Proſper Colonno*, to the end he ſhould not be preſent in the Conclaue for that he fauoured the *French*, the Colledge ſet downe a decree, that they would deferre ſo many dayes to enter the Conclaue, as the Cardinall of *Iurea* either had bene or ſhould be ſtopped from paſſing further. As ſoone then as he was deliuered, the Conclaue aſſembled the ſeuen and twentieth day of December, wherein were preſent nine and thirty Cardinals: ſo much was the number increaſed by the immoderate promotions of *Leo*, at whoſe creation were not preſent aboue foure and twentie Cardinals.

The firſt act of the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred twentie and two, was the mutation of the Eſtate of *Perouſa*, which according to the iudgement of men, happened no leſſe through the cowardiſe of the defendants, then by the valour of the aſſailants: who being increaſed by the meanes of voluntarie ſouldiers to the number of two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen, and incamping themſelues in the ſuburbes of Saint *Peter*, which they within had abandoned, the fourth day of the new yeare they gaue an aſſault with a great number of ladders, at Saint *Peters* gate, at the gate *Sogli*, and at the gate *Brogni*, and in many other places, hauing firſt beaten downe the defences of all theſe places with ſeuen field peeces which the Duke of *Ferrara* had lent them. The aſſault began about the breake of day, and being many times relieued, continued almoſt all the whole day; and albeit entrie was made in two or three places of the towne, which was defended onely by the ſouldiers, without the aide of the people, who ſtirred not, yet the aſſailants were alwayes repulſed, with the ſlaughter of many of them, ſo that *Gentil* and the *Florentine* Agent increaſing in courage, hoped to defend it ſtill with no leſſe felicitie: but the timorouſneſſe of *Vitelli* was the cauſe that the matter fell otherwiſe. For he fearing leſt the people, bearing more inclination to the ſons of *Iohn Paul* then to *Gentil*, would riſe in their fauor, and withall iudging it a matter of no litle importance that they were incamped in the ſuburbes betweene the two gates of Saint *Peter*; but principally incited by a feare he had to loſe his life if things ſucceeded ill, for the hatred which he knew the Duke of *Vrbin* and the ſonnes of *Iohn Paul* bare to him; he gaue notice in the night to the other Captains, that he would depart, alledging that although he ſhould remaine, his preſence would be to litle purpoſe, for that the day before he was hurt at the aſſault with the ſhot of an harquebuze in the litle toe of his right foote, which was ſo painfull to him, that he was conſtrained to keepe his bed. And though *Gentil* and the other Captaines laboured with many requeſts to alter him from that intention, declaring vnto him how much the ſouldiers and the people of 1522.

the towne would be discouraged by his departure, yet finding him constant in his opinion, they resolued to follow him. So the same night they departed to *Citta de Castello*, and *Perousa* receiued the *Baillons*, not without the incredible wonder of all those, who being aduertised by letters written the same night what good successe they within had the day before, heard within a few houres after, how *Vitelli* and the residue had cowardly left it abandoned. The election of the new Pope was not yet accomplished, which had bene deferred by reason of the great discord that was among the Cardinals, caused principally for that the Cardinall *de Medicis*, who aspired to that place, and could do much by the reputation of his greatnesse, and because of his reuenues, and the glorie gotten in the late conquest of *Millan*, had obtained the voices of fifteene Cardinals, pushed on either by their proper interests, or for the affection they bare to him, or by the memory of the benefites they had receiued of Pope *Leo*; and some with this hope, that when he should despaire to obtaine the Popedome for himselfe, he would fauour those that had bene readie to stand for him. But many things impugned his desire. For to many it seemed preiudiciall, that one of the same family should succeed the dead Pope, and that it would be a president to begin to dispose of the Popedome by succession. All the ancient Cardinals were opposite hereunto, who callenged that dignitie for themselues, and could not endure the election of any one that was vnder fiftie yeares of age. All those that were of the *French* part were against him, with whom did ioyne also some of the Imperiall faction: for notwithstanding in the beginning the Cardinall *Colonno* gaue out that he would be for him, yet afterwards he opposed himselfe openly against him: as also those Cardinals that had bene discontented with Pope *Leo*, declared themselues his great enemies. Neuertheless amid these difficulties he was sustained by an effectuall hope, that such as were of his side making more then a third part of the Colledge, so long as they stood vnited, the election could not be accomplished without their consent, whereupon he hoped that in progresse of time his aduersaries would either be wearie or deuided, there being many among them who for their age were not able to endure long paine and discommoditie: and withall, though they stood firme not to create him at all, yet they would not agree of the creation of another, euery one striuing to cause either himselfe or his friend to be elected, and many of them retaining a setled obstinacie not to giue place one to another. But the change of the estate of *Perousa* did somewhat qualifie the obstinacy of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, by the instance of Cardinall *Petrucci*, one of the Cardinals of his faction, who being chiefe of the Estate of *Sienna*, and fearing lest by his absence there might happen some mutation in the Citie, whereunto he vnderstood the Duke of *Vrbin* wold addresse his armie, did vehemently labor to aduance the election of the new Pope: at whose instance and also in consideration of the danger wherein *Florence* would be, if *Sienna* should happen to change, the Cardinall *de Medicis* began somewhat to incline to the same, although he had not yet determined to whō to giue his voice. But as they made the scrutinie in the Conclaue, according to the custome, Cardinall *Adrian* Bishop of *Derthuso*, a *Flemming* by nation, who had bene Schoolemaister to the Emperour, and by his meanes made Cardinall vnder Pope *Leo*, and at that time gouerned *Spaine* in the absence of the Emperour, was proposed, no man hauing any affection to chuse him, but to passe away that morning. Yet some one beginning to discouer himselfe for him, the Cardinall of *S. Xisto* began to recount and amplifie his vertues & knowledge in a long cōtinued speech, wherupon some Cardinals beginning to yeeld, the residue followed from hand to hand, though more by compulsion then by counsell: so that by the voices of all the Cardinals he was created Pope the very same morning, the parties thēselues that had created him being not able to render any reason, why amid so many troubles and dangers of the Ecclesiasticke estate, they had chosen for Pope a stranger, absent so long a distance of countrey, and to whom, neither his former merites, nor his conuersation had with the other Cardinals (of whom his name was hardly knowne,) and who had neuer seene *Italy*, and was without hope euer to haue seene it, did procure him any fauour. Of which extrauagant kind of election, being not able to excuse themselues by any shew of reason, they attributed the cause to the holy Ghost, who is wont (as they alledged) to inspire the hearts of the Cardinals in the electing of Popes. He receiued the newes of his election in the towne of *Victoria* which is in *Biscay*; vpon receit whereof, taking vpon him no other name then his owne, he caused himselfe to be called *Adrian* the sixt. Vpon the mutation of *Perousa*, after the bands of souldiers had lingred certaine dayes to march, not without some litle preiudice to their other

Election of Pope Adrian the sixt.

buſineſſe, they departed (to the end to leuie money of their friends) from *Perouſa* and *Todie*, where *Camilla Vrſin* had reſtored the exiles: and the Duke of *Vrbin* with the reſidue leauing *Malateſta* in *Perouſa*, marched with great diligence towards *Sienna*, hauing with them *Lactantius Petrucci*, whom Pope *Leo* had depriued of the Biſhopricke of *Soana*, for that the Emperours officers had hindred *Borgueſo* and *Fabio* the ſonnes of *Pandolfe Petrucci* in their departure from *Naples*. Thoſe that gouerned in *Sienna* had no other hopes then in the ſuccours of the *Florentines*; for they had intelligence with the Cardinall *de Medicis*, at whoſe requeſt, his faction ruling for him in his abſence the Eſtate of *Florence*, vnderſtanding that the Duke of *Vrbin* was gone from *Perouſa*, diſpatched preſently to *Sienna*, *Guido Vaine* with an hundred light horſemen and prouiſion of money, to ioyne with them certaine bands of footmen which they of *Sienna* had leuied. But the principall foundation was vpon the forces appointed many dayes before. For when they had bene aduertiſed of the firſt mouing of the Duke of *Vrbin* and the *Baillons*, ſtanding in feare of *Tuſcane*, they had ſolicited to wage the *Swiſſers* of the Canton of *Berne*, who being in number ſomewhat more then a thouſand, were remaining within *Bolognia* with the Biſhop of *Piſtoya*, making no reckoning of the commandement ſent to them by their Lords to returne into *Swiſſerland*: the which practiſe albeit it drew a longer time then was needfull by reaſon of many difficulties obiected by the Biſhop of *Piſtoya*, who deſired to offer this companie to him that ſhould become Pope, yet at laſt it was accompliſhed, not without great expences, beſides the leuying of foure hundred *Almaine* footmen, who were ioyned in *Bolognia* with the *Swiſſers*. They had alſo called out of *Lombardie Iohn de Medicis*, and with thoſe forces arriuing in time, they made no doubt to aſſure the affaires of *Sienna*, which were now reduced to very ill termes, both for that the greateſt part of the people enuied the preſent gouernment, and generally all the inhabitants for an ancient hatred againſt the *Florentines*, could hardly endure that their bands of ſouldiers ſhould enter into *Sienna*. But the matter that increaſed the danger, was the abſence of Cardinall *Petrucci*, in whoſe place notwithſtanding his nephew *Francis* did what he poſſibly could to ſuſtaine things, yet his authoritie was not equall to the Cardinals. For this cauſe, being carefull either to auoide or to prolong the danger preſent, (whereunto the chiefe citizens were not oppoſite) they had diſpatched Embaſſadours to the Duke of *Vrbin* as ſoone as he was entred vpon the territories of *Sienna*, who notwithſtanding from the beginning he had required an alteration of the gouernment, and thirtie thouſand duckats, yet afterwards he moderated his demands, in ſo much as it was greatly to be feared, that there would grow betweene the Duke and the *Siennois* ſome compoſition, either by the conſent of the Gouernours, or, by the motion of the people, againſt their wils. Neuertheleſſe the bands of the *Florentines* entring continually into *Sienna*, and the bruite running, that *Iohn de Medicis* approched with the *Swiſſers*, ſuch as would not heare ſpeake of the accord, tooke ſo much the more courage to hinder it from concluſion: in ſo much as the Duke being drawne neare to the wals of *Sienna* with his armie, which contained not aboue ſeuen thouſand footmen, the moſt part leuied at randon, when he had ſtayed there one day, the hopes of the accord diminiſhing, and the *Swiſſers* being come within a dayes iourney, he raiſed his campe from before the walls of *Sienna* to retire into his owne Eſtate. *Sienna* being ſuccoured, the ſame companies turned towards *Perouſa*, the *Florentines* taking occaſion to execute ſpeedily the thing which they deſired, being thereunto alſo ſolicited by the Colledge of Cardinals, vnder whoſe name and authoritie the ſtate of the Church was gouerned in the abſence of the Pope, and for which reaſon the Cardinall of *Cortona*, who ſince the time of Pope *Leo* was Legate of the Citie of *Perouſa*, was perſonally preſent in the armie. But ſince the creation of the Pope, there was in the Colledge no greater vnitie or reſolution then had bene before in the Conclaue, but the variations were more apparent, for that they had ſet downe an order, that euery moneth the affaires ſhould be gouerned by three Cardinals, who ſhould haue the title of *Priors*, whoſe office was to aſſemble the reſidue, and to diſpatch the matters determined. Then the firſt three that were newly entred, oppoſing againſt the Cardinall *de Medicis*, who was immediatly returned to *Florence* after the election of the Pope, began to crie out, that the bands of the *Florentines* ſhould do no harme to the lands of the Church; who hauing already ſacked the towne of *Paſignan*, which had refuſed to lodge them, and afterwards being beſtowed within *Olma* three miles from *Perouſa*, vnder a hope almoſt certaine to carry that Citie, had made ſmall reckoning of thoſe commandements, if they had not ſoone perceiued the vanitie of their hopes. For the

The Duke of Vrbin and the Baillons before Sienna.

family of the *Baillons* had cauſed many bands of ſouldiers to enter into *Perouſa*, and had greater authoritie with the people then *Gentil* who followed the armie. Therefore deſpairing of the victorie, and hauing in vaine aſſayed to carry it by compoſition, they retired ſomewhat aboue the borders of *Perouſa*, as though they would not oppoſe againſt the will of the Colledge, and entred into the countrey of *Montfeltro*, which except Saint *Leo* and the Rocke of *Matuola*, was wholly returned vnder the obedience of the Duke of *Vrbin*: and after they had eaſily recouered it, armes were layd downe on that ſide, as it were by a peaceable conuention, both for that the Duke was not mightie enough to continue the warre againſt the *Florentines*, neither had they any cauſe, either for their owne profite or to content others, to moleſt him. For the Colledge, wherein the aduerſaries of the Cardinall *de Medicis* could do moſt, had at the ſame inſtant couenanted with him, that he might retaine the Eſtate which he had recouered vntill the Popes coming into *Italy*, and longer if it ſo pleaſed the Pope, and that he ſhould not moleſt the *Florentines* nor the *Siennois*, nor enter into the pay or aide of any Prince.

Alexandria taken by the Imperials.

Hitherto the matters of *Lombardie* had proceeded quietly, the one part hauing want of money, and the other of men: and therefore the Imperiall ſouldiers who were not payed, refuſing to ſtirre out of their lodgings, there was diſpatched into *Alexandria* onely *Iohn Saſſetella* with his regiment and other ſouldiers and ſubiects of the Duchie of *Millan*. This Captaine in the beginning of the warre changing a benefite certaine for hopes vncertaine, left the pay of the *Venetians* to take the wages of the Duke of *Millan*, baniſhed as yet from his Eſtate: and when he was approched neare *Alexandria*, the raſhneſſe of the *Guelfes* of *Alexandria* who defended the Citie more then the *French* ſouldiers, made that eaſie to him which all men eſteemed hard: for that not being able to withſtand the enemies, with whom they were gone out to skirmiſh, they gaue them occaſion to enter pelmell with them into the Citie, which became the prey of the victors, and not many dayes after certaine bands of the *French* that were brought into *Aſt* by meanes of certain *Guelfes* of that towne, were expulſed thence with the ſame facilitie. But of this ſhort and vncertaine quietneſſe, there were already diſcerned the beginnings of verie great troubles to approach. For although in the Diots of the *Swiſſers* there was great contention about the demands of the *French* King, the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Suitz* remaining obſtinate againſt him, the Canton of *Lucerna* wholly for him, and the reſidue deuided among themſelues, the publike affaires alſo being troubled by the couetouſneſſe of priuate perſons, many of whom demanded of the King, ſome penſions, others the old debts: yet they accorded to him at laſt thoſe proportions of footmen, which he required for the recouerie of the Duchie of *Millan*, who to the number of more then ten thouſand, deſcended into *Lombardie* by the mountaines of *S. Bernard* and *S. Goddard*, and were conducted by the Baſtard of *Sauoy* great Maiſter of *France*, and by *Galeas de S. Seuerin* Maiſter of the horſe. The Emperour (to whom the King of *England*, being eſtranged from the amitie of the *French*, had lent a great quantitie of money) to the end to make prouiſion againſt ſo great an emotion, had ſent *Ierome Adorno* to *Trent*, to leuie ſixe thouſand Lanceknights, and to leade them to *Millan*, together with the perſon of *Francis Sforce*: whoſe coming was then eſteemed of great importance, to keepe more firme and conſtant *Millan* and the other places of that Eſtate, which greatly deſired his preſence; and by his authoritie and fauour the more eaſily to exact money, whereof there was extreame want. At the ſame time the people of *Millan* not knowing of the prouiſions made by the Emperour, had ſent money to *Trent* to wage foure thouſand footmen, who being prepared by that time that *Adorno* came thither, he finding them ready, whileſt the other ſixe thouſand could be entertained, drew preſently with theſe towards *Millan*, to defend *Coma* by the Vale of *Voltolina*: but the *Griſons* denying to giue him paſſage, he paſſed at vnawares, and with ſo great diligence vpon the territories of *Bergama*, and from thence to *Guiaradadda*, that the *Venetian* Gouernours who were within *Bergama*, could not be ready in time to ſtop them. And after he had led theſe firſt companies of Lanceknights to *Millan*, he returned with the ſame diligence to *Trent*, to guide *Francis Sforce* and the other footmen to *Millan*: in which Citie, beſides all other prouiſions, there was great care had to augment the hatred of the people, which was great, againſt the *French*, to the end they might be the more ready to defend themſelues, and to relieue the common neceſſities with money. And hereunto was much helping many counterfet letters and falſe meſſages, together with other cunning ſtratagemes proceeding from the diligence and art of *Moron*. But the thing that moſt of all aduanced ſo great an

Ten thouſand Swiſſers deſcend into the Duchy of Millan for the Frēch king

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inclination, was the preachings and Sermons of *Andrew Barbato* a religious man of the Order of Saint *Auguſtine*, who drawing to him a wonderfull concourſe and affluence of people, ſtirred them vp and encouraged them maruellouſly to ſtand vpon their owne defence, and to keepe their countrey from the yoke of ſtrangers, capitall enemies to that Citie. He ſet before them the example of *Parma*, a weake and ſmall Citie in compariſon of *Millan*, and put them in mind of the actions of their Elders, whoſe name had bene of great reputation through all *Italy*: declaring vnto them how much men were bound to defend their countrey, for the which if the Gentiles, who expected no other recompence then glorie, offered themſelues willingly euen to death, what ought Chriſtians to do, for whom, dying in ſo holy an enterpriſe, beſides the glorie of this world, euerlaſting life in the kingdome of heauen, was prepared for recompence? That they had to conſider, what ruine the victorie of the *French* men would bring vpon that Citie, who hauing bene ſo auſtere and grieuous vnto them before without any cauſe, what will they now be, when they eſteeme themſelues ſo much offended and wronged? That no puniſhment of the people of *Millan* would ſatisfie their crueltie and hatred: That all the goods of the Citie could not ſatisfie their couetouſneſſe: and that nothing could content them but the vtter defacing of the name and memorie of the inhabitants of *Millan*; and that by an horrible example they ſurpaſſe the inhumane crueltie of *Federike Barbaroſſa*. Theſe ſpeeches ſo augmented the hatred of the inhabitants, and the feare of the victorie of the *French*, that it was now more neceſſarie to pacifie and retaine them, then to prouoke them. In this meane while *Proſper Colonno* vſed great diligence to raiſe, repaire, and relieue the baſtillions and rampiers of the trences, with intention to ſtay at *Millan*, which he hoped to be able to defend for certaine moneths, though the ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers* came not at all. And being mindfull alſo of the defence of the other townes, he diſpatched to *Nouaro*, *Philip Torniel*, and to *Alexandria Monſignorin Viſconte*, the one with two thouſand, and the other with fifteen hundred *Italian* footmen, who liued vpon the people, for that they were not payed. He had likewiſe ſent to *Pauie*, *Anthonie de Leua* with two thouſand Lanceknights and a thouſand *Italians*; and beſides theſe, he kept with himſelf within *Millan* ſeuen hundred men at armes, ſeuen hundred light horſmen, and twelue thouſand footmen. The apparent danger that remained was, leſt the *French* men ſhould enter into *Millan* by the Caſtle; for remedie whereof, and by the ſame meanes to ſtop them for putting victuals or other prouiſions into the Caſtle, *Proſper* with an inuention highly eſteemed, and in the iudgement of men ſuppoſed wonderfull, cauſed to be made without the Caſtle, betweene the gates that leade to *Verceil* and to *Coma*, two trenches, with a banke to either of them of the earth that was throwne vp, and the length of the trenches (which were diſtant one from another about twentie paces) contained almoſt a mile, euen as long as is the trauerſe of the garden which is behind the Caſtle betweene the two wayes aforeſaid: and at the head of each of theſe two trenches, he erected a fort both high and well manned, the better to annoy the enemies with ſhot if they made their approches on that ſide. Theſe trenches being well defended with footmen that were placed betweene them, letted that no ſuccours could enter into the Caſtle, and that none of the beſieged could get out: and Fortune at the beginning ſhewed by a luckie ſigne, that ſuch an inuention could be no leſſe happie then it was ingenious, in that ſhe permitted that it might be put in execution without any domage at all, for that *Proſper* vſing the benefite of the weather, cauſed to be caſt before day two bankes of ſnow (by the patterne whereof he would haue thoſe of the trenches made) which ſhadowed and couered from the ſhot of the Caſtle the labourers that wrought: and that which helped much to bring this worke to perfection, was the impediment which the *Swiſſers* receiued in paſſing the mountaines, by the ſnow which was wonderfull deepe there.

At which time *Monſieur Lautrech* readdreſſed his companies, of whom he had ſent certaine bands beyond *Po*, and they entring *Florenzola*, ſtripped the guidon of light horſemen of *Lewis Gonzaga*, whom they found ſleeping, without ſtanding any whit vpon their guard. The companies alſo of the *Venetians* were muſtered about the confines of *Cremona*, vnder *Andrew Gritti* & *Theodore Triuulce*, who at laſt being ioyned with the *Swiſſers*, paſſed the riuer of *Adda* the firſt day of March. *Monſieur Lautrech* was Generall of the armie, whoſe authoritie was nothing diminiſhed by the coming of the great Maiſter of *France* nor the Maiſter of the horſe. At the ſame time came to the armie *John de Medicis*, who albeit he had ſolicited and almoſt reſolued to enter into the pay of *Francis Sforce*, and was already vpon the way to go to *Millan*, where he was

John de Medicis for the French king.

was greatly desired, for the good opinion that was had of his valour and conduct; yet being allured by greater and more certaine compositions with the *French* King, and excusing himselfe vpon this, that the money that was promised, was not sent to him from *Millan*: he passed from the territories of *Parma*, where he had sacked the towne of *Busſetto*, for that they had denied him lodging, to the campe of the *French* men, which lay within two miles of the Castle betweene the said wayes of *Verceil* and *Coma*. The third day after the *French* men were incamped, they marched in order, making as though they would assaile the rampier, which notwithstanding they executed not, either for that such had bene the intention of *Monsieur Lautrech* from the beginning, or else for that considering the number of souldiers that were within, the disposition of the people, and the readinesse that appeared in the defendants, the manifest difficultie of the enterprise drew him from it: and the same day the stones of a house that was battered from within, slue *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, a Captaine of very great expectation, and *Camilla Triuulce* bastard sonne to *Iohn Iaques*, as they walked together neare that house, deuising to raise a mount to shoote with the artilleries betweene the two trenches of the enemies. But *Monsieur Lautrech* hauing no confidence to take *Millan* by assault, thought he might be able to carrie it with the longnesse of time, for that with the multitude of his horsemen, and great number of banished men that followed him, with whom he ouerranne almost all the countrey, he gaue great impediments to the entrie of victuals; and withall had broken downe all the mils, and turned the course of such waters as any way gaue reliefe or commoditie to them of *Millan*: and he was not without hope, that the payes would faile to the souldiers within, who were principally entertained and payed with the money of the *Millanois*, for that the Emperour sent but a small quantitie from the kingdome of *Naples* and other places. But the hatred of the people of *Millan* against the *French*, was wonderfull, and maruellous the desire of their new Duke; by reason whereof enduring patiently all discommodities, not onely they changed not their mind for so many vexations, but the youth of the Citie put themselues in armes, and made them Captaines in euery Parish, in so much as they running day and night with great diligence to guard the places farre distant from the armie, eased the souldiers of great labour: At which time meale growing scarce, because the mils were ruined, they forthwith prouided for this incommoditie by the helpe of hand-mils. Thus the warre being reduced from all hope suddenly to take *Millan*, into the labours and cares of a long siege, the Duke of *Millan* (whose departure had bene many dayes foreslowed for want of money, and had bene yet longer if the Cardinall *de Medicis* had not succoured him with nine thousand duckats) departed at last from *Trent* with sixe thousand Lanceknights, and taking the Rocke of *Croara* belonging to the *Venetians*, the better to open his passage, he marched without any impediment through the territories of *Verona* and *Mantua*: and when he had passed the riuer of *Po* at *Casalmaior*, he ariued at *Plaisance*, whither the Marquis of *Mantua* came to him with three hundred men at armes, and accompanied him from thence to *Pauie*, where he stayed waiting for an occasion to passe to *Millan*, where his coming was extremely desired, for that the meanes to leuie money to entertaine the souldiers diminishing dayly more and more, it was thought necessarie to ioyne as soone as might be with the Lanceknights, to take the field, and to seeke to bring the warre to an end. But the difficultie to passe was great, for that as soone as *Monsieur Lautrech* vnderstood of their arriuall in *Plaisance*, he went to lodge at *Cassina* fiue miles from *Millan*, vpon the way that leades to *Pauie*; and had bestowed the *Venetians* within *Binasquo*, which is vpon the same way, both the one and the other being in lodgings well rampiered and fortified: where after they had remained certaine dayes, and in that space had taken *S. Ange* and *S. Colombano*, *Monsieur Lautrech* vnderstanding that *Monsieur d'Escut* his brother whom he had sent into *France* to relate to the King the estate of the affaires, was returned with money, and arriued in the estate of *Millan* with bands of footmen, which he had entertained at *Genes*, he sent *Federike de Bossolo* accompanied with foure hundred Lances and seuen thousand *Swissers* and *Italians* to ioyne with him: by reason of whose coming the Marquis of *Mantua* issued out of *Pauie*, and went to *Gambala* to make head against them. Neuertheless he returned suddenly to *Pauie*, being perswaded that his abode within *Gambala* would be to no purpose, or (as he said) for that they made as though they would retire towards *Thesin* being doubtfull of him, or else (which was more credible) for the feare he had of them, finding them to be more in number then had bene reported vnto him. But they being come to *Gambala* and ioyned with *Monsieur d'Escut*,

The Frenchmē before Millan.

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went to *Nouaro*, and when they had taken the artilleries of the Caſtle which held for them, and battered it, they entred by force at the firſt aſſault, with the ſlaughter of the greateſt part of the footmen that were within; *Philip Torniello* remaining priſoner. For which accident, the Marquis of *Mantua*, who being moued by the letters and redoubled meſſages of *Torniello*, demanding ſuccours of him, was yet once againe iſſued out of *Pauie*, as ſoone as he had knowledge how things went, retired his companies from *Vigeuena*, and leauing onely garriſon within the Caſtle, returned to *Pauie*. The ioyning of forces with *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, and the taking of *Nouaro*, was preiudiciall to the *French* men in a matter of greater importance; for that it was ſo much the more eaſie for *Francis Sforce* to go with his armie of Lanceknights to *Millan*: who, according to an agreement betweene *Proſper* and him, departing one night ſecretly from *Pauie*, (for the guard whereof were left two thouſand footmen and three hundred horſemen with the Marquis of *Mantua*, who refuſing to be ſo far remoued from the Eſtate of the Church, would paſſe no further) tooke a ſtrange and vnuſuall way, and was receiued at *Seſto* by *Proſper*, who went to meete him with part of his companies, and conducted him to *Millan*, where it cannot be told with what ioy he was receiued by the people of *Millan*, the memory of the felicitie wherein they had liued in that Eſtate vnder his father and other Dukes of that name, preſenting it ſelfe before the eyes of all men, together with their deſire to haue a peculiar Prince, more louing to his owne people, and who would be conſtrained to reſpect and eſteeme them more, and not to deſpiſe them by reaſon of his owne vnmeaſurable greatneſſe. *Francis Sforce at Millan.*

After the Duke was gone from *Pauie*, *Monſieur Lautrech* entred into hope to be able to take that Citie, ſo that he went to incampe there as ſoone as he had reaſſembled his armie: and on the other ſide, *Proſper*, not ignorant in what danger it was, diſpatched thither in great diligence a thouſand footmen *Corſicans*, with certaine bands of *Spaniards*, who charging vpon a ſudden the lodging of the *French* armie, paſſed through, partly marching, and partly fighting, and hauing ſlaine many of the *French* men, they made way, and arriued in ſafetie at *Pauie*, where beſide many other incommodities, was great want of gun-powder. Immediatly after *Monſieur Lautrech* began to batter the walls of *Pauie* in two places, to wit, in the ſuburbs of *Saint Marie in Pertico* towards *Theſin*, and at *Borgaratto*; and after he had brought to the earth thirtie fadoms of the wall, he cauſed the aſſault to be giuen, but in vaine: and perceiuing that thoſe within ſtood well vpon their guard, and were reſolued to defend themſelues, he began to deſpaire of the enterpriſe, many difficulties happening dayly: for the money which his brother had brought out of *France* began already to faile, and there was neceſſitie of victuals through the armie, cauſed by the great raines, by reaſon whereof it was hard to bring them to the armie by land, and no leſſe difficult to come by the riuer of *Theſin*, for that the boates being driuen backe by the waues of the water, could not aduance much againſt the ſtreame of the riuer. *Mſſ. Lautrech before Pauie.*

About this time *Proſper* being iſſued out of *Millan* with his whole armie, to draw neare to *Pauie*, was conſtrained by the raines that fell to ſtay at *Binaſqua*, which is in the mid way between *Millan* and *Pauie*, from whence aduancing afterwards as farre as the Charterhouſe, which is within the Parke about fiue miles from *Pauie*, and haply the faireſt Monaſterie in *Italy*, *Monſieur Lautrech* deſpaired to be able to take *Pauie*, and therefore retired his campe to *Landriano*, without reciuing any other impediment of the enemies then certaine light skirmiſhes in the breaking vp. From *Landriano* he went to *Monce*, to receiue with more facilitie the moneys that were ſent to him out of *France*, which ſtayed at *Arona*, for that *Anchiſe Viſconte* ſent for that purpoſe from *Millan* to *Buſto* which is neare *Arona*, kept it from paſſing any further. This impediment reduced the affaires of the *French* vnto extreme confuſion, for that the *Swiſſers* whoſe pay had bene already deferred for many dayes, being impatient, according to their cuſtome, ſent their Captaines to *Monſieur Lautrech*, to complaine, that their nation hauing bene at all times prodigall of their owne bloud for the aduancement of the Crowne of *France*, they were not payed that which was due to them, contrary to all equitie and reaſon: and that by this ingratitude and auarice, it was manifeſt to all the world what ſlender eſtimation was made of their vertue and fidelitie: That they were determined after a vaine expectation of ſo many daies, to expect no other terme, nor to truſt any more in promiſes, which hauing ſo many times bene made vnto them, were alwayes falſified and therefore they would now returne to their houſes, but firſt hauing made knowne to all the world, that the thing that induced them thereunto, was not any feare they had of their enemies who had now taken the field, and much leſſe *The Swiſſers would leaue the French army for that they are not payed.*

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any deſire to eſchue ſuch dangers as men of warre are ſubiect vnto, and which alwayes had bene contemned by the *Swiſſers*, as had bene manifeſted by ſo many experiences: That they gaue him to vnderſtand, that they were ready to fight the day following, with intention to depart the day after: That therefore he ſhould leade them to the field, and make vſe of their forwardneſſe, beſtowing them in the forefront of the whole armie; for that they hoped, as with farre leſſer forces they had vanquiſhed the *French* armie in their owne tents about the borders of *Nouaro*, they ſhould likewiſe ſubdue the *Spaniards* in their lodgings, who albeit they ſurmounted the *French* men in deceits, ſubtilties and ambuſhes, yet they eſteemed themſelues nothing inferiour, ſo long as they were to fight with ſtoutneſſe of courage and force of armes. But *Monſieur Lautrech* conſidering with what perill he ſhould aſſaile the enemies in their tents, laboured to moderate that furie, and told them that though the money was long in coming, it was not the Kings fault, but by reaſon of the danger of the wayes, and that notwithſtanding it would come within a very few dayes. But when he could not winne nor retaine them, either with his authoritie, or with petitions, promiſes, or reaſons, he determined ſince they ſhould be the first that ſhould feele the danger, rather to trie the fortune of a battell with great diſaduantage, then vtterly to loſe the war, as it was manifeſt it wold be loſt, for that if he conſented not to fight, the *Swiſſers* were reſolued to depart. The armie of the enemie lay incamped at *Bicocca*, which is a Farme houſe within three miles of *Millan*, where is a camping place very ſpacious, enuironed with great gardens, which are incloſed with deepe ditches, and the fields thereabout are full of fountaines and brookes, deriued and conueyed according to the maner of *Lombardie*, to water the medows. *Monſieur Lautrech* iſſuing out of *Monce*, drew towards that place with his army, and ſuppoſing that the enemies lying in a place of ſuch aduantage would ſtand firme for the defence thereof, he ordered his bands in this ſort: That the *Swiſſers* with the artilleries ſhould go charge the front of the campe and the artilleries of the enemie, which quarter was guarded by the Lanceknights, commanded by *George Fronſperg*: That on the left hand *Monſieur d'Eſcut* with three hundred Lances and a ſquadron of footmen *French* and *Italians*, ſhould place themſelues vpon the way that goeth to *Millan*, and ſhould draw towards the bridge by the which might be made an entrie into the lodgings of the enemies: That for his part he would labour to enter vpon their lodgings with a ſquadron of horſemen, which enterpriſe he hoped to accompliſh rather by art then by open force, for that to beguile them, he commanded that all his ſouldiers ſhould put vpon their caſſacks the red croſſe, which was the marke of the armie Imperiall, in ſtead of the white croſſe, which was the ſigne of the *French* armie. On the other ſide *Proſper Colonno*, who becauſe of the ſtrength of the place held the victorie very certaine, and therefore determined (as he ſaid) to abide the enemies vpon the ditch; as ſoone as he heard of their comming, cauſed all his companies to arme themſelues, and hauing appointed to euery one his place, he ſent forthwith to *Francis Sforce* to come quickly to the campe with the multitude of people that was armed, who, as ſoone as he had aſſembled foure hundred horſemen and ſixe thouſand footmen by the ringing of a bel, whē he was come, was appointed by *Proſper* to guard the bridge. But when the *Swiſſers* were approched neare the tents of the enemies, although for the height of the ditches, more eminent then they ſuppoſed, they could not aſſaile the artilleries according to their firſt hopes, yet thoſe difficulties nothing diminiſhing their valour, they gaue a charge vpon the ditch, ſtriuing with wonderfull courage to ſurmount and leape it. And at the ſame time *Monſieur d'Eſcut* who was drawne towards the bridge, finding there ſo great a guard, contrary to his opinion, was conſtrained to retire. *Proſper* alſo diſcouered immediatly the wiles of *Monſieur Lautrech*, and to meete therewith, commanding his people to put vpon their heads bundels of yong corne and graſſe, he made thoſe ſubtilties vnprofitable: ſo that all the burden of the warre lay vpon the neckes of the *Swiſſers*; who, as well for the diſaduantage of the place, as for the valour of the defendants, were much trauelled without any profite, and receiued many harmes, not onely by ſuch as fought in front, but alſo by many *Spaniſh* harquebuziers, who lying hid among the corne now almoſt ripe, ſhot certainly at them, and beat them ſo fiercely in flanke, that in the end after they were well payed for their raſhneſſe, by the ſlaughter of many of them, they were conſtrained to retire: and ioyning themſelues with the *French*, they returned all together in good order with their artilleries to *Monce*, without receiuing any domage in their retiring. The Marquis of *Peſquiero* with the other Captaines, importuned *Proſper* to giue the ſigne to purſue the enemie, ſeeing they had already turned their backs:

Mſſ. Lautrech determined to ſet vpon his enemies.

The encounter of Bicocca.

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but he beleeuing, as it was indeed, that they retired in good order and not in maner of flying, and withall being the better assured thereof by the report of such as by his direction were mounted vpon certaine high trees, made alwayes this answer, that he would not put into the power of fortune the victorie which was assuredly gotten, nor deface by his owne rashnesse the memorie of other mens temeritie: To morrow (said he) will make manifest to you what hath bene done to day, for that the enemies feeling better their wounds when they are cold, losing courage, will returne ouer the Mounts, and so shall we obtaine without danger that which this day we should aduenture to get with perill. There were found dead neare the ditch about three thousand *Swissers*, of such as being more valiant and forward, were most resolute to thrust themselues into the danger, among whom were two and twentie Captaines. Of the enemies there died very few, and not one person of qualitie, except *Iohn de Cordona* Count of *Culisano*, who was stricken through his helmet with a small shot. *The ouerthrow of the Swissers.*

The day following *Monsieur Lautrech* being out of all hope of the victorie, went from *Monce* to passe the riuer of *Adda* neare *Tresso*: and from thence the *Swissers* taking their way through the territories of *Bergamo*, returned into their mountaines, diminished in numbers, but much more in valour; for that it is certaine, that the harmes they receiued at *Bicocca* so much afflicted them, that in many yeares after they expressed not their accustomed valour. The great Master and the Master of the horse departed at the same time with them, and many of the *French* Captaines. *Monsieur Lautrech* with his companies of men at armes went to *Cremona*, to giue order for the defence of that Citie, wherein he left his brother, and not many dayes after passed the mounts, carrying to the *French* King not reports of victories or triumphs, but a iustification of himselfe, with complaints against others for the losse of such an Estate, hapning partly by his owne errors, partly by the negligence and indiscretion of such as were about the King, and partly (if it be lawfull to speake the truth) by the malice of fortune. *Monsieur Lautrech* tooke order also afore his departure from *Cremona*, that *Monsieur de Bonneual* and *Federike de Bossolo* with sixe companies of men at armes, and a sufficient garrison of footmen, should enter the towne of *Loda*, which had bin holden for the King all the time of the war. He did this for that the Imperiall Captains had bin hindred that they could not presently turne their forces thither, by reason of a tumult which hapned among those Lanceknights which *Francis Sforce* had brought from *Trent* with him, who demanded that for reward of the victorie there should be giuen to them a moneths pay; a demand which the Captaines said was no lesse vnreasonable then vniust, for that there was great difference between the defending of themselues from such as assaulted them, & the vanquishing of those that charged them; and for as much as it could not be said that the enemies were vanquished, who were retired, not in flying but in good order, carrying with them their artilleries and baggage. But the insolencie of the Lanceknights being of more force then reason or the authoritie of the Captaines, they were in the end constrained to consent, promising to pay them within a certaine time. So it happened after many dayes were past in these affaires, that the same day that the *French* Lances entred into the Citie of *Loda*, after whom followed the footbands, that on the other side the Imperiall armie came, and afore them all the Marquis of *Pesquiero* with the *Spanish* footmen, the *French* men hauing not yet deuided among themselues the quarters of the towne, nor bestowed their guards, but being full of confusion and tumult, as it often happeneth when men of warre enter a towne to lodge in it. Of which occasion the Marquis purposing to make vse, assaulted with great diligence one of the suburbes of the towne which was enuironed with a wall, where he found no great resistance: and when he was entred, all the *French* men within the towne, terrified with the suddennesse of the accident, and also for that their footmen were not yet come, betooke themselues in tumult to flie towards the bridge which they had built vpon *Adda*: and the *Spaniards* at the same instant entring the Citie, some by the walls and some by the rampiers, followed them euen to the riuer, and in the chase tooke many souldiers, and almost all the Captaines, except *Federike* and *Bonneual*: and with the same furie they sacked that vnfortunate Citie. From *Loda* the Marquis went to *Pisqueton*, which he tooke by composition: and not many dayes after *Prosper* with the whole armie passed the riuer of *Adda*, to go and incampe afore *Cremona*, which he had no sooner approched, then *Monsieur d'Escut* began to hearken to accord, for that hauing no other hope to be able to hold out, then vpon the coming of the Admirall, whom the King (desiring to preserue that which yet held good for him in the Estate of *Millan*) sent into *Italy* with foure hun- *Mons. Lautrech returneth into France.* *Loda taken by the Imperials.*

hundred Lances and ten thouſand footmen, he thought he did good ſeruice to the preſent affaires, if without putting himſelfe in danger he could at his eaſe expect what would be the iſſue of his coming. And on the other ſide, *Proſper* deſired to rid himſelfe ſpeedily of the affaires of *Cremona*, that he might endeuour to reeſtabliſh within *Genes* the brethren of the *Adorneis* afore the ſuccours of the enemies arriued in *Italy*. They agreed therefore that *Monſieur d'Eſcut* ſhould depart out of *Cremona* within fortie dayes with all his ſouldiers, and that he ſhould be permitted to come forth with Enſignes diſplayed, and with his artilleries, if within that time (which determined the ſixe and twentieth day of Iune) there came not to him ſuch a reſcue as either might make him able by force to paſſe the riuer of *Po*, or elſe to take one of thoſe Cities in the State of *Millan* which was poſſeſſed with garriſon: That likewiſe he ſhould procure that all that was holden for the King within the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be abandoned, except the Caſtles of *Millan*, *Cremona*, and *Nouaro*: for the obſeruation of which couenants he ſhould deliuer foure hoſtages: That in the caſe aforeſaid the priſoners on both parts ſhould be reſtored, and the *French* men ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe ſafely into *France* with their artilleries and baggage.

The accord being finiſhed and the hoſtages receiued, the Emperours armie marched forthwith to *Genes*, which they approched on two ſides: the Marquis of *Peſquiero* with his regiments of *Spaniſh* footmen and *Italians* were incamped on the ſide of *Codifa*, and *Proſper* with the men at armes and Lanceknights vpon the oppoſite ſide of *Biſagnia*. The Citie of *Genes* was gouerned by the Duke *Octauian Fregoſa*, a Prince certainly of excellent vertue, and who as well for his iuſtice as for his other good parts was as much loued in that Citie as any Prince could be loued in a Citie full of factions, and where the memorie of their ancient libertie was not yet extinguiſhed in mens minds. He had waged two thouſand *Italian* footmen, with whom he hoped to defend himſelfe, for that the peoples of the towne being deuided among themſelues by factions, although he was compaſſed about by ſo mightie an armie, compounded of ſo great diuerſitie of languages and nations, he forbare to take armes, but ſtood to behold things in the ſame maner, and with the ſame eyes wherewith in other times he was wont to behold his other troubles, wherin without ꝙ danger or domage of ſuch as tooke no armes, the publike authoritie being tranſported from one family to another, there was ſeene no other mutation, then that in the Pallace of the Duke were beſtowed other inhabitants, other Captaines, and other bands of ſouldiers for the guard of the place. As ſoone as the armie was approched the towne, the Duke began to ſolicite cõpoſition by the meanes of *Benedict Vinaldi* a *Genoway*, whom he ſent to the Captaines: but this ſolicitation began to grow ſomewhat cold by the coming of *Peter* of *Nauarre*, who being ſent by the *French* King with two light galleys for the ſuretie of *Genes*, entred the hauen at the ſame inſtant. Neuertheleſſe the Marquis of *Peſquiero* hauing begun to batter the walls with the artillerie, they returned to parley of accord more then before; and all difficulties being reſolued, were vpon the point of concluſion, at what time the *Spaniſh* footmen, who the ſame day had battered a tower neare to the gate, perceiuing that thoſe within ſtood not vpon their guard, which was cauſed haply through their hope of compoſition, they ſeized vpon it, and began ſuddenly to enter the Citie, as well by that tower, as by the wall that was ruined: by reaſon whereof all that part of the armie running thither, the Marquis when he had ſet his bands in order, and ſent to *Proſper* to ſignifie vnto him what had happened, cauſing the trumpets to be ſounded, they entred into the Citie, wherein all the ſouldiers and citizens betaking themſelues ſome to flight, and ſome to ſhut themſelues in their houſes, there was no reſiſtance made. The Archbiſhop of *Salerne* and the Captaine of the guard, with many other Captaines and ſouldiers ſaued themſelues by ſea. The Duke, who for his diſeaſe was not able to ſtirre, cauſed the Pallace to be ſhut, and ſent word to the Marquis of *Peſquiero* that he would yeeld vnto him, in whoſe houſe he died within a few dayes after. *Peter* of *Nauarre* was taken, and all the goods of the Citie became a prey to the victors; many rich families binding themſelues, ſome to one band of ſouldiers and ſome to another, to pay a great ſumme of money, which they aſſured either with pawnes and gages, or with Merchants bils, to redeeme and ſaue their houſes from ſacking. In the ſame maner alſo was preſerued that famous diſh, which is kept with ſo great reuerence in the Cathedrall Church. It cannot be named what quantities of ſiluer veſſels, iewels, money, and moſt rich moueables were made pillage, that Citie by the great traffike of merchandize being repleniſhed with infinite wealth. And this ſo great

Genes taken by the Imperials.

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a calamitie was ſo much the more eaſie to be ſuffered, by how much at the prayers of the brethren of the *Adornis*, and for that the inhabitants had ſhewed no token of hatred, and becauſe they were almoſt vpon the point of accord, the Captaines gaue order that not one *Genoway* ſhould be made priſoner, nor any one woman forced. After this *Anthonie Adorney* was elected Duke, who after the armie was gone, incamped before the Caſtellet with ſuch artilleries as the *Florentines* had lent him, tooke the Citadell the third day, and the Church of Saint *Francis*, and the day after the Caſtellet, which was rendred to him by the Captaine vnder articles of compoſition. The mutation of *Genes* tooke from the *French* King all hope to be able to ſuccour the affaires of *Lombardie*: ſo that the armie that he had newly ſent, which was now arriued vpon the territories of *Aſt*, returned backe againe; and *Monſieur d'Eſcut* although he had ſtayed in *Cremona* certaine dayes beyond the time appointed for certaine difficulties which happened touching the Caſtles of *Treſſo*, *Lecquo* and *Domuſſola*, when they were reſolued, he paſſed into *France* with his companies, and in his departure had not onely kept faith with him, but alſo was honorably receiued and entertained whereſoeuer he paſſed.

Monſieur d'Eſcut returneth into France.

But at the ſame time when theſe things ſucceeded in *Lombardie*, *Bologna* ſtood not altogether in quiet, as well by reaſon of that warre, as for the abſence of the Pope: and *Tuſcane* alſo was much leſſe peaceable. For touching *Bologna*, *Hannibal Bentiuole*, and with him *Hannibal Rangon*, when they had ſecretly gotten together an armie of foure thouſand footmen, approched one morning by the breake of day with three peeces of artilleries on that ſide towards the mountaines; and for that they in the towne made no bruite, ſome of them paſſed the ditch, and faſtened their ladders to the wall: but the inhabitants within, who had knowledge of their comming the day before, beginning to make a noiſe when they ſaw it was time, and to giue fire to the artilleries, and many iſſuing out at the ſame inſtant to aſſaile them, they put them preſently to flight, leauing their artilleries behind, and in the chaſe *Hannibal Rangon* was hurt in the back. It was beleeued almoſt for certaine, that this enterpriſe was attempted by the knowledge and conſent of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, who fearing leſt the Pope at his coming into *Italy*, either of his owne counſell, or by the incitation of others, would ſeeke to diminiſh his greatneſſe, deſired that being troubled for ſo great a loſſe of the Eccleſiaſtike Eſtate, he might not onely haue need to thinke vpon other matters then to perſecute him, but alſo be conſtrained to haue recourſe to his aide and counſell. But far more tedious and great were the trauels and dangers of *Tuſcane*, for that the Eſtate of *Sienna* was ſcarcely aſſured of the Duke of *Vrbin*, and the affaires of *Perouſa* and *Montfeltro* pacified, when the *French* King by the ſuggeſtion of the Cardinal of *Volterra*, gaue order again that *Ranſe de Cere* who lay at *Rome* without any employment, ſhould aſſay to charge the Eſtate of *Florence*, reeſtabliſhing in that Citie the brethren and nephewes of the Cardinall of *Volterra*, who had declared himſelfe with all his, friend and confederate of the King: for which enterpriſe, becauſe the King at that time was in great neceſſitie, the Cardinall was to aduance all neceſſarie ſummes of money, receiuing the Kings promiſe to repay them within a certaine time. Whileſt *Ranſe* was making his preparations, theſe matters coming to the knowledge of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, conſtrained him for feare leſt the Duke of *Vrbin* ſhould likewiſe ſtirre, to agree, that without preiudice to the rights which the *Florentines* and the Duke pretended to the townes in *Montfeltro*, the Duke ſhould be Captaine generall of that Commonweale for one whole yeare, and for another yeare at pleaſure, and that the time of his pay ſhould begin the firſt day of the next moneth of September. For the ſame cauſe he retained in the pay of the *Florentines Horace Baillon*, but with this condition, that the time of his pay ſhould not begin vntill the moneth of Iune, for that he was entertained and bound to the *Venetians* vntil that time: which contract although it was likewiſe made in the name of *Malateſta* his brother, yet he would not ratifie it, for that hauing afore receiued money to ioyne himſelfe with *Ranſe de Cere* with a charge of two thouſand footmen and an hundred light horſemen, he would not openly blemiſh his owne honour, nor on the other ſide prouoke the hatred of the Cardinall and the *Florentines* by giuing them new occaſions: and therefore fayning himſelfe to be ſicke, he ſent to *Ranſe*, being then come to the borough of *Pieua*, two thouſand footmen, an hundred light horſemen, and foure Falconets, making excuſe, that becauſe of his ſickneſſe he could not go thither in perſon: and to the Cardinall he gaue hope that he would take no more payes of the enemie; and that as ſoone as the terme was finiſhed for the which he had bene payed, he would ratifie the contract made in his name, and that in the

Emotions in Tuſcane.

meane time he would proceed with as great moderation as he could in ſuch actions as he could not refuſe by reaſon of the payes he had receiued. After this, *Ranſe* entred into the territorie of *Sienna* with fiue hundred horſe and ſeuen thouſand footmen, to attempt the mutation of that gouernment, with a traine of the ſelfe ſame exiles which had followed the Duke of *Vrbin*: and if the enterpriſe had ſorted to good iſſue, it was not to be doubted, he hauing power by that meanes to enter on that ſide into the bowels of the *Florentine* dominion, but the like ſucceſſe would haue followed him touching the affaires of *Florence*. But on the other ſide, the *Florentines* foreſeeing that danger, and deſiring that the enemies ſhould not approch to *Sienna*, had ſent to that State all their regiments vnder the conduct of *Guido Rangon*, elected for that emotion Generall of the armie: whoſe intention was to conſtraine the enemies to loſe time; for that he was not ignorant that without ſome happie ſucceſſe they would quickly fall into want of money; and alſo to cut off and ſtop their victuals as much as he could: gouerning himſelfe therefore according to the proceedings of the enemies, he laboured to put ſeuerall garriſons, ſometime into theſe townes, and ſometime into others that were neareſt to the Eſtates of the *Siennois* and the *Florentines*. In which remouing of ſouldiers from one place to another, it happened that the companie of horſemen of *Vitelli* going from *Torrita* to *Aſinalunga*, encountred on the way with three hundred horſemen of the enemies, and were ouerthrowne, *Ieronimo de Peppoli* Lieutenant to *Vitelli* being taken priſoner with fiftie men at armes and two enſignes. *Ranſe* addreſſed himſelfe firſt to the Citie of *Chiuſa*, a Citie more noble for the memorie of her antiquitie and the renowmed acts of *Porſenna* her King, then for her preſent condition; which being not won, for that bringing with him no nother artilleries then foure falconets, it was very difficult to take townes that were defended with ſouldiers, he paſſed further betweene *Torrita* and *Aſinalunga*, to draw neare to *Sienna*; but hauing no commoditie of victuals amid ſo many townes of the enemies, and ſeeking to get ſome by force, he aſſailed the Caſtle of *Torrita*, where was in garriſon an hundred men at armes of Count *Guido Rangons*, & fifteen hundred footmen; and when he had leuied his campe from thence without doing any thing, keeping his way, he went to *Montelifre*, and from thence to *Bagno de Rapolano*, which is within twelue miles of *Sienna*, in which Citie the *Florentines* in the beginning had beſtowed the Count *Petillano*. But the Count *Guido* preuenting by his diligence and celeritie all theſe deuices, entred the ſame day into *Sienna* with two hundred light horſemen, leauing his armie behind, which followed after: ſo that the ſuccours that approched, and the reputation of *Ranſe* which diminiſhed greatly in this expedition, as well with his owne companies as amongſt the enemies, together with the knowledge that he was reduced into great neceſſitie of victuals, brought no litle diſcourage to them of *Sienna*, who were very deſirous of alteration: and yet he preſented himſelfe within halfe a mile of the walls, and ſeeing no inſurrection made in his fauour, retired, hauing remained there foure and twentie houres; and the ſame day that he retired (but after he was gone) the bands of the *Florentines* entred into *Sienna*; who albeit they were put in readineſſe to purſue him, yet they ſtayed when they ſaw they could not ouertake him, and ſuffered certaine light horſemen to follow him, and certaine bands of footmen which were before at *Sienna*, by whom he receiued no great domage: but his retraite being in haſte, and haply no leſſe by reaſon of famine, then for feare, he left his artilleries by the wayes, which to his great diſhonour fell into the power of the enemies. He ſtayed at *Acquapendente* to redreſſe his companies which were much diminiſhed; a place ſo much the more aſſured to him, by how much he knew well that the *Florentine* bands would abſtaine from entring vpon the lands of the Church: but falling into want of money and other prouiſions, and the Cardinals of *Volterra*, *Monte*, and *Coma*, with whom by the *French* Kings direction he communicated touching his affaires, beginning now to deſpiſe him, he ouerranne and ſpoiled with thoſe few bands of ſouldiers that remained with him, the ſea-coaſts of *Sienna*, where in vaine he gaue an aſſault to *Orbatello*: for which cauſe the *Florentines* hauing made their armie to march towards the bridge of *Centina*, which is the confine betweene the eſtate of *Sienna* and the dominion of the Church, perceiuing that *Ranſe* did not wholly diſſolue his bands, threatned to inuade the lands of the Church; ſo that the Colledge of Cardinals, to whom it was diſpleaſing that this fire ſhould take hold of the Eſtate of the Church, interpoſed to accord them; a matter indifferently pleaſing to them both: It was acceptable to the *Florentines*, for that by it they were drawne out of a burthen of expences which they made without any fruite: and to *Ranſe* it was no leſſe welcome, for that both he

was

was ill furniſhed for the preſent, and alſo had no hope to increaſe his forces, ſpecially the affaires of the *French* declining in *Lombardie*. The accord contained no other matter then a bare promiſe not to offend one another; which promiſe was made betweene the *Florentines* and *Siennois* on the one part, and *Ranſe de Cere* on the other, putting in pledge at *Rome* of fiftie thouſand duckats for aſſurance of the obſeruation: and touching the pillage that had bene made, they referred themſelues to the arbitration of the Pope when he ſhould come into *Italy*. This Winter there happened in the towne of *Lutques* a dangerous accident: for one *Vincent Poggio* of a noble family, and *Laurence Totti*, vnder colour of particular diſcords, but haply puſhed on rather by ambition and pouertie, tooke armes, and in the publike Pallace ſlue the chiefe Magiſtrate of that Citie: and after running through the Citie, did the like to many other citizens their aduerſaries, with ſuch an vniuerſall feare, that not one durſt oppoſe againſt them. Neuertheleſſe the firſt violence being ceaſſed, thoſe which had amazed others beginning to be fearfull of themſelues, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the offence they had committed, and many citizens interpoſing therein, they iſſued out of the Citie vnder certaine conditions, and when they were gone, they were euery where ſharply perſecuted by the *Lucquois*. The matters of *Lombardie* and *Tuſcane* being appeaſed, as we haue ſaid, but the Colledge of Cardinals taking no care of the Eſtates of the Church, partly for the Popes abſence, but more for the ambition and diſagreements that were among themſelues; *Sigiſmund* the ſonne of *Pandolfe Malateſta* an ancient Lord of *Rimini*, tooke the gouernment of that Citie almoſt wholly into his hands, hauing therein but a very ſmall intelligence. And albeit the Cardinall *de Medicis* at the inſtance of the Colledge, went to *Bologna* as Legate of that Citie, both to recouer *Rimini*, and to reorder the other affaires of *Romagna* which were much troubled, and that the Colledge had promiſed to ſend to his ſuccours the Marquis of *Mantua* Captaine generall of the Church: yet nothing ſorted to effect, as well for want of money, as for that the Cardinals that were his aduerſaries, hindered all deliberations whereby his reputation might be any whit increaſed.

An accident in the towne of Lucques.

The end of the fourteenth Booke.

THE XV. BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

THE ARGVMENT.

Pope Adrian comes to Rome. The Venetians make league with the Emperour. The Frenchmen beſiege Millan, and are conſtrained afterwards to returne from it. The Cardinall de Medicis is created Pope. King Francis deſcendeth into Italy: he taketh Millan and beſiegeth Pauie. The Emperour Charles ſendeth out an armie to the ſuccours of Pauie, where a battell is fought, and the French king taken priſoner.

ALbeit the late victorie againſt the *French* had pacified the affaires of *Lombardie*, yet for all that it had not diminiſhed the ſuſpition, that the *French* King, his kingdome being peaceable and entire, and his Captaines and men at armes whom he had ſent into *Italy* returned in ſafetie, would within a ſhort time come againe to aſſaile the Duchie of *Millan*, ſpecially ſeeing the *Swiſſers* were ready to take his pay, as before, and the Senate of *Venice* ſtood firme with him in the ancient confederation. By the conſideration of which danger, the Imperiall Captaines were conſtrained to nouriſh and pay the armie; which was a matter of great difficultie, for that they receiued not any money, either from the Emperour, or from the kingdome of *Naples*, and the Eſtate of *Millan* was ſo drained thereof, that it was not able alone to ſuſtaine either ſo many ſouldiers, or ſo great expences: and therefore (the people and the Colledge of Cardinals oppoſing againſt it in vaine) they had ſent the greateſt part of their companies to lodge vpon the ſtate of the Church: and *Don Charles de Lanoy*, lately made Viceroy of *Naples* by the death of *Don Raimond de Cardona*, paſſing by *Rome*, reſolued with *Don Iohn Manuel*, that for the ſpace of three moneths the Eſtate of *Millan* ſhould pay twentie thouſand duckats a moneth, the *Florentines* fifteene thouſand, the *Genowayes* eight thouſand, *Sienna* fiue thouſand, and *Lucques* foure thouſand. And albeit euery one murmured againſt this taxation, yet for the feare that was had of that armie, it behoued them all to agree to it: and touching them, they ſaid it was neceſſarie, ſeeing that the defence of all *Italy* depended vpon the maintaining of the armie: and after the three moneths were ended, the impoſition was renewed, but the taxe was much leſſe. In this eſtate of affaires, *Italy* being oppreſſed with continuall aduerſities, and terrified with the feare of greater euils that threatned it, deſired the comming of the Pope, as an apt and conuenient inſtrument, by reaſon of the Pontificall authoritie, to appeaſe many diſcords, and prouide for many diſorders. And albeit the Emperour, who at the ſame time was gone into *Spaine* by ſea, and in his way had communicated with the King of *England*, intreated the Pope to tarrie for him at *Barcelona*, whither he would come in perſon to acknowledge him for Pope and to honour him, yet he would not abide his coming, either fearing leſt for the great diſtance of the Emperour, who as yet was in the extreme confines of *Spaine*, he ſhould loſe ſo much time, that afterward his nauigation might become more rough and dangerous, or for doubt leſt the Emperour would ſolicite him to deferre his voyage, or elſe (as many iudged) for feare too much to increaſe the opinion conceiued of him from the beginning, that he would be ſo much at the Emperours command, that he would hinder him in procuring an vniuerſall peace among Chriſtians, which he was determined to do. He paſſed therefore by ſea to *Rome*, where he made his entrie the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt, with a very great concourſe of people, and of all the whole Court: of whom albeit his coming was exceſſiuely deſired (for *Rome* without the preſence of the Pope, is rather like a deſart then a Citie,) yet that ſpectacle troubled the mindes of all men, when they conſidered that they had a Pope for nation a ſtranger, altogether vnexperienced in the affaires of *Italy* and the Court, and not ſo much as of thoſe nations who by long conuerſation were familiar with

The Prouinces of Italy are taxed for the conſeruation of the Duchie of Millan.

Pope Adrian the ſixt cometh to Rome.

Italy:

Italy: and the griefe that ſtirred vp in men this conſideration was augmented, for that the plague which began at his arriuall in *Rome*, afflicted the Citie during the whole ſeaſon of Autumne; a matter which was conſtrued for an euill prognoſtication of his Pontificacie. The firſt deliberation of this Pope, was to take care for the recouering of *Rimini*, and to put end to the controuerſies which the Duke of *Ferrara* had continued with two of his lateſt predeceſſors: and for this cauſe he ſent into *Romagna* fifteene hundred *Spaniſh* footmen, which he had brought with him for the more ſuretie of his paſſage by ſea. Whileſt the Pope buſied himſelfe in theſe actions, it ſeemed to the Emperor that it would be a matter of great importance, and which would much aſſure the affaires of *Italy*, if he could ſeparate the *Venetians* from the *French* King; and he was of opinion that the Senate (hauing but ſmall hope that the *French* could ſtand them in any great ſtead) would be inclined to peace; and would not for the intereſts of others, put themſelues in danger to bring the warre vpon their owne Eſtates: and herein he communicated with the King of *England*, who afore had ſecretly lent him money againſt the *French* King, and afterwards laying aſide diſſimulations, began openly to take part againſt him. They ſent Embaſſadours to *Venice*, to require the *Venetians* to confederate with the Emperour for the defence of *Italy*; and the Embaſſadours were, *Ierome Adorna* for the Emperour, and *Richard Paſe* for the King of *England*: and there was expectation of an Embaſſadour from *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria* the Emperors brother, the interpoſition and conſent of whom, by reaſon of many quarrels that were betweene the *Venetians* and him, was neceſſarie in all accords. Beſides, the King of *England* ſent an Herald to denounce warre againſt the *French* King, in caſe he would not come to a generall truce with the Emperour for three yeares in all parts of the world, wherein ſhould be comprehended, the Church, the Duke of *Millan*, and the *Florentines*: complaining alſo that he had ceaſſed to pay him the fiftie thouſand crownes which he was bound to anſwer him yearely. But the *French* King refuſed to make truce; and touching the fiftie thouſand crownes, he anſwered plainly, that it was not conuenient for him to pay money to him that aided his enemies with money: an anſwer which ſo aggrauated the diſdaines betweene them, that the Embaſſadours on both ſides were reuoked.

The King of England for the Emperour: and ſendeth Embaſſadours to the Venetians to draw them from the alliance of the French.

This yeare departed out of *Italy Don Iohn Manuel*, who had bene the Emperors Embaſſador at *Rome* with very great authoritie; and at his departure made to the *Florentines* a ſcedule ſubſigned with his hand, declaring that the Emperour by a ſcedule written in September in the yeare 1520, had promiſed to Pope *Leo* to reconfirme and grant againe to the *Florentines* the priuiledges of eſtate, of authoritie, and of the townes which they held, within the ſixe moneths after the firſt Diot that was holden after his coronation at *Aix*, which he had promiſed them afore within foure moneths after his election, and then had told them he could not at this time do it for many iuſt cauſes: which things *Don Iohn* promiſed againe in the name of the Emperour, who ratified the ſcedule in March in the yeare 1523, and deliuered the expedition of it in writing, in a moſt ample forme.

The Emperour (as hath bene ſayd before) paſſed this yeare into *Spaine*, where after he was arriued he proceeded ſeuerely againſt many that had bene authors of the ſedition, and pardoned all others, remitting all the puniſhment: and to ioyne with iuſtice and clemencie, exãples of remuneratiõ, he called to the Court with great honor, *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, who refuſing to be Captaine of the Commons that rebelled, would not come out of the Caſtle of *Sciatiua*, and ſhortly after gaue him in mariage *Madame Germana*, ſometimes wife to the King Catholike, who was rich but barren; to the end that houſe ſhould determine in him, who was the laſt of the deſcendants of old *Alphonſo* King of *Aragon*, two of his yonger brethren being dead before, the one in *France*, and the other in *Italy*. But that which made this ſame yeare vnhappie, to the great infamie of all Chriſtian Princes, was, that in the end thereof *Soliman Ottoman* tooke the Ile of *Rhodes*, kept by the Knights of *Rhodes*, who were formerly called the Knights of Saint *Iohn* of *Ieruſalem*, who abiding in that place euer ſince they were driuen out of *Ieruſalem*, notwithſtanding they were betweene two ſo mightie Princes, as the *Turke* and the *Soldan*, had a long time preſerued themſelues, to the great glorie of their Order, and bene as a rampier of Chriſtian Religion in thoſe ſeas: although they were not without ſome note of infamie, for that hauing a continuall cuſtome, for the better defending of thoſe ſhores, to ſpoile the veſſels of the Infidels, they ſometimes forgot themſelues ſo much, as to make pillage of the ſhips of Chriſtians. A wonderfull great armie remained many moneths about the Iland, and

What the Emperour did in Spaine.

the *Turke* himſelfe was there in perſon, who loſt not one minute of time, but moleſted them continually, ſometimes giuing moſt furious aſſaults, ſometimes caſting mines and trenches, and ſometimes he raiſed maruellous platformes of earth and wood, whoſe height ouertopped the walls of the towne; by reaſon of which workes, which were not performed without a wonderful butcherie and ſlaughter of his ſouldiers, the number of thoſe within was ſo much diminiſhed, that wearied with continuall trauels, wanting powder, and being no longer able to reſiſt ſo many vexations, when the artilleries had caſt downe to ꝧ ground a great quantitie of the wals, and the mines had paſſed into many parts of the towne, where being conſtrained to abandon their firſt places, they found themſelues continually more ſtraighted, at laſt being brought to the laſt neceſſities, they capitulated with the *Turke*: That the great Maſter ſhould leaue the towne to him: That as well he as the Knights of the Order ſhould depart in ſafetie, with libertie to carrie with them as much of their goods as they could: and for their better ſuretie, that the *Turke* ſhould cauſe his fleet to retire out of thoſe quarters, & withdraw his army by land fiue miles frō *Rhodes*.

Rhodes rēdred vp to the Turk.

By vertue of which capitulation *Rhodes* remained to the *Turkes*, and the Chriſtians, promiſe being kept vnto them, paſſed into *Sicily*, and afterwards into *Italy*. They found in *Sicily* an armie by ſea compounded of a certaine number of veſſels, which was appointed (but too late, by the Popes fault) to put into *Rhodes* reliefe of victuals and munitions, as ſoone as they could get a conuenient wind. After they were departed from *Rhodes*, *Soliman* for a greater contempt to Chriſtian Religion, made his entrie into that Citie vpon the birth day of the Sonne of God: on which day, which is celebrated with infinite ſongs and muſicke in the Churches of Chriſtians, he conuerted all the Churches of *Rhodes*, dedicated to the ſeruice of Ieſus Chriſt, into *Moſqueis*, the which, according to their cuſtome, all the ceremonies of the Chriſtians being aboliſhed, were dedicated to *Mahomet*. The yeare one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and two had an end thus infamous for the Chriſtian name, and ſuch fruite had the diſcords of our Princes, ſomewhat tollerable, if at leaſt the examples of harmes paſt had made them wiſe for the time to come.

1523. But diſcords continuing among the Princes, the troubles of the yeare one thouſand fiue hundred twentie and three were nothing leſſe; in the beginning whereof the family of the *Malateſtes* knowing how vnable they were to reſiſt the Popes forces, were content (by the mediation of the Duke of *Vrbin*) to leaue *Rimini* and the Caſtle, vnder this vncertaine hope, that there ſhould be reſerued for *Pandolfe* ſome reaſonable eſtate and meanes to liue, wherein nothing was done. Afterwards the Duke of *Vrbin* went to the Pope, with whom and with the moſt part of the Court, the glorious memorie of Pope *Iulio* furthering him much, he obtained abſolution of the Church cenſures, and was inueſted againe in the Duchie of *Vrbin*, but with this clauſe, Without preiudice of the rights, nor to hinder the application that had bin made to the *Florentines* of the countrey of *Montfeltro*, who ſaid they had lent to Pope *Leo* three hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats for the defence of that Duchie, and had expended ſince his death in diuers places for the preſeruation of the Eſtate of the Church, more then threeſcore and ten thouſand. The Pope receiued alſo into grace the Duke of *Ferrara*, inueſting him againe not onely of *Ferrara*, and of all that he poſſeſſed appertaining to the Church afore the warre of Pope *Leo* againſt the *French* men, but alſo he left to him (with note of infamie to himſelfe or the officers that abuſed his ignorance) the iuriſdiction of the boroughs of Saint *Felix* and *Finale*: which townes being conquered at ſuch time as he began the warre againſt Pope *Leo*, and loſt again before the death of Pope *Leo*, he had ſeized on them again by the occaſion of the vacancie of the Sea. The Duke of *Ferrara* bound himſelfe to aide and ſuccour the Church in times of need with certaine numbers of men, and if he ſhould hereafter any more happen to offend the Sea Apoſtolike, he ſubmitted himſelfe in that caſe to verie great penalties, conſenting alſo to the nullitie of this inueſtiture, and to the priuation of all his rights. Moreouer the Pope gaue him great hope that he would reſtore to him *Modena* and *Reggio*, although when it was told him afterwards of what importance ſuch an indowment was, as alſo the infamie that would fall vpon him thereby conſidering the examples of his predeceſſors, his mind was dayly more eſtranged therefrom. About this time thoſe within the Caſtle of *Millan* ſuffering wants of all things except bread, and being almoſt all ſicke, they agreed to yeeld it vp, their liues and goods ſaued, if they were not ſuccoured before the fourteenth day of Aprill: and the ſame day the compoſition being kept, the moſt part of them were found dead. The Emperour conſented, with

The Caſtle of Millan rēdred by the French.

with no litle applauſe of the *Italians*, that it ſhould be put into the poſſeſſion of Duke *Francis Sforce*: and albeit there was no other peece in *Italy* that held for the *French*, except the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which had as yet a plentifull prouiſion of all things neceſſarie, yet theſe ſucceſſes did nothing qualifie the infelicities and aduerſities of the peoples of that Duchie, who were wonderfully oppreſſed with the armie of the Emperour, for that it was not payed, and which being gone to lodge within *Aſt* and the confines about it, and falling into tumult for the ſame cauſe, made pillage of the whole countrey, euen as farre as *Vigeuena*: ſo that the inhabitants of *Millan*, to auoide the harmes and domages of the countrey, were conſtrained to promiſe them their payes for a certaine time, amounting almoſt to an hundred thouſand duckats: and yet for all theſe aduerſities and rigours, the hatreds of that people againſt the *French* was nothing abated; and that which made them ſtand firme, was partly a feare, for the memorie of the iniuries they had done them; and partly a hope, that if that danger were once at an end, the *French* King would no more aſſaile that State, and ſo they ſhould be deliuered of thoſe great burthens; for that it ſhould be no more neceſſarie for the Emperour to entertaine ſouldiers in that Duchie. At this time the negociation of peace betweene the Emperour and the *Venetians* was continually ſolicited, which for many difficulties that happened, and diuers delayes interpoſed by the *Venetians*, held the minds of al men in ſuſpence what would be the euent of it. That which cauſed this matter to be more dilatorie, and haply increaſed the difficulties, was the death of *Ierome Adorno*, who although he were yong, was a man of great courage and experience, and debated the matter with great authoritie and ſingular dexteritie: in whoſe place was ſent thither in the name of the Emperour from *Millan*, *Martin Carocciolo* Pronotarie Apoſtolike, who many yeares after was created Cardinall by Pope *Paul* the third. Many moneths were ſpent in this negociation at *Venice*, for that on the other ſide the *French* King by his Embaſſadours vſed continually great diligence to the contrary, promiſing ſometimes by letters, and ſometimes by eſpeciall meſſengers, that he would deſcend ſpeedily into *Italy* with a puiſſant armie: by reaſon whereof there was great diuerſitie of opinions among the Senators, and continuall diſputations. For many gaue counſell not to abandon the alliance of the *French* King; perſwading themſelues that he would preſently ſend an armie into *Italy*: which hope the *French* King labouring with wonderfull diligence to maintaine, had, beſides many others, ſent *Raphe de Cere* to *Venice* againe, to promiſe as much, and to publiſh that things were alreadie prepared. Others conſidering by the experience of things paſt, the negligent execution of that King, could not beleeue that he would paſſe into *Italy*: and this opinion was increaſed by the letters of *Iohn Baduero* their Embaſſadour in *France*, who giuing credite to that which had bene reported to him frō the Duke of *Bourbon*, who being already very ſecretly conioyned againſt the King, wiſhed the *Venetians* to vnite themſelues with the Emperour, affirming that for that yeare the King would neither paſſe in perſon, nor ſend an armie into *Italy*. Others ſtood amazed no leſſe for the ill ſucceſſe of the King, then for the good fortunes of the Emperour, and for the conſideration, that in *Italy* the Duke of *Millan*, the *Genowayes* and the *Florentines*, together with all *Tuſcane* followed the faction of the Emperor; beleeuing that the Pope would do the like: and out of *Italy* his brother the Archduke, confining vpon the *Venetian* Eſtates, and the King of *England* who made continuall warre in *Picardie*, were conioyned with him. In which diuerſitie of opinions, no leſſe among the principals of the Senate, then among others, the deliberation could be no longer delayed, as well for the forwardneſſe of things, as for the great importunitie of the Emperours Embaſſadours; by whoſe continuall ſolicitation the Councell of the *Pregati* was called together to ſet downe a reſolution; and in this aſſembly *Andrew Gritti*, a man for the great offices he had adminiſtred, and for many excellent exploits of verie great authoritie in that Commonweale, and of eſpeciall reputation through all *Italy* and with forreine Princes, ſpake (as the report goeth) in this ſort:

The Oration of Andrew Gritti, perſwading the alliance with the Emperour.

Although I am not ignorant (moſt excellent Senators) that in giuing counſell at this preſent not to depart from the confederation with the *French* King, ſome will interpret it, that the reſpect of the long converſation which I haue had with the *French*, doth preuaile more in me, then the care of the good and profite of the Commonweale; yet for all that I will not abſtaine from vttering freely mine opinion, which is the dutie of euery good Citizen, yea in ſuch ſort, as he who for any cauſe whatſoeuer forbeareth to perſwade others to that which in himſelfe he knoweth to be good for the Commonweale, is both an vnprofitable Citizen and Senator. And yet I am perſwaded, that among men of diſcretion this interpretation will find no place, both

« both for that they will not onely consider what haue bene my customes and actions in all times « past, but also that I neuer negociated any matter with the *French* King nor his Councell, o- « therwise but as your Agent, and according to your commission and commandement: and fur- « ther (if I deceiue not my selfe) the great reasons that moue me to be of this opinion, shall iu- « stifie me herein. We dispute whether we ought to make a new confederation with the Empe- « rour, contrary to the faith we haue giuen, and against the couenants of the League which we « haue with the *French* King; which in my iudgement is no other thing, then to go about so to « assure and confirme the power of the Emperour already vniuersally redoubted, that when we « shall be altogether vnable to moderate and embase it, it will continually increase, to our right « great and apparent preiudice. We haue no occasion that can iustifie that deliberation, for that « the King hath alwayes obserued the alliance made with vs; and if the effects haue not bene so « prompt to renew the warre in *Italy*, it is manifest, seeing his proper interests incite him thereto, « that this hath proceeded of no other matter then of the impediments he hath had, and still hath « in the kingdome of *France*, which haue for a time hindered his designes, but cannot dissolue « and annihilate them: for that he hath so great a desire to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, and his « power is so great, that when he hath sustained the first furie of his enemies, which he will easily « do, nothing will let him to renew his armie and recontinue the warre in *Italy*. King *Lewis* may « serue for example more then once of both these matters, who when *France* was assailed with « armies more mightie then those that now vexe it, and that almost all the world had conspired a- « gainst him, he defended himself easily by the greatnes of his forces, the strength of his frontiers « and places confining, and the fidelitie of his people; and when all men thought that necessitie « would driue him to retire himselfe for a time, by reason of the length and troublesomnesse of « the warre, he sent suddenly into *Italy* very puissant armies. The King now reigning, did he not « the like in the first yeares of his reigne, when all men beleeued, that because he was newly ascen- « ded to the Crowne, and finding his treasures consumed by the infinite expences of his prede- « cessor, he would put off the war till another yeare? This deferring therefore ought not to asto- « nish vs, neither can it be any sufficient excuse for our variations; for as much as the confederate « that is slow, not of will, but by impediments that happen, giues to his companion no iust cause « to complaine, nor any honest colour to depart from his confederation. The consideration of « the honestie and dignitie of the *Venetian* Senate doth chalenge at our hands this deliberation, « and no lesse are we prouoked by the regard of our profite and proper safetie. For who knowes « not how profitable it shall be for vs, and from how many dangers we shall be deliuered, if the « *French* King recouer the Estate of *Millan*, and how great repose will turne thereby to our af- « faires for many yeares? Hereof the example of matters lately hapned doth admonish vs: for at « such time as the King that now is had recouered it, we, who afore defended *Padua* and *Treuisa* « with many dangers and very great expences, came to recouer *Bressia* and *Verona*; and whilest « he peaceably enioyed that Duchie, we possessed with very great peace and suretie all our domi- « nions: which are examples that much more ought to moue vs then the ancient memorie of the « League of *Cambray*, for that the Kings of *France* haue learned by experience that which they « could neuer comprehend by reason, how preiudiciall it hath bene to them to depart from our « alliance; a matter which without all comparison they may best discerne at this present time, « wherein this King hath for his aduersarie an Emperour, a Prince of so many kingdomes, and of « such greatnesse, whose power will keepe him in necessitie to desire and hold most deare our al- « liance. But on the contrary, who seeth not, and who knoweth not in what danger our affaires « will remaine, when the *French* King shall find himselfe meerely excluded from the enterprises of « *Italy*? For who can let the Emperour to appropriate to himselfe or to his brother the Duchie of « *Millan*, of the which he would neuer to this day transferre the inuestiture to *Francis Sforce*? And « if he haue power to do do, (as it is most apparent) what is he that can be assured of his will? « who is he that can promise, the Duchie of *Millan* being a ladder to climbe to the Empire of all « *Italy*, that iustice and conscience will beare more sway in the Emperour then ambition and « couetousnesse, proper and naturall to all great Princes? Haply the moderation and temperance « of the officers which he hath in *Italy*, may assure vs, which are almost all *Spaniards*, a nation vn- « faithfull, greedie, and insatiable aboue all others. If therefore the Emperour or his brother *Fer- « dinand* do appropriate *Millan* to themselues, in what degree shall our Estate remaine, being « enuironed by them both, on the confines of *Italy* and *Germanie*? what remedies can we expect

in

in our dangers? the kingdome of *Naples* being in his poſſeſſion, the Pope and all the other Potentates of *Italy* depending vpon him, and all our friends ſo exhauſted, and conſumed in forces, that we can hope for no aide from them? But if the *French* King ſhall poſſeſſe the Duchie of *Millan*, matters ſtanding ballanced betweene two ſo great Kings, he that ſhould haue cauſe to feare the power of the one, ſhould find peace and ſuretie by the might of the other; yea rather, the only feare of his coming aſſureth all the reſidue, for that the Imperials are reſtrained therby from entring into armes, or to intangle themſelues with any enterpriſe. By reaſon whereof the vanitie of their threatnings to turne the armie againſt vs, if we confederate not with the Emperour, ſeemes to me more ridiculous then terrible, as though it were an eaſie enterpriſe to moue warre againſt the Senate of *Venice*, and wherof there were preſent ſuretie of the victorie, and as though that were the meanes and remedie to keepe the *French* King from paſſing, and not rather the cauſe of the contrarie. For who doubteth, that being prouoked by them, being drawne by neceſſitie, we would propound to the King ſuch conditions, that though he had no inclination thereto, we ſhould induce him to paſſe? Happened it not euen ſo in the time of King *Lewis*, when the iniuries and treaſons that were done vnto vs by them, enforced vs ſo to ſtirre vp that King, when of his priſoner I became your Embaſſadour, that at a time when he ſtood in greateſt feare to be mightily inuaded in his kingdome of *France*, he ſent (although with very ill ſucceſſe) his armie into *Italy*. Let vs not beleeue, if the Imperials thought the way to draw vs to their amitie or to aſſure themſelues of the *French* King, were to ſet vpon vs, that they would haue deferred till this day to put it in execution. Perhaps their Captaines haue no deſire to enrich themſelues with the profits and ſpoyles of warre, haply they haue had no neceſſitie to disburden the countries of their friends, and in disburdening them to haue the meanes to draw mony from them to nouriſh the armie in the countreys of others. But they haue found, that by reaſon of our power, it is too hard a matter to force vs, and that it is not for their profit, hauing continuall feare of the deſcending of the *French* King, to entangle themſelues with another warre, nor to giue occaſion to a State ſo mightie in men and money, by great offers to allure the *French* to march. So long as they are in theſe ſuſpitions and in theſe doubts, they will not occupie for themſelues the Duchie of *Millan*, neither will they ſeeke to offend vs but with vaine threatenings: whereas if we free them of that feare, it will be in their power to do both the one and the other: and if they do it, as it is likely they will, of whom may we complaine more then of our ſelues, and of our great feare and vnmeaſurable deſire of peace? which is then moſt holy, and moſt to be embraced, when it puts men out of ſuſpition, when it increaſeth not the danger, and when it brings a meanes to ſit downe in tranquillitie, and to cut off great expences. But when it produceth contrary effects, it is vnder the abuſiue name of peace, a moſt pernicious warre, and vnder the name of a wholeſome medicine, a mortall poyſon. If then by confederating our ſelues with the Emperor we diuert the *French* king frō his enterpriſe of *Italy*, we ſhall giue occaſion to ỹ Emperor to ſeize vpon the Duchie of *Millan* at his pleaſure, and that being taken, he hath meanes to bethink himſelfe how to embaſe vs; whereof it wil follow, that we ſhall buy, with great infamie to our name, and by defacing the faith of this Commonweale, the greatneſſe of a Prince, who hath no leſſe extended his ambition then his power, and who (ioyning with him his brother) hath ſet downe this pretence, that all that we poſſeſſe in the firme land appertaineth vnto them; and reiect and exclude out of *Italy*, a King, who by his greatneſſe aſſureth the libertie of all the reſidue, and who will be conſtrained to remaine ſtraitly conioyned with vs. He therefore that propoundeth theſe reaſons ſo euident and ſenſible, cannot be ſaid to be puſhed on more by affection then by truth, and not by any particular intereſt, then with the loue he beares to the Commonweale; of the ſafetie and preſeruation of which we need not doubt, if God giue ſo much happineſſe to your counſels, as he hath giuen wiſdome to this moſt excellent Senate.

The oration of George Cornaro.

But on the contrary, *George Cornaro*, a Gentleman of equall authoritie, and who had the fame to be as wiſe as any other in that Councell, ſpake as followeth: Aſſuredly the matter we haue in hand (moſt worthy Senators) is great, and very difficult; yet when I conſider the infidelitie and ambition of the Princes of theſe times, and how much they differ from the nature of Commonweales, who gouerning not by the appetite of one alone, but with the conſent of many, do proceed with more moderation and regard, and neuer depart ſhamefully (as Princes vſe to do) from that which hath any ſhew of iuſtice or honeſtie: I cannot but conclude, that it is moſt

" moſt hurtfull for vs to haue the Duchie of *Millan* poſſeſſed by a Prince more mightie then our
" ſelues, ſeeing that neceſſarily ſuch a neighbourhood will hold vs in continuall doubts and ve-
" xations; and though we enioy peace, yet we ſhall alwayes liue in continuall thoughts of warre,
" notwithſtanding all Leagues of alliance or confederations whatſoeuer. Hereof are found infi-
" nite examples in ancient ſtories, and ſome in our owne, but none more great and notable then
" that which with a bitter remembrance is imprinted in the hearts of vs all. This Senate brought
" *Lewis* the twelfth King of *France* into the Duchie of *Millan*, at which vnhappie deliberation
" many of vs were preſent: we always kept our faith iuſtly with him in all Capitulations, notwith-
" ſtanding by great offers and diuers occaſions we were ſolicited by the *Spaniards* and Lance-
" knights to leaue his alliance, and although we were well aſſured that he often practiſed many
" things againſt vs. But neither the benefites receiued, nor faith giuen, nor ſo many perpetuall
" offices, could euer withdraw his mind from the great deſire he had to vexe vs: and in the end
" for the ſame cauſe reconciling himſelfe with his ancient and greateſt enemies, he contracted a-
" gainſt vs that moſt pernicious confederation of *Cambray*. Therefore to eſcape thoſe dangers
" that will alwayes hang ouer vs by the cautelous and ill aſſured neighbourhood of great Princes,
" we are conſtrained (if I be not deceiued) to direct all our counſels to this end, that neither the
" *French* King nor the Emperour haue any footing in the Duchie of *Millan*, but that it may re-
" maine to *Francis Sforce*, or any other who hath no kingdomes nor other large dominions:
" whereof depends our ſuretie for the preſent, and (if the condition of times do change) a great
" increaſing and exaltation of our State may depend. We conſult now, whether we ſhould con-
" tinue amitie with the *French* King, or confederate our ſelues with the Emperour. By the one of
" theſe two deliberations *Francis Sforce* is excluded abſolutely from the Duchie of *Millan*, and
" an entrie left open to the *French* King, who is a Prince farre mightier then we: the other tendeth
" to aſſure and confirme in the ſame Duchie *Francis Sforce*, whom the Emperor offereth to com-
" prehend as principall in our confederation, and hath promiſed the King of *England* to protect
" him: ſo that though he would ſeeke to depriue him of that Eſtate, he ſhould not offend vs onely
" and the other Potentates of *Italy* (to whom he ſhould giue cauſe to turne againe to the part of
" the *French*,) but ſhould likewiſe diſpleaſe the King of *England*, whom (as men know) it behoueth
" him greatly to reſpect, and alſo he ſhall prouoke againſt him all the inhabitants of the Duchie
" of *Millan*, who beare an vniuerſall inclination to *Francis Sforce*: and ſo ſubmitting himſelfe to
" many difficulties and dangers, and to great infamie, he ſhould alſo go againſt his faith, which
" till this day we haue not found by any token that he hath defiled; a matter which we cannot ſay
" for the *French*: and in that he hath ſince the death of Pope *Leo* repoſſeſſed *Francis Sforce* of
" that Eſtate, and deliuered vp the ſtrong holds to him ſucceſſiuely as they were conquered, and
" laſtly the Caſtle of *Millan*, contrary to the opinion of many, it cannot be ſaid that he hath ſhe-
" wed ſignes contrary to his faith. Wherefore then ſhould we not rather embrace that counſell,
" wherein is diſcerned an apparent hope to come to the end of our intentions, then that which
" manifeſtly tendeth to an end contrary to our affaires? It may be obiected againſt this, that it
" were more dangerous for this Commonweale, if the Duchie of *Millan* were in the power of
" the Emperour, then if it ſhould diuolue into the hands of the *French* King; for that it would be
" in a maner neceſſarie for that King, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the Emperour, and for the e-
" mulation that is borne him, to perſeuere in our alliance: but in the Emperour the matter is al-
" together otherwiſe, as well for his power and might, as for the rights which he and his brother
" pretend againſt our Eſtate. I beleeue that he who hath ſuch an opinion of the Emperour, is not
" beguiled, conſidering the nature and cuſtome of ſuch great Princes: but God grant that he be
" not deceiued, that holdeth not the ſame opinion of the *French* King. Many of the ſame reaſons
" made for his predeceſſor, and yet ambition & couetouſnes had more power in him, then either
" honeſtie or his owne profite: and beſides, the cauſes that might keepe him in league with vs
" are not perpetuall, but ſubiect to change from one time to another, according to the nature of
" humane things. For the Emperour is mortall as well as other men, and according to the exam-
" ple of many Princes who haue bin mightier then he, is ſubiect to infinite accidents of fortune: &
" it is not long ſince, that all *Spaine* conſpiring againſt him, he ſeemed more worthy of pitie then
" of ſpite. And at leaſtwiſe there is not ſo great difference betweene the one danger and the other,
" as there is oddes betweene a counſel that wholly excludes vs from our purpoſe, and a reſolution
" which in more ſhew of truth leades vs to the accompliſhment of the ſame. Beſides, theſe reaſons

reſpect

reſpect the time to come and farre off: but if we conſider the preſent eſtate of things, it is without all doubt that reiecting the alliance of the Emperour, we ſhall preſently put our ſelues into greater perplexities and dangers. For, if we ſeparate our ſelues from the *French* King, it is credible that he will deferre the warre vntill better times and fitter occaſions; but if we remaine conioyned with him, it may be that the Emperour will preſently make warre againſt vs; a matter which neceſſarily will heape vpon vs many troubles and expences: but let vs ſee in which caſe the iſſue of the warre will be more dangerous to vs. If we ioyne with the Emperour, it is almoſt not to be doubted but the victorie will fall on that ſide, which we cannot ſo aſſuredly promiſe to our ſelues if we ſtand conioyned with the *French* King. And in confedering with the Emperour, the victorie of the *French* cannot be ſo dangerous to vs, as it would be on the contrarie, for as much as in that caſe, all the forces of the victor would be turned againſt vs, and the Emperour would not onely haue a leſſe bridle and weaker impediments, but alſo he would ſtand almoſt in an abſolute neceſſitie to occupie the Duchie of *Millan*. Touching the obiection made againſt the bond of confederation, the anſwer is eaſie, for that our promiſe to the *French* King ſtretcheth onely to aide him to defend his Eſtates that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*, but not to recouer them when he ſhall haue loſt them; the articles of our capitulation expreſſe not that, neither do the ſame reaſons bind vs. We performed our dutie, when, after the loſſe of *Millan* happning through the default of their prouiſions, our ſouldiers receiued more harmes then the *French* men. We were acquitted of our promiſe, when *Monſieur Lautrech* returning to the warre with the *Swiſſers*, we ſent him our ſuccours: yea we haue done more then reaſonably might be required of vs, when, expecting ſo many moneths the coming of his armie, we receiued nothing from him but vaine hopes and diſſembled promiſes. If he were ſtayed by his owne will, why ſeek we to ſupport the imputation of his faults? If by neceſſitie, is not the ſame a ſufficient reaſon to iuſtifie vs, although we were bound? I know not why we ſhould be any more bound to the *French* King, ſeeing he hath firſt abandoned vs: I know not wherein one confederate can be more bound to another, or what our perils may profite him. I affirme not that the Emperours Captaines intend to moue warre at this time againſt vs, neither will I warrant the contrarie, conſidering with what neceſſitie they are preſſed to entertaine their armie in the Eſtates of others, and the hope they may conceiue to draw vs by that meanes to their alliance, ſpecially if the *French* King do not come: whereof whoſoeuer doubteth, doubteth not, in my opinion, without reaſon, for the negligence of the *French*; for that the King is in great want of money, and for the wars which he hath out of *Italy* with two ſo mightie Princes; and he that beleeueth our Embaſſadour herein is not to be blamed, for as much as Embaſſadours are the eyes and eares of Eſtates. But to make an end of ſpeaking, I will repeate the very ſame thing wherein is contained the ſumme of my ſpeech, to wit, that we ought to endeuour by all meanes that the Duchie of *Millan* be transferred to *Francis Sforce*, and conſequently I maintaine, that the counſell that guides vs to that effect, is more profitable, then that whereby we are altogether excluded therefrom.

The authoritie of two ſuch perſonages, and the force of their reaſons, did rather fill the minds of the Senators with doubts and perplexities, then any way aſſure them; ſo that the Senate deferred as much as they could to determine, being induced thereunto by their nature, the greatneſſe of the cauſe, and their deſire to ſee further into the preparations of the *French* King: as alſo there was cauſe, for the many difficulties that by neceſſitie happened in the accord with the Archduke. But that which held their minds moſt in ſuſpence, was, that the *French* King who with great induſtrie prepared himſelfe to the warre, had ſent the Biſhop of *Bayeux* to deſire them to deferre all the next moneth to reſolue, aſſuring them that before the end of that terme, he would march with a greater armie then had bene ſeene in *Italy* in that age. Now as they ſtood in this doubt, *Anthonie Grimani* Duke of that Citie died, and *Andrew Gritti* was choſen in his place; which was rather preiudiciall to the affaires of the *French* then otherwiſe: for when he was raiſed to that dignitie, he referred the deliberation wholly to the Senate, and would neuer afterwards either in word or deed ſhew himſelf inclined to either part. At laſt, becauſe the King ſent continually new meſſengers to the Senate, with very great offers, and that there was aduertiſement, that for the ſame cauſe *Anne Montmorencie* who was afterwards Great Conſtable of *France*, and *Federike de Boſſolo*, were comming; the Embaſſadours of the Emperour and the King of *England* (to whom this deferring was much ſuſpected) began

Andrew Gritti Duke of Venice.

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to proteſt to the Senate, that they would depart within three dayes, and leaue all things imperfect: by reaſon whereof the Senate being conſtrained to determine, and the truſt that might be giuen to the *French* kings promiſes diminiſhed, for that they had bene entertained many moneths with vaine hopes, but chiefly for that their Embaſſador reſident in *France* aſſured them of the contrarie, they reſolued to embrace the amitie of the Emperor, with whom they entred into contract vnder theſe conditions: That betweene the Emperour, *Ferdinand* Archduke of *Auſtria*, and *Francis Sforce* Duke of *Millan* on the one part, and the Senate of *Venice* on the other part, there ſhould be a perpetuall peace and confederation: That the Senate in times of need, ſhould ſend for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, ſixe hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen: That they ſhould adminiſter the like proportion for the defence of the kingdome of *Naples*, but in caſe it ſhould be inuaded by the Chriſtians: for the *Venetians* refuſed to be bound generally, becauſe they would not ſtirre vp the *Turke* againſt them: That the Emperour ſhould be bound to defend againſt all men, all that the *Venetians* poſſeſſed in *Italy*, and that with the like number and proportion of men: That the *Venetians* ſhould pay in eight yeares to the Archduke for appeaſement of their ancient controuerſies, and for the accord made at *Wormes*, two hundred thouſand duckats. Which things being agreed vpon, the Senate hauing diſmiſſed *Theodore Triuulce*, choſe *Franciſco Maria* Duke of *Vrbin* for Generall of their men of warre, with the ſame conditions.

Confederation betweene the Emperour and the Venetians.

It was the common iudgement almoſt of all men in *Italy*, that the *French* King finding thoſe aides to be turned againſt him, which afore had bene on his ſide, would put off the enterpriſe of *Millan* for that yeare: neuertheleſſe, when they heard that the preparations did not onely continue, but that the armie began to march, ſuch as ſtood in feare of his victorie, fell (the better to reſiſt him) to make a new confederation, and perſwaded the Pope to be chiefe and principall. The Pope at his coming into *Italy* deſired an vniuerſall peace, and beſought the Emperour, the *French* King, and the King of *England*, that perceiuing the proſperous ſucceſſe of the *Turkes*, they would lay downe their armes ſo hurtfull for the commonweale of Chriſtendome, and euery one of them ſeuerally to ſend Embaſſadours to *Rome*, with fulneſſe of power to conſult of theſe affaires; which in apparence was readily performed by them all, but beginning afterwards to debate the matter more particularly, it was preſently diſcerned that thoſe labours were vaine, for the infinite difficulties that fell out when they came to the point of peace-making. For a truce for a ſhort time was nothing plauſible to the Emperour, beſides that it ſeemed altogether vnprofitable; and the *French* King refuſed to make it for a long time: in ſo much as the Pope (either for the ancient affection which eftſoones began to reuiue in him towards the Emperor, or for that he diſcerned the thoughts of the *French* King to be eſtranged frõ peace) began more then he was wont, to hearken to thoſe that encouraged him not to ſuffer the *French* to poſſeſſe againe the Duchie of *Millan*. By reaſon whereof the Cardinall *de Medicis*, (who remained before at *Florence* for feare of the perſecutions of his enemies, but chiefly of the Cardinall of *Volterra*, who was very gracious with the Pope) reſuming courage, came to *Rome*, where he was receiued of almoſt all the Court with very great honour: and there, ioyning himſelfe with the Duke of *Seſſa* the Emperours Embaſſadour, and with the Embaſſadours of the King of *England*, he fauoured the ſame cauſe with the Pope. At which time the ill hap of the Cardinall of *Volterra*, which almoſt alwayes troubled his wit, his policie, and all his drifts, brought vpon him great domage and danger, and gaue to the Cardinall *de Medicis* the meanes to enter into greater grace and authoritie with the Pope, who afore had ſhewed himſelfe much inclined to the Cardinall of *Volterra*, for that by his induſtrie, and words no leſſe pithie then elegant, he had made him beleeue that he was very deſirous of the vniuerſal peace of Chriſtendome. For when by the deuice of the Duke of *Seſſa*, *Francis Imperiale* a baniſhed man of *Sicile*, was taken at *Caſtelnoua* neare *Rome* as he was going into *France*, there was found about him a packet of letters written by the Cardinall of *Volterra* to his Nephew the Biſhop of *Santes*, by the which he aduiſed the *French* King to inuade the Ile of *Sicile* with an armie by ſea, for that the armie of the Emperour being turned thither to the defence thereof, and by that meanes it would be the more eaſie for him to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*: at which matter the Pope being marueilouſly aſtoniſhed, and eſteeming himſelfe beguiled and abuſed with his faire ſhewes, and alſo being vehemently incited by the Duke of *Seſſa* and the Cardinall *de Medicis*, he committed

Cardinall Volterra priſoner.

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ted him, and cauſed him to be kept in the Caſtle Saint *Angelo*, and afterwards appointed Iudges to examine him, as guiltie of violating the Pontificall Maieſtie, for that he had incenſed the *French* King in hoſtile maner to inuade the Iland of *Sicile*, a freehold of the ſea Apoſtolike: and albeit they proceeded but ſlowly to the triall, and that after the interrogatories were ended, he had libertie to pleade by Proctors and Aduocates, yet they proceeded not with that moderation touching his goods, ſince the ſame day the Cardinall was apprehended, the Pope ſent to make ſeiſure of all that was in his houſe. Furthermore, by the impriſonment of the ſaid *Imperiale*, there was diſcouered a conſpiracie for the *French* King in *Sicile*, for the which were executed the Count *Camerata*, the Maiſter of the ports, and the Treaſurer of the Iſle. For which cauſes the Pope being ſo much the more moued againſt the *French* king, & beginning daily to conſult with the Cardinal *de Medicis*; at laſt the rumor of the deſcending of the *French* armies increaſing dayly more and more, the Pope determining to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the King, declared to the Colledge of Cardinals (hauing firſt made his accuſtomed preface of the imminent dangers of the great *Turke*) that the *French* King onely was the cauſe why ſo great perils were not remoued from Chriſtendome, for that he refuſed with great obſtinacie to conſent to the peace that was negociated: and that he, to whom it appertained as the Vicar of Ieſus Chriſt, and ſucceſſor to the Prince of the Apoſtles, to prouide as well as he could for the preſeruation of peace, was compelled in zeale of the publike good, to confederate himſelfe with ſuch Princes as did what they could to defend *Italy* from troubles, for that of the quiet or trouble thereof, depended the tranquillitie or vexation of all the world. According to which beginning, the Viceroy of *Naples* being come to *Rome* for that purpoſe, a league and confederation was concluded for the defence of *Italy* the third day of Auguſt, betweene the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *England*, the Archduke of *Auſtria*, the Duke of *Millan*, the Cardinall *de Medicis* together with the Eſtate of *Florence*, and the *Genowayes*: and it was decreed, that it ſhould continue all the time of the Confederates liues, and a yeare after the death of euery of them, reſeruing place for any other to come in, ſo that they were admitted by the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *England*, and gaue caution, that in matters of quarell and controuerſie, they ſhould vſe the courſe of iuſtice and not of armes: That they ſhould leuie an armie to oppoſe againſt whomſoeuer would inuade any of the Confederates, to which armie the Pope ſhould ſend two hundred men at armes, the Emperour eight hundred, the *Florentines* two hundred, the Duke of *Millan* two hundred and two hundred light horſemen: That the Pope, the Emperour, and the Duke of *Millan* ſhould make all the prouiſions of artilleries and munitions, with all the expences and charges appertaining thereunto: That to leuie the bands of footmen neceſſarie for the armie, and to furniſh all other expences requiſite for the warre, the Pope ſhould pay euery moneth twentie thouſand duckats, the Duke of *Millan* as much, and the *Florentines* the like ſumme: that the Emperour ſhould pay thirtie thouſand, the *Genowayes*, *Lucquoys*, and *Siennois* together, ten thouſand, and the *Genowayes* notwithſtanding to remaine bound to the armie by ſea and other defraiments neceſſary for their defence: to which contribution they ſhould be all bound for three moneths, and for ſo much time ouer and aboue the three moneths, as ſhould be ſet downe by the Pope, the Emperour, and the King of *England*: That it ſhould be in the power of the Pope and the Emperour to name the Captaine Generall of the whole warre, which it was ſaid ſhould be the Viceroy of *Naples*, for whom the Cardinall *de Medicis* (whoſe authoritie was great with the Imperials) laboured what he could, chiefly becauſe of the hatred he bare to *Proſper Colonno*. The Marquis of *Mantua* was indirectly ioyned to this confederation, for that the Pope and the *Florentines* entertained him for their Captaine generall, at their common charge. But neither the league made by the *Venetians* with the Emperour, nor the vnion of ſo many great Princes, contracted with ſo great prouiſions, did qualifie the heate of the *French* King, who being come to *Lions*, prepared to paſſe in perſon with a ſtrong armie into *Italy*: where the bruite of his coming was no ſooner ſpread, then new tumults began to appeare. For *Lionel* the brother of *Albert Pio*, recouered by ſurpriſe the towne of *Carpy*, being negligently guarded by *Iohn Coſcia*, who was placed Gouernour there by *Proſper Colonno*, to whom the Emperour had giuen that towne after he had depoſed *Albert* as rebell to the Empire. But in the Duchie of *Millan* there was like to haue chanced a greater accident; for that *Francis Sforce* riding from *Monce* to *Millan* vpon a litle Mulet, and the horſemen of his guard being a good diſtance from him, as they vſed ordinarily to be, to the end the Prince might be the leſſe troubled with the duſt,

which in Sommer time the traine of horſes do cauſe to riſe in great abundance in the plaines of *Lombardie*; *Boniface Viſconte* a yong Gentleman, better knowne by the nobleneſſe of his houſe, then for his wealth, eſtates, or other conditions, puſhed on by a diſdaine conceiued for that not many moneths before *Monſignorin Viſconte* had bene ſlaine in *Millan*, not without the conſent of the Duke, as many thought; and riding ſomewhat neare him vpon a *Turkiſh* horſe, when they came to a croſſe way, he ſpurred his horſe, and ranne a maine pace, with his dagger drawne to ſtrike the Duke vpon the head: but the Mulet ſhrinking for feare, and *Boniface* being not able to ſtay his horſe who was briske, the ſaid horſe being tall, and he a bigger man then the Duke, with the blow that he made at his head, he hurt him in the ſhoulder, and then he drew his ſword to giue him another blow, which hurt him not much, being a downeright blow; when many making in to the Dukes reſcue, he fled, and was purſued by the horſemen of the Dukes guard; but winning way of them by the ſwiftneſſe of his horſe, he ſaued himſelfe in *Piemont:* and if fortune had anſwered the valour and induſtrie of the man, it might haue bene ſaid to be a very rare matter, and haply ſuch as had neuer bene heard of, that one man alone, at noone day, in a plaine way, had killed ſo great a Prince, in the midſt of his eſtate, enuironed with ſo many ſouldiers and armed men, and yet to flie away in ſafetie. The Duke being thus hurt withdrew himſelfe to *Monce*, and could not be perſwaded but that there were ſome of the conſpiracie within *Millan*, where *Proſper* and *Moron* for the ſame doubt apprehended the Biſhop of *Alexandria* brother to *Monſignorin*, who putting himſelfe willingly into the hands of *Proſper*, vpon his faith, after he was examined, was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of *Cremona*, ſome holding him guiltie of the matter, and others were of a contrary opinion, as the iudgements of men were diuers. It happened almoſt in the ſame ſeaſons, that *Galeas Birago*, accompanied with the exiles of *Millan*, and with the aide of the *French* ſouldiers which were alreadie in the countrey of *Piemont*, was receiued into the towne of *Valence* by the Captaine of the Caſtle who was a *Sauoy* man: but *Anthonie de Leua* lying within *Aſte* with part of the light horſemen and *Spaniſh* footmen, being aduertiſed thereof, went immediatly to incampe before it; and becauſe the towne was but weake which the enemies had no time to fortifie, hauing planted his artilleries, he tooke it the ſecond day, and afterwards battered the Caſtle with the ſame ſucceſſe: and there died of thoſe within, as well in the taking of the towne as of the Caſtle, about foure hundred bodies, beſides many made priſoners, amongſt whom was *Galeas* the principall man of that enterpriſe.

The French armie marcheth.

Now the *French* armie paſſed ouer the Mounts continually, and the King was reſolued to follow them, but he was hindered by the conſpiracie of the Duke of *Bourbon*, which was now diſcouered: who for his nobleneſſe of bloud, for his great riches, for the dignitie of his office being great Conſtable, and for the wonderfull fame of his valour, was the greateſt and moſt reſpected Prince in all the Realme of *France*: but he had not bene of long time in the Kings fauour, and therefore not admitted into the ſecret affaires of the Realme, nor reſpected according to the merite of his greatneſſe: whereunto was added, that the Kings mother ſtirring vp certaine ancient rights, made open claime to the greateſt part of his lands and dominions in open Parliament at *Paris:* ſo that when he found that the King put no remedie to that griefe, being full of indignation, he had a few moneths before entred confederation with the Emperour and the King of *England*, by the ſolicitation of *Monſieur de Beaurain*, in whom the Emperour repoſed much, and was his great Chamberlaine: betweene whom it was agreed (to aſſure things with a more faithfull band) that the Emperour ſhould giue him in mariage his ſiſter *Elenor*, widow of *Emmanuel* the late King of *Portugal*. The execution of their counſels was grounded vpon the *French* Kings determination to go in perſon to the war: and to cauſe him to perſiſt in this reſolution, the King of *England* had cunningly giuen him hope that he would not moleſt the Realme of *France* for ý yeare: The Duke of *Bourbon* alſo, as ſoone as the King had paſſed the Mounts, was to enter into *Burgundie* with an armie of twentie thouſand footmen, which were ſecretly leuied with the moneys of the Emperour and the King of *England:* and he doubted not to bring his buſineſſe to good paſſe, as well for the abſence of the King, as for that he was in the generall fauour of all men through the Realme of *France:* And of that that ſhould be conquered, the Earledome of *Prouence* ſhould remaine to him; in ſtead of Earle, taking vpon him the name of King of *Prouence*; for he ſaid the Earledome of *Prouence* belonged to him by the rights of the houſe of *Aniow:* but all the reſidue ſhould appertaine to the King of *England*. Therfore the Duke of *Bourbon*, the better to excuſe himſelfe from following the King into *Italy*,

Confederacie betweene the Emperour, the king of Engld and the Duke of Bourbon.

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ſtayed at *Moulins* a principall towne of the Duchie of *Bourbon*, and feigned himſelfe to be ſicke: and the King taking his iourney that way to *Lions*, to whom were come ſome ſmall preſumptions of this conſpiracie, he diſſembled not the matter, that many went about to bring him into diſtruſt and ſuſpition of him; but that the opinion of his vertue & faith, whereof he had ſo often had experience, preuailed more with him then any other thing: whereupon the Duke gaue him great thankes for ſpeaking to him ſo roundly and plainly, adding that he was much bound to be thankfull to God, in that he had giuen him ſuch a King, whoſe grauitie could not be moued with falſe accuſations and ſlanders; and promiſed him, that as ſoone as he was deliuered of his ſickneſſe (which he hoped would not continue long, for that it was no dangerous diſeaſe) he would come to *Lions* to accompanie the King whither ſoeuer he ſhould go. But when the King was at *Lions*, vnderſtanding that many bands of Lanceknights aſſembled together vpon the frontiers of *Burgundie*, adding this doubt to the preſumptions which he had before, together with certaine letters which had bene ſurpriſed, which made the matter more euident, he committed to priſon *Monſieur de Sainct Valier*, *Monſieur de Buſſy* brother to *Monſieur de Paliſſa* the Poſt-maſter, and the Biſhop of *Autun*, who were guiltie of the conſpiracie; and he ſent preſently the Great Maiſter to *Moulins* with fiue hundred horſe and foure thouſand footmen to take the Duke: but it was too late, for he being in doubt, and fearing leſt the paſſages would be garded, was ſecretly gone into *Franche Comté* in diſguiſed attire. Therfore by reaſon of an accident of ſuch importance, the King determined not to proceed on his iourney: and yet keeping about him part of the ſouldiers prepared for the new warre, he ſent *Monſieur Boniuet* Admirall of *France* into *Italy* with eighteene hundred Lances, ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers*, two thouſand *Gaſcons*, two thouſand *Valeſians*, ſixe thouſand Lanceknights, twelue thouſand *French* men, and three thouſand *Italians*: with which armie the Admirall hauing paſſed the Mounts, and drawing neare the confines of the Eſtate of *Millan*, he made ſhew that he would addreſſe himſelfe for *Nouaro*, by reaſon whereof that Citie being not ſufficiently furniſhed either with ſouldiers or rampiers, yeelded it ſelfe by the conſent of the Duke of *Millan*, who retained the Caſtle, and *Vigeuena* did the like for the ſame reaſon; ſo that all the countrey that is beyond the riuer *Theſin*, fell into the power of the *French* men. *Proſper Colonno* who was kept in by a long ſickneſſe, would neuer beleeue that the *French* King would perſeuere in his reſolution to inuade the Duchie of *Millan* for that yeare, both for the confederation that the *Venetians* had made againſt him, and for the detection of the conſpiracie of the Duke of *Bourbon*: and therefore he had not with ſuch diligence and ſpeed as was neceſſarie, aſſembled the ſouldiers that lay diſperſed in diuers places, nor made competent prouiſions for ſo great a reſiſtance: but now when the enemies approched, he ſent to muſter his companies in all the haſte, for a deſire he had aboue all other things to hinder the enemies from paſſing the riuer *Theſin*, whereof (without remembring what had hapned him at the riuer of *Adda* againſt *Monſieur Lautrech*) he aſſured himſelfe ſo confidently, that he tooke no care to build and repaire the baſtillions and rampiers of the ſuburbes of *Millan*, whereof the greateſt was alreadie in a maner on the ground, by reaſon of the ſmall care that was had thereof. He aſſembled his armie vpon the riuer, betweene *Biagraſſa*, *Bufaloro*, and *Turbico*, a place very fit for that purpoſe, and no leſſe conuenient for *Pauie* and *Millan*. But the *French* men who were now come to *Vigeuena*, finding the water of the riuer lower then *Proſper* ſuppoſed, began to paſſe ouer foure miles from the Imperiall campe, ſome by the foord, and others in boates and barkes, and built a bridge for their artilleries in a place where they found neither guard nor any other impediment: ſo that *Proſper* being driuen by this vnexpected accident to change all the counſels of the warre, ſent *Anthonie de Leua* preſently with an hundred men at armes and three thouſand footmen to the guard of *Pauie*, and himſelfe with the reſidue of the armie drew to *Millan*, where after he had called the Captaines to counſell, they were all of this mind, that if they made their approch forthwith, there was no poſſibilitie to defend *Millan*, for that the baſtillions and rampiers of the ſuburbes, whereof there had no reckoning bene made ſince the laſt warres, were for the moſt part fallen to the ground; and the too great confidence that *Proſper* had to defend the paſſage of *Theſin*, had bene the cauſe that men went not about to repaire them; neither was it poſſible to make them defenſible in leſſe time then the ſpace of three dayes: and that they were to make a reſolution as well for the one as for the other of theſe two accidents; both to labour with verie great diligence at the rampiers, and alſo to ſtand readie and prepared to depart, if the *French*

The French armie in Italy

men came either the firſt, the ſecond, or the third day; and to retire to *Coma* if they came by the way of *Pauie*, or elſe to go to *Pauie* if they came by the way of *Coma*. But the aduerſe deſtinie of the *French* obſcuring their vnderſtanding, as it had done at other times, ſuffered them not to make vſe of ſo faire an occaſion. For, either through negligence, or to get the whole armie together, whereof a great part was remaining behind, they ſoiourned three dayes along the riuer of *Theſin*, and being vnited all together betweene *Millan*, *Pauie* and *Binaſco*, they marched afterwards to Saint *Chriſtophers*, which is within a mile of *Millan* betweene the gate of *Theſin* and *Rome* gate; and after they had leuelled the ground, and paſſed their artilleries into the vantguard, they made as though they would aſſault the towne, and yet without aſſaying any other thing, they incamped themſelues in that place, from whence departing within a few dayes after, they went to lodge in the Abbey of *Claraualle*, and ſpoyled the mils, and cut off the water from *Millan*, purpoſing rather to beſiege *Millan* then to aſſault it, for that there were at that time within the towne eight hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, foure thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, ſixe thouſand and fiue hundred Lanceknights, and three thouſand *Italians*, beſides the common people, who were very well furniſhed with weapons, and continued in their ancient diſpoſition againſt the *French*.

The death of Pope Adrian.

In this eſtate of affaires died Pope *Adrian* the fourteenth day of September, not without great diſcommoditie and domage to the Confederates, to whom by his death there was wanting vnto them not onely the Pontificall authoritie, but alſo the contribution of money whereunto he was bound by the capitulations of the confederation. He died, leauing behind him a verie ſmall opinion and eſtimation, either for the litle time he reigned, or for his want of experience in affaires; but with incredible ioy of all the Court, who deſired to ſee in that ſeate an *Italian*, or at leaſt ſuch a one as had bene trained vp in *Italy*. By the death of the Pope there began many troubles in the townes of the Church, wherein before his ſickneſſe there appeared ſome ſmall ſparkles of future flames, which in his life time had eaſily bene increaſed, if partly by chance and partly by the diligence of others they had not bene preuented. For the Colledge of Cardinals hauing giuen the guard of *Reggia* and *Rubiera* to *Albert Pio* before the Popes coming into *Italy*, the ſaid *Albert* kept ſtill the Caſtles, hauing with many colours and ſundrie excuſes, by reaſon of the ſmall experience of *Adrian*, made very ſmall reckoning for many moneths together of the inſtance that was made to him to render them. Beſides this he had ſolicited that as ſoone as the war ſhould be apparently begun, *Ranſe de Cere* with certaine horſemen and a good number of footmen ſhould enter into *Rubiera*, to infeſt vnder the oportunitie of that place, the way of *Rome* that paſſeth betweene *Modena* and *Reggia*, to the end to giue impediments to the money and other diſpatches that ſhould be ſent from *Rome*, *Naples* and *Florence* to *Millan*, and to proceed to greater enterpriſes as occaſion ſerued. But *Francis Guicciardin* Gouernour of the ſame Cities, hauing in good time diſcouered this plot, and aduertiſed the Pope to what ends tended the ſweete words and requeſts of *Albert*, together with the dangers that would fall vpon all the Eſtate Eccleſiaſtike on that ſide, preuailed ſo much, that the Pope was much offended, and with threats and demonſtrations that he would vſe force, conſtrained *Albert* to reſtore to him the Caſtles, who had not the courage to oppoſe himſelfe againſt the Popes will, for that the *French* were not as yet very ſtrong in *Italy*. But afterwards the *Pios* hauing gotten the towne of *Carpi*, *Proſper* who deſired to recouer it againe, was the cauſe that *Guido Rangon* with an hundred men at armes, an hundred light horſemen, and a thouſand footmen, was retained in the name of the Confederates, and that it was ordained, that a thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen whom the Duke of *Seſſa* had leuied at *Rome* to ioyne with the reſidue at *Millan*, ſhould remaine for the ſame cauſe at *Modena*: and whileſt theſe things were in preparing, *Ranſe de Cere* (to whom as well for his authoritie, as for the hope of pillage, reſorted dayly many horſemen and footmen) began to infeſt the wayes, and trouble the whole countrey: and alſo, the Pope being now dead, he aſſailed one night vpon the ſudden the towne of *Rubiera*, with two thouſand footmen; but thoſe within defending themſelues valiantly, and the place being very difficult to be taken by aſſault, he could not get it, where *Triſtrami Corſo* one of the Captaines of his footmen was taken priſoner. The aforeſaid forces aſſembled in theſe places for diuers cauſes, were the occaſion of greater things. For after the death of the Pope, the Duke of *Ferrara* wearie of the hopes that were giuen him touching the reſtitution of *Reggia* and *Modena*, conſidering that in reſpect of the abſolution which he had obtained of *Adrian*, it would be leſſe hard for him to

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get pardon for things taken, then reſtitution of things loſt; and perſwading himſelfe of that which was generally beleeued of all men, that by reaſon of the diſcords of the Cardinals, which were continually increaſed euer ſince the death of Pope *Leo*, it would be long afore they choſe a new Pope, he determined to looke to the recouerie of *Modena* and *Reggia*, whereunto, beſides other oportunities, he was inuited by the commoditie he had to knit with him *Ranſe de Cere*, who had alreadie aſſembled two hundred horſemen, and more then two thouſand footmen. So then after the Duke had waged three thouſand footmen, and ſent to *Ranſe* three thouſand duckats, he marched towards *Modena*, in which Citie was no other ſtrength of men of warre, then the regiment of Count *Guido Rangon*, who had bene retained by the League. And albeit the people bare no affection to the iuriſdiction of thoſe of the houſe of *Eſte*, yet the walls being weake, and without any flanke, after the ancient maner, and the ditches filled vp, and no reparation being made thereof a long time, there ſeemed to be need of a greater garriſon: and therefore the Gouernour and the Count (when they had layd aſide their priuate quarrels that had bene between them, began to proceed herein with good accord) vſed extreme diligence to aduance the former reſolution to let into *Modena* the *Spaniſh* footmen, who being arriued alreadie in *Tuſcane*, marched ſlowly, and gaue diuers and doubtfull anſwers when they were asked whether they would remaine at *Modena* or paſſe further: neuertheleſſe after many intreatings, they were at laſt content to enter thereinto. This being knowne to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who was come to *Finale* with two hundred men at armes, foure hundred light horſemen, and three thouſand footmen, it ſtayed him almoſt for paſſing further: and yet becauſe the matter was not entire, and hoping, at leaſt being vnited with *Ranſe de Cere*, that he might take *Reggia*: and not deſpairing withall, that by the difficultie of payments ſome diſorder might fall amongſt the footmen of the enemies, he determined to paſſe on: and his hopes were not lightly conceiued, for that the Colledge of Cardinals, to whom the Gouernour had ſignified with great diligence the perils that were toward, making no prouiſion, yea not ſo much as anſwering the meſſengers and letters that were ſent, there was no meanes to pay the ſouldiers of the publike purſe: and haply the day was come wherein the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers ſhould receiue the pay of the ſecond moneth; which though it had bene all payed, yet there was no hope to entertaine a greater number: and beſtowing part of them within *Modena* and the reſidue in *Reggia*, neither of thoſe Cities would be in ſafetie, neither were there any ſouldiers in *Reggia*, and the diſpoſition of the people different from them of *Modena*. Amid which difficulties, the Gouernour and the Count *Guido* determining chiefly to preſerue *Modena*, as a towne of greateſt importance, both for the neighbourhood of *Bolognia*, and neareſt affinitie with the Eſtate of the Church, and whither might more eaſily be brought ſuccours and other prouiſions; they ſent to *Reggia* fiue hundred footmen vnder the leading of *Vincent Maiatto* of *Bolognia*, one of Count *Guidos* ſouldiers, charging him, that if he were not able to defend the towne, to retire into the Citadell, the which, for that they hoped it would hold out at leaſt for certaine dayes, they ſent money to *Iohn Baptiſta Smeraldo* of *Parma*, who was Captaine thereof, to leuie three hundred footmen, and made requeſt (though in vaine) to them of *Reggia* to contribute ſome proportion of money for waging of the like number, ſeeing there was no leſſe queſtion of their ſuretie, then of the ſafetie of the Church Eſtate. And touching the danger of *Modena*, the Gouernour hauing no meanes to defend it for want of money, called afore him many of the Citizens, declaring to them that things were brought into ſuch a ſtraite, that if the *Spaniſh* bands were not payed, and that there were not money raiſed to furniſh other expences, the towne would of neceſſitie fall into the hands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, which might be defended if there were prouiſion of money, and that there was no other meanes to leuie it, but by taxing and rating themſelues for the preſent, aſſuring them that either the new Pope or the Colledge of Cardinals, would make prouiſion for that that ſhould happen afterwards: That there was not one in that aſſembly who had not proued the gouernment of the Duke of *Ferrara* and that of the Church, and therefore it were a matter ſuperfluous to ſhew them by arguments which of the two was moſt heauie or light, and to go about to perſwade any thing by diſcourſe of reaſon to thoſe that haue the matter freſh in memorie: That he deſired them onely not to ſtand much vpon that trifling ſumme of money that was demanded by way of loane; for as much as the ſame, as well in reſpect of publike good, as of priuate profite, was a matter of ſmall conſideration, in regard of the intereſt to haue a Lord to their more liking and contentment. Which words being willingly

receiued into the minds of thoſe that had the ſame inclination, they furniſhed the ſame day, by taxing themſelues, the ſumme of fiue thouſand duckats, wherewith the ſouldiers being payed, and other prouiſions made, they had no feare of the armes of the Duke of *Ferrara*: who preſuming no further of his forces then was conuenient, left *Modena* on the left hand, and *Ranſe de Cere* ioyning with him on the way, he drew neare to *Reggia*, which Citie receiued him preſently, and the day following the Captaine put into his hands the Citadell, hauing taried the ſhooting but of a few bullets, alledging for his iuſtification, that *Vincent Maiatto* being called by him, had refuſed to enter, and that the money ſent to him by the Gouernour, was taken away neare *Parma*, whither he had ſent to leuie bands of footmen. As ſoone as the Duke had taken *Reggia*, *Ranſe de Cere* being ſent for by the Admirall of *France*, went to him; & the Duke being followed with a very ſlender ſtrength of footmen, when he had ſtayed certaine dayes along the riuer of *Secchia*, went to incampe before the towne of *Rubiera*, for the keeping whereof the Count *Guido* had deputed *Vecchio Couiano* with two hundred footmen. The Duke had no great hope to take it, for that the Caſtle is but ſmall, and very well fortified, as well for the largeneſſe and depth of the ditches, as for the great rampiers all along the walls that enuiron it: and yet beginning the day following to batter the wall adioyning to the gate, the Captaine of the footmen, either by ſecret intelligence, or for feare of the townesmen who began to riſe, leapt ouer the walls, and preſented himſelfe before the Duke, offering to his diſcretion both himſelfe and the towne; and when the Duke was entred into the towne, he planted his artilleries before the Caſtle, which ſo terrified the Captaine named *Titus Tagliaferro* of *Parma*, that notwithſtanding the Caſtle was ſtrong, and ſufficiently furniſhed of men, munition, and all other prouiſions neceſſarie, he yeelded it vp before night, not abiding one bullet of the artilleries: and when the Duke was poſſeſſed of it, he abode there with his armie, hoping that for the long vacation of the Sea Apoſtolike, the regiment of footmen within *Modena* would diſſolue, and feeding himſelfe alſo at the ſame time with hope of other things, as in their place ſhall hereafter be declared.

The taking of Reggia by the Duke of Ferrara.

In the meane time *Monſieur Bonniuet*, who lay incamped at Saint *Chriſtophers* betweene the gate *Theſin* and *Romé* gate, a place enuironed with waters and ditches, deſpairing to be able to take *Millan* by force, when he had taken *Monce*, he ſent Captaine *Bayard* and *Federike de Boſſolo* with three hundred Lances and eight thouſand footmen to take *Loda*, whither the Marquis of *Mantua* was come with fiue hundred horſe and fiue hundred footmen, with whom the Church and the *Florentines* had entertained him into their pay: but being in feare of his owne perſon, he retired to *Pontuiquo*, by which occaſion the Citie being abandoned, receiued the *French* men. After the taking of *Loda*, *Federike* builded a bridge vpon the riuer of *Adda*, and paſſed with his companies vpon the lands of *Cremona* to ſuccour the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which being oppreſſed with hunger, and the defendants not knowing that the *French* armie was paſſed into *Italy*, compounded the ſame day that the Admirall approched to *Millan*, to render, if they were not reſcued before the ſixe and twentieth day of September. *Federike* drew neare to the Caſtle without any difficultie, and after he had refreſhed it with victuals and other things, he determined to aſſault the towne, vpon this confidence, that *Proſper Colonno* had left there a verie ſlender garriſon; notwithſtanding the Marquis of *Mantua* for that feare had ſent thither an hundred men at armes, an hundred light horſemen, and foure hundred footmen: but ſuppoſing he could not enter the Citie by the Caſtle, by reaſon of the great trenches which the defendants had caſt betweene the Citie and the Caſtle, he turned on the right hand, determining to batter the wall in thoſe places where it was moſt weake. When *Federike* had battered the wals with the artilleries, he gaue the aſſault, but without any effect, and afterwards hauing made a greater breach with the artilleries, he gaue another aſſault with the ſame ſucceſſe, in ſo much as he retired to Saint *Martins*, there to tarrie for *Ranſe de Cere*, who was to come from *Reggia* with two hundred horſemen and two thouſand footmen: and when he was come, they returned againe to the walles, battering them many houres with great furie, neuertheleſſe being hindered by the great raines that fell, and knowing they ſhould hardly preuaile, they proceeded no further. And the ſame day *Mercurio* with the light horſemen of the *Venetians* (whoſe bands aſſembled at *Pontuiquo*) paſſed ouer the riuer of *Oglio*, and made incurſions euen to their tents. After the vaine triall of theſe things, *Federike* and *Ranſe* raiſed their ſiege from before *Cremona*, as well for lacke

The taking of Loda by the French.

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of victuals, as for the departing away of the footmen which *Ranſe* brought thither, becauſe they had receiued no other money then that which the Duke of *Ferrara* had giuen him. From *Cremona* they went and incamped afore *Sonzin*, where they found no better ſucceſſe in their affaires: and afterwards they ſacked the towne of *Caranagio*, where they abode certaine dayes: of which lingring was bred an excuſe or impediment to the Senate of *Venice*, not to ſend to *Millan* thoſe proportions of men which they were bound vnto; for that excuſing themſelues for being ſo long in aſſembling their companies, vpon the common opinion of the Imperiall Captaines, that becauſe of their ſeparation from the *French* King the *French* armie would not march for that yeare, they affirmed they would ſend them as ſoone as the companies that lay vpon the territories of *Cremona* ſhould be repaſſed the riuer of *Adda*.

The wiſedome of the Venetians to conſerue thē ſelues and ſaue their purſes.

In this eſtate of affaires, both the parties diſtruſting to be able to put a ſpeedie end to the warre, neither of them would put any thing to hazard. The Admirall who looked not to take *Millan* by force, expected either that the enemies would diſſolue for want of money, or at leaſt that neceſſitie of victuals would compell them to abandon *Millan*; where notwithſtanding there was great plentie of corne, yet in a Citie ſo populous the multitude of thoſe that were to be fed was almoſt innumerable; and hauing cut the water from them and broken their mils, they had great difficultie of grinding. For this cauſe the Admirall called home thoſe bands that lay along the riuer of *Adda*, and beſtowed them betweene *Monce* and *Millan*, to the end that the people of *Millan* from whom was ſtopped the traffike of victuals that came by the wayes of *Loda* and *Pauie*, ſhould be alſo depriued of all ſuch reliefe as was wont to paſſe from the hill of *Brianza*: but theſe things were not ſufficient to accompliſh the effect of the Admirals deſire. On the other ſide, albeit *Proſper Colonno* (as touching his bodie) was vehemently oppreſſed with a great ſickneſſe, and no leſſe troubled in his mind, as not brooking the coming of the Viceroy of *Naples*, for a deſire he had to be the principall man: yet, by his counſell was done what could be done, to ſtop the paſſage of victuals that came to the enemies from the parts beyond the riuer of *Theſin*, for that the ſtrength of the place where they were incamped left no hope to be able to driue them away by force. Therefore *Proſper* gaue order, that the Marquis of *Mantua* ſhould enter into *Pauie*, by whoſe coming the *French* men ſtanding in feare of their bridge, built another at *Torligo*, which is fiue and twentie miles from *Pauie*. Beſides this he ſolicited *Vitelli* (who with the companies of men at armes with whom the *Florentines* had ſent him to *Genes* in the beginning of the warre, and with three thouſand footmen payed by the *Genowayes*, had occupied all the countrey beyond *Po* except *Alexandria*) to paſſe the riuer, to giue impediment to the victuals which came to the *French* men from the countrey of *Lomellina*: but the Duke of *Genes*, fearing his owne eſtate, would not conſent thereunto, for the nearenes of the Archbiſhop *Fregoſa*, who was in *Alexandria*. And becauſe the *Venetians*, whoſe bands were paſſed *Oglia*, refuſed for the perill of *Bergama*, to paſſe *Adda* ſo long as that part of the *French* men which was gone from *Caranagio* remained neare *Monce*, *Proſper* won them to ſend foure hundred horſemen, and fiue hundred footmen to *Treſſo*, to ſtop the courſe of victuals wherewith they ſuſtained themſelues. Whileſt both the parties were about theſe matters, there was performed no exploit of warre, other then light skirmiſhes, incurſions and pillages, wherein the *French* men had in a maner alwayes the worſe, and ſometimes returned with great loſſe and domage: and one day amongſt others it happened that *John de Medicis* being iſſued out with two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and a thouſand footmen to guard the victuals that came from *Treſſo* to *Millan*, he met with foure ſcore *French* lances, moſt of them being of the companies of *Barnaby Viſconte*, & ſet himſelfe to follow them, but in ſuch ſort, that afterwards cunningly retiring, he drew them into an ambuſh of fiue hundred harquebuziers which he had layed, and ouerthrew them eaſily, killing and taking priſoners the moſt part of them: and likewiſe in another encounter, *Sucere* a *Burgonian* brake a troupe of threeſcore men at armes of the companie of the Maſter of the Horſe. Likewiſe the bands of *Spaniſh* footmen had many conflicts with the *French* footmen that warded at thoſe trenches which were made to go in couert euen to the rampiers, and ſlue many of them: and at the ſame time *Paul Luſaſco* who remained at *Piſqueton* with an hundred and fiftie light horſemen, ouerran all the countrey, and diſtreſſed not a litle thoſe that were in *Cremona*. Neither did the ambuſhes ſucceed more happily to the Admirall then his other exploits: for hauing conſpired ſecretly with one *Morgant* of *Parma*, a Corporall vnder *John de Medicis* (*Iani-*

quot de Lanzi one of his light horſemen and foure others onely conſenting thereto) that when it ſhould fall to his turne to ward at the Baſtillion of a gate, which was extended without all the rampiers, he ſhould receiue in his ſouldiers: it happened when the night appointed came, *Morgant* thinking it neceſſarie to haue more companie to execute ſuch a buſineſſe, brake the matter to another ſouldier of his band, who making ſhew as though he conſented to this treaſon, gaue him counſell to go and command the Sentinels in the name of *Proſper Colonno*, that if they heard any noiſe, they ſhould not ſtirre, to the end not to let him whom he ſhould ſend to call the ſouldiers of the campe to come to the Baſtillion, for that the Admirall had that night drawne neare to that ſide fiue thouſand footmen to be readie to ſtirre when the ſigne ſhould be giuen, and had ſet in order the whole armie. But whileſt *Morgant* went to take order for this deuice, the other ranne preſently and reuealed the matter to *Iohn de Medicis*, who making ſpeed to the Baſtillion, tooke the offenders, and when they were examined, made them paſſe the pikes, according to the iuſtice of warre. It ſeemed now that the affaires of the *French* began to decline on all ſides, ſeeing that by reaſon of the fertilitie of the countrey about *Millan*, and for that the townesmen had prouided hand-mils to ſupply the vſe of grinding, the Admirals hope that the inhabitants of *Millan* would fall into want of victuals, decreaſed dayly: and it was beleeued, that they had loſt more then fifteene hundred horſes, as well of ſeruice as others, which brought them into ſuch aſtoniſhment, that they came not out of their tents, but when it was needfull to guard the victuallers and forragers, and that alwayes in great troupes. The infamie of which cowardize, the Admirall conuerting to his honour, he would often ſay, that he ordered not the warre according to the furie of other *French* Captaines, but with the moderation and temperance of the *Italians*: and yet whenſoeuer either their footmen or horſemen encountred with the enemie, they ſhewed themſelues more readie to flie then to fight.

Therfore the Captains of the Emperour being ſecured from the feare of armes and famine, yea hoping to giue impediments to the victuals of the enemie, there was nothing now to trouble them but the want of money, without the which it was hard to nouriſh the ſouldiers within *Millan*, but almoſt impoſſible to leade them out, whenſoeuer the affaires and occurrents of the warre ſo required: but to remedie theſe difficulties, many meanes were ſought; and amongſt others, *Proſper Colonno*, by the ſecret conſent of the Viceroy of *Naples* and the Duke of *Seſſa*, had immediatly vpon the Popes death, begun to treate with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who after he had refuſed many offers made to him by the Admirall ſince the taking of *Reggia*, to go afore *Cremona*, couenanted at laſt with *Proſper*, that if he recouered *Modena* by his meanes, he would pay him immediatly thirtie thouſand duckats, and twentie thouſand more within two moneths. That enterpriſe ſeemed a matter of eaſie execution, foraſmuch as *Proſper* commanding Count *Guido Rangon* a ſouldier of the League, and the regiment of *Spaniſh* footmen, to depart from *Modena*, there remained no remedie for that Citie ſo abandoned, but that they muſt yeeld themſelues to the Duke. And that which beſide the benefite of the armie much animated *Proſper* to this practiſe, was his priuate couetouſneſſe, the loue which he bore to *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, the common deſire of all the Barons of *Rome* to debaſe the greatneſſe of the Popes, and a hope that *Modena* and *Reggia* remaining no more to the Church, *Parma* and *Plaiſance* would with the more facilitie diuolue to the Duke of *Millan*. This matter (whileſt it was laboured with great ſecrecie) being come to the eares of Count *Guido*, and by him made knowne to *Guicciardin*, he ſaw there was no other way to hinder it, but to perſwade the *Spaniſh* Captaines, who were well vſed and largely payed, and were willing to continue in that Citie, that alledging they were not ſubiect to the authoritie of *Proſper Colonno*, vntill they came to the armie, they ſhould refuſe to go from *Modena*, except it were by the appointment of the Duke of *Seſſa*, by whoſe commandement they came thither. And although the Gouernour did verily beleeue, that this practiſe was wrought by the conſent of the Duke of *Seſſa*, yet he perſwaded himſelfe that the Duke being the Emperours Embaſſadour at *Rome*, and the Colledge making inſtance to him to the contrary, he would not onely be aſhamed to giue ſuch a commiſſion, but alſo could not refuſe, at the requeſt of the Cardinals, openly to command the contrary: and the matter ſucceeded euen as he had deemed: for when *Proſper* ſent to command Count *Guido* and the *Spaniards* to go to *Millan* for the neceſſities of the warre, the Count excuſed himſelfe with many reaſons, alledging that he was ſubiect to the Church and to them of *Modena*: and the *Spaniſh*

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Captaines perſwaded by him and the Gouernour, made anſwer, that in that caſe they were to obey none but the Duke of *Seſſa*. Which matters being ſignified by the Gouernour to the Colledge of Cardinals, they preſently called the Duke of *Seſſa* into the Conclaue; who for that he would not make himſelfe ſuſpected, and by conſequence the Emperour, could not refuſe their demand, to write to the Captaines that they ſhould not ſtirre. And moreouer (as oftentimes things fall out otherwiſe then men would haue thought) it happened thereupon, that certaine letters of *Proſper* which had bene intercepted by the Gouernour, being read in the Colledge, by the which was diſcloſed how all things had paſſed; the Cardinals which adhered to the *French* King, by whoſe impeachment the prouiſions of money which by the working of the Cardinall *de Medicis* began to be ſent from *Modena*, had bene delayed, knowing that it would be dangerous for the King that ſuch a matter ſhould come to effect, began openly to helpe forward the ſending of money to *Modena*, wherein the Cardinall *Colonno* ioyned with them, to ſhew to the reſidue, that he preferred the profite of the Sea Apoſtolike before all other regards. But although this diligence was ſufficient to deferre the execution of the couenants made with *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, yet the foundation of theſe deſignes being not remoued, they had a purpoſe that the Viceroy of *Naples*, who (though he marched ſlowly) was come to *Millan* with foure hundred lances and two thouſand footmen, ſhould leade away with him the regiment of *Spaniſh* footmen as he paſſed by *Modena*. But at this time the ſtore of victuals was well increaſed at *Millan*, for that the Admirall fearing leſt the ſouldiers within *Parma* ſhould winne the bridge which he had made vpon *Theſin*, by the which neceſſary prouiſions were conueyed to the armie, he drew from *Monce* the armie that was there being the leſſer part, of whom he ſent three thouſand men to the guard of the bridge, tooke ſome to himſelfe, and diſtributed the reſidue, part within *Marignan*, and part within *Biagraſſa*, places not farre from the bridge: by meanes whereof the Imperials that recouered *Monce* had the greater commoditie of victuals. There was at that time in the *French* armie (whoſe well fortified campe ſtretched from the Abbey of *Claraualle* to the way of *Pauie*, and was on that ſide towards the way within gunſhot of *Millan*) eight hundred light horſemen, ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers*, two thouſand *Italian* footmen, and ten thouſand as wel *French* men as *Gaſcons*. They had at the bridge of *Theſin* a thouſand Lanceknights and a thouſand *Italians*: the like number at *Biagraſſa*, where was *Ranſe de Cere*: two hundred Lances within *Nouaro*, and two thouſand footmen as well in *Alexandria* as in *Loda*. Within *Millan* were eight hundred Lances, eight hundred light horſemen, fiue thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, ſixe thouſand Lanceknights, and foure thouſand *Italians*, beſides the multitude of the people, who were moſt vehement againſt the *French*, both in ſtomacke and action: and the Marquis of *Mantua* was within *Pauie* with fiue hundred Lances, ſixe hundred light horſemen, two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, and three thouſand *Italians*: there was within *Newcaſtle* in the countrey of *Tortona* three thouſand footmen with *Vitelli*, although ſhortly after, certaine *French* companies being paſſed towards *Alexandria*, he retired to *Stranalle*, for feare leſt the way of *Genes* ſhould be ſhut vp from him: the *Venetians* alſo had ſixe hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen, of whom they ſent a thouſand to *Millan* at the requeſt of *Proſper*, who deſired to make vſe of the fame of their ſiecours, and ſhortly after they ſent another part to *Cremona*, for doubt of ſome conſpiracie. At laſt the Admirall conſtrained by the difficultie of victuals, the coldneſſe of the time, and great ſnowes, and by the inſtances and proteſtations made vnto him by the *Swiſſers*, that they would not endure ſo many diſcommodities, determined to remoue further from *Millan*: notwithſtanding before he publiſhed his reſolution, he procured *Galeas Viſconte* to obtaine leaue to go ſee *Madame Clara*, famous for her ſingular beautie, but much more for the great loue that *Proſper Colonno* bare to her. And being entred into *Millan*, he began to moue a parley of truce: whereupon there aſſembled vpon the rampiers Captaine *Alarcon*, *Paul Vettori* the *Florentine* Commiſſioner, and *Ierome Moron*; and for the Admirall, *Galeas Viſconte* and the Generall of *Normandie*, who communed of a ſurceaſſing of armes vntill the end of May, and both the parties to be bound to diſtribute their armies in the townes, and had in the end conſented to reduce all their forces beyond *Theſin*. But the Captaines of the Emperour diſliking that with a truce they went about to interrupt the hope they had of the victorie, made anſwer, that they could determine nothing without the conſent of the Viceroy: ſo that the Admirall within two dayes after cauſed his artilleries to march before day towards *Theſin*, himſelfe following with the whole

The French breake vp from before Millan.

whole armie as ſoone as it was day; and he marched in ſuch order, that it ſeemed he would not refuſe battell: which being perceiued by thoſe of the towne, not onely the ſouldiers and the people demanded with a loud voice, that they might be led to the field to aſſaile the *French*, but alſo the Captaines and perſonages of greateſt authoritie made inſtance to *Proſper Colonno* to the ſame end; laying before him the facilitie of the victorie, for that they eſteemed themſelues nothing inferiour to them in forces, and in courage were farre their ſuperiours, it being impoſſible that their retraite ſhould not bring great feare vpon the moſt part of the armie; the ſame being confirmed by certaine *Italians* who at that inſtant were ſtraggled from them. They propounded vnto him the infinite glorie, and perpetuall memorie of his name, if by this laſt glorie and triumph he would confirme ſo many victories by him obtained. But *Proſper* had alwayes fixed in his mind, to forbeare as much as he could to put himſelfe to the arbitration of fortune; and therefore ſtanding firme and vnmoueable in his opinion, like a ſtrong tower againſt the guſts of wind, he anſwered, That it was not the office of a wiſe Captaine to be carried with popular voices, nor to leade his ſouldiers to aſſaile the enemie, though there remained to them no other hope then to ſtand vpon their defence: That they had ſufficiently vanquiſhed, and wonne glorie enough, hauing without danger and without bloud compelled the enemie to go his way; and that the deſire of men ought not to be infinite, ſeeing all men may eaſily know, that if matters ſucceeded ill, the loſſe would be without compariſon greater then the benefite would be if they ſucceeded well: That he had alwayes by thoſe meanes brought his enterpriſes to an honorable end, and alwayes knowne by experience, that the infamie and diſhonour that fell vpon Captaines by raſhneſſe, was more hurtfull to them, then the glorie of the victorie was profitable; foraſmuch as no man wold challenge any part of the infamie, but all would be wholy caſt vpon the Generall: but the praiſe of the happie ſucceſſe of the warre (at leaſt in the opinion of men) will be communicated to many: That now when he was in his lateſt yeares, he would not follow new counſels, and abandon thoſe which being followed by him all the courſe of his life, had bene the cauſe of his glorie, reputation and greatneſſe. The *French* men deuided themſelues into two parts, the Admirall with the greateſt entred into *Biagraſſa* within foureteene miles of the towne of *Millan*, and ſent the reſidue to *Roſa*, which is within ſeuen miles.

Cardinal Medicis is created Pope, & taketh the name of Clement the ſeuenth.

Almoſt as ſoone as the Admirall was gone from before *Millan*, the Cardinals who had now bene in the Conclaue the ſpace of fifteene dayes, created a new Pope. At the beginning there was in the Conclaue but ſixe and thirtie Cardinals, and being afterwards increaſed with three more, they ſpent much time in ſundrie contentions: for they were deuided among themſelues, not onely for the different wils of the Emperor and the *French* King, but alſo for the greatneſſe of the Cardinal *de Medicis*; who (being oppugned by all ſuch as followed the Kings authoritie, and ſome others alſo that depended of the Emperour) had at his deuotion the ioynt voices of ſixteene Cardinals, abſolutely reſolued to chuſe him, or at leaſt to chuſe no other without his conſent; and had likewiſe the ſecret promiſes of fiue others to giue him their voices when they went to the election, together with the fauor of the Emperors Embaſſadour, with all the reſidue that followed his authoritie: which furtherances and foundations albeit he had had them almoſt all at the death of Pope *Leo*, yet he now entred into the Conclaue with a more conſtant reſolution not to abandon his hopes, either for the length of time, or for any accident whatſoeuer, making this his chiefeſt pillar and ground, that in the election of a Pope, it was neceſſary that two third parts of the voices of the Cardinals that were preſent ſhould be concurrant. Neither did they giue ouer their diuiſions, either for the common danger of *Italy*, or for the particular Eſtate of the Church, but accommodating themſelues to the fortune of the warre, both the parts ſought to deferre the election, for the ſupport they hoped by the victorie of thoſe that were their fauourites: and it had bene yet longer deferred, if there had bene among the Cardinals that were aduerſaries to the Cardinall *de Medicis* (who were almoſt all the oldeſt of the Colledge) the ſame agreement to chuſe another, as there was not to chuſe him; and that ſhaking off their particular couetouſneſſe, they had ſtood vpon this point, not to ſuffer the Cardinall *de Medicis* to riſe to the Popedome. But it is very hard for men by a concord that is mixed with diſcord and ambition, to attaine to the deſired end. The Cardinall *Colonno*, a very great enemie of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, and of an imperious and proud nature, being moued againſt the other Cardinals that were ioyned with him, becauſe they refuſed to elect for Pope

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Cardinall *Iacouaccio* a *Romane*, a man of the ſame faction, and much depending of him, went and made a willing offer to the Cardinall *de Medicis* to helpe him to the Popedome, who by a writing vnder his hand, made him a very ſecret promiſe of the office of Vicechancellor which he held, and of his Pallace which was very ſumptuous, built by the Cardinall of Saint *George*, and giuen to him by Pope *Leo*; wherby the Cardinal *Colonno* being ſo much the more inflamed, induced the Cardinal *Cornaro* & two others to agree with him to chuſe the Cardinal *de Medicis*: and as ſoone as their inclination was knowne, many others (as it often happeneth in the Conclaues) either for feare, or by ambition, began to preſſe forward, not to be the laſt that ſhould ſpeake in his fauour; in ſo much as the ſame night, he was honoured as Pope by the vniuerſall agreement of them all, and the next morning being the nineteenth day of Nouember, the election was made perfect according to the cuſtome, by ſolemne ſcrutinie: and it was on the ſame day whereon two yeares afore he entred victoriouſly into *Millan*. It was thought that among other things, the great reuenue of his benefices and Eccleſiaſtike offices preuailed much in this buſineſſe: for that the Cardinals, when they entred the Conclaue, ſet downe this conſtitution, that the reuenues of him that ſhould be elected Pope, ſhould be ſhared by equall diſtribution among the others. He would haue retained ſtill his name of *Iulio*, but being admoniſhed by ſome of the Cardinals, that it had bene obſerued that ſuch as after their election refuſed to change their name, had all died within the yeare, he tooke vpon him the name of *Clement* the ſeuenth, either for the approch of the feſtiual day of that Saint, or elſe by alluſion, that immediatly after his election he had pardoned the Cardinall of *Volterra*, and receiued into grace all his faction: which Cardinall, albeit Pope *Adrian* had in his later dayes declared him vnable to be preſent in the Conclaue, yet he had his place there by permiſſion of the Colledge, and was alwayes, euen to the laſt houre, altogether againſt the election of *Iulio*. Aſſuredly the opinion of this new Pope was very great throughout all the world; and ſuch, as the ſlowneſſe that had bene vſed in the election (which was more then had happened of a long time before) ſeemed to be well recompenced in that they had placed in that ſeate, a perſon of ſo great authoritie and valour; for that he had the power of the Eſtate of *Florence* conioyned at his pleaſure with the iuriſdiction of the Church, which was very great: for that he had in the time of Pope *Leo* gouerned many yeares almoſt all the whole Pontificacie: for that he was iudged a man graue, and conſtant in his deliberations; and for that many things being attributed to him that proceeded from *Leo*, all men affirmed that he was a man full of ambition, of a haughtie mind, troubleſome, and very deſirous of innouation: to which parts adioyning his abſtinence from pleaſures, and his continuall care to attend affaires, all men expected of him verie great and extraordinarie matters. His election quickly put the Eſtate of the Church into great ſuretie. For the Duke of *Ferrara*, not a litle aſtoniſhed that ſuch a Pope was mounted into that Seate, and hauing no more hope to get *Modena* by the coming of the Viceroy of *Naples*, and leſſe expectation in the *French*, who afore by the ſolicitation of *Theodore Triuulce*, newly come to their campe, made him great offers, ſo that he would ioyne with them; after he had left ſufficient garriſon within *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, he returned to *Ferrara*. In like ſort all matters were reappeaſed in *Romagna*, where *John de Saſſatello* who had bene expulſed by the power of the *Gibelins* during the reigne of *Adrian*, was eſtſoones reentred with a traine of *Guelfes*, vnder colour to oppreſſe the contrary faction, but in truth, at the incenſing of the *French*. But when the *French* armie was diſtributed into *Biagraſſa* and *Roſa*, the Admirall, with whom were remaining but foure thouſand *Swiſſers*, diſmiſſed as vnprofitable all the footmen of *Daulphiney* and *Languedock*, and ſent his great artilleries beyond *Theſin*, with intention to tarrie there for the ſupplies which the King prepared for his ſuccours, not fearing that the enemie would make any inuaſion vpon him in a place ſo ſtrong, and where was ſuch plentie of victuals: and yet not vtterly to loſe time, he ſent *Ranſe de Cere* with ſeuen thouſand *Italian* footmen to take *Arona*, a towne of great ſtrength, and hath his ſituation in the confines of the Lake *Maior*. This towne was poſſeſſed by *Anchiſes Viſconte*, and to the reſcue thereof *Proſper Colonno* ſent from *Millan* a regiment of twelue hundred footmen: but becauſe the Caſtle of *Arona* doth ſo much command the towne, that he who holdeth not the Caſtle doth vnprofitably poſſeſſe the towne, *Ranſe* layd his exploit to winne the Caſtle; but after he had giuen ſundrie aſſaults, wherein he loſt many men, conſuming almoſt a moneth in that enterpriſe, at laſt he leuied his ſiege and went away, confirming the vniuerſall opinion that had bene conceiued of him for many yeares

through

through all *Italy*, that his actions were nothing answerable to the reputation he got in the defence of *Crema*. About this time *Prosper Colonno* hauing lyen sicke eight moneths, began to draw to his latest houre, not without suspition of poyson, or of some amorous potion; and therefore whereas afore he could not brooke the coming of the Viceroy, he now solicited it continually, as knowing he could no longer manage the affaires of the war. Therfore the Viceroy came, who as soone as he was come neare to *Millan*, stayed without for certaine dayes and would not enter, to shew that he reuerenced the vertue and reputation of such a Captaine: and yet when he vnderstood that he was at the last gaspe, and had lost all sense and knowledge, he entred the towne, for a desire he had to see him, but it was at such a time as he liued but few houres after, notwithstanding some hold that he would not enter till he was dead, which was the last day saue one of that yeare. Certainly he was a Captaine of great renowne during the whole course of his life, but in his latest yeares had obtained great reputation and authoritie: he was very skilfull and well experienced in matters of warre, but not apt suddenly to embrace all the occasions that either the errors or weakenesse of the enemies might offer him; and also for his owne part he was so well aduised, that he would not easily giue any aduantage to the enemie to oppresse him: he was by nature easie and slow in his actions, and might very well be called a Lingerer: but herein he was to be praised, that he had managed the warres more with counsels then with the sword, and taught others to defend Estates without exposing themselues to the euent of battels, but in cases of great necessitie. For, in our time there hath bene great difference in the gouernment of warres, seeing that afore *Charles* the eight passed into *Italy*, the brunt of the warre being more borne out with horsemen armed at all parts, then with footmen, and the engines wherewith they were wont to take townes being very inconuenient and troublesome to guide and manage, although the armies came oftentimes to the shocke of battel, yet the slaughter was litle, and very rare the bloud that was spilt; and townes that were besieged defended themselues with such facilitie (not for that men had more knowledge to defend them, but by reason of ỹ ignorance to take them,) that there was not so litle or weak a town, which was not able for many dayes to resist great armies of enemies: so that the Estates of others could not be seized vpon without very great difficulties. But when King *Charles* descended into *Italy*, the feare of strange nations, the valour of the footmen whose fight was in another maner, but most of all, the furie of the artilleries, filled all *Italy* with such astonishment, that there remained no hope for any to be able to defend himselfe, that was not strong enough to make head in the open field: for, men that had no knowledge how to defend townes, yeelded at the first approach of the enemies; and haply if there were any towne that stood vpon her defence, it was taken within few dayes. Thus the Realme of *Naples* and the Duchie of *Millan* were assailed and conquered as it were in one day. Thus the *Venetians* being vanquished in one battell onely, left abandoned immediatly all their iurisdiction in the firme land. Thus the *French* men hauing scarcely seene their enemies, left the Duchie of *Millan*. Since which time the minds of men being danted with the fury of batteries, they began to whet their wits so, ỹ they found out meanes to defend themselues, by fortifying of townes, with mounts, trenches, flankes, rampiers, and bastillions, which they furnished with good store of artilleries, which being planted in a place which men seeke to defend, do farre more hurt then that that is braked without: so that at this day it is very hard to take a towne where any resistance is made: and haply those inuentions began in *Italy* in the dayes of our fathers, when the towne of *Ottranto* was recouered from the *Turkes*; wherein when *Alphonso* Duke of *Calabria* entred afterwards, he found that the *Turkes* had made there many rampiers and fortifications vnknowne to the *Italians*, the which neuertheless remained rather in the minds of men, then serued them for example. But *Prosper* was either the onely man, or the chiefe of all other, that with greatest reputation had twise by these meanes defended the Duchie of *Millan*; and who as well in offending as in defending, and cutting off victuals from the enemies, as also in prolonging the warre in such sort, as discontent, pouertie, disorders, and other extremities consumed them, hath ouercome them and borne out the warre without once aduenturing the battell, yea without drawing of a sword or breaking so much as once Lance: so that he hauing opened the way to others that haue come after, many warres continuing for many moneths, haue bene ouercome more with industrie, with stratagemes, and by knowing how to take an aduantage, then with the force of armes. These things were done in *Italy* in the yeare a thousand fiue hundred twentie and three. And the same yeare

The death of Prosper Colonno, and his qualities.

were

were made beyond the Mounts preparations of right great expectation, which brought forth no effects worthy of ſo mightie Princes. For the Emperour and the King of *England* had contracted together, and promiſed the Duke of *Bourbon* to enter with a ſtrong armie, the one into *Picardie*, and the other into *Guyen*: but the mouing of the King of *England* in *Picardie* was to ſmall purpoſe, and the enterpriſe which the Duke of *Bourbon* had made to inuade *Burgondie* came quickly to nothing, for that he wanting money to pay his Lanceknights, and ſome of the Captaines who had agreed with the *French* King, leading with them ſome of his ſouldiers, he deſpaired to do any thing in *France*, and went to *Millan*, where the Emperour (hauing no mind that he ſhould paſſe into *Spaine*, perhaps becauſe he would not haue the mariage of his ſiſter go forward, which the Duke of *Bourbon* deſired) ſent to him *Monſieur de Beaurain* to perſwade him to ſtay there, and gaue him the authoritie and title of his Lieutenant Generall in *Italy*, to induce him with better will to abide there. And likewiſe things ſucceeded not happily to the Emperour on the coaſt of *Spaine*, for that albeit in a feruent deſire to the warres he was come to *Pampeluna* to paſſe in perſon into *France*, and had alreadie ſent his armie beyond the *Pyrene* hils, who had taken *Salusterra*, which is not farre from *S. Iohn de Pie de Porto*, yet his readineſſe being greater then his power, he was not able for want of money to entertaine ſo great forces as were neceſſarie for ſuch an enterpriſe; and for the ſame cauſe he could not aſſemble his armie vntill the latter end of the yeare, ſo that in cold places the ſeaſon of the yeare multiplied his difficulties, and he was letted by want of victuals, troubleſome to be brought ſo long a way; which compelled him to diſſolue his armie, raiſed againſt the counſell of almoſt all his Captains, ſo that the Duke of *Alba*, who was an old Prince, and of great authoritie, ſayd in the heate of the warre, that the Emperour who in many things reſembled King *Ferdinand* his grandfather by the mothers ſide, did in this deliberation more repreſent *Maximilian* his grandfather by the fathers ſide.

The Duke of Bourbon not able to do any thing in Burgondie, cometh to Millan.

Now followeth the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred twentie and foure, in the beginning whereof the difficulties of the *French* men ſtirring vp the Emperours Captaines to ſeeke to put an end to the war, they called to *Millan* the Duke of *Vrbin* and *Peter Peſero* Treaſurer of *Venice*, to conſult of the maner of proceeding in the warre: in which counſell they were all of opinion, that as ſoone as the ſixe thouſand Lanceknights which the Viceroy had ſent to leuie were arriued at *Millan*, the armie of the Emperour and that of the *Venetians* ioyned together, ſhould accoaſt the enemies, to the end to chaſe them out of the Duchie of *Millan*, either by force or by famine. And for as much as they eſteemed themſelues ſtrong enough to performe this, there was nothing that hindered their deliberation but the want of money, of which a great ſumme being due to the men of warre for their payes paſt, they thought they ſhould not be able to get them to iſſue out of *Millan* and other townes, vnleſſe they were firſt payed: and likewiſe for that the armie was to continue in the field, it was no leſſe neceſſarie to take order that for the time to come money might not be wanting when the ſouldiers ſhould be payed, but that it might arriue orderly from one certaine time to another. But the inhabitants of *Millan*, who deſired to free themſelues of the vexations of the warre, remoued in part theſe difficulties, in lending to the Duke foureſcore and ten thouſand duckats; whereunto they were the more eaſily induced, for that the money which they had lent at ſuch time as *Monſieur Lautrech* lay afore *Millan*, was readily repayed vnto them vpon the Dukes reuenues. In like ſort the Pope, who for the remembrance of things paſt, was verie iealous of the victorie of the *French*, gaue his helping hand hereunto, although with great cunning he made ſhew of the contrarie to ſuch as the King had ſent vnto him: and he cauſed twentie thouſand duckats to be deliuered to the Emperours Embaſſadour with great ſecrecie, ſoliciting alſo the *Florentines* (of whom the Viceroy required a new contribution by vertue of the league made in the time of Pope *Adrian*) to pay as their laſt reſt, thirtie thouſand duckats. And yet the Pope had no meaning hereafter to ſhew any more fauor to the one partie then to ỹ other: but (notwithſtanding the Emperor & the King had ſent vnto him as ſoone as he was choſen Pope, the one *Monſieur de Beaurain*, and the other *Monſieur de Saint Maixan*, each of them ſeeking to draw him to his owne ſide) his intention was, as ſoone as the preſent dangers ſhould ceaſſe, to vſe ſuch moderation and temperance, as was fit for Popes to vſe when Chriſtian Princes are at diſcord, and without ſhewing himſelfe more inclined to one then to another, to be a worker of peace: which deliberation was plauſible to the *French* King, who feared leſt the Pope would haue the ſame diſpoſition againſt him,

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that he had when he was Cardinall; but on the contrarie it displeased the Emperour, who held it not reasonable that he should separate himselfe from him, both for the last alliance that was past, and also for that he had bene fauourable to him since the death of Pope *Leo*, and had bene helping to him to get the Popedome: and therefore he was much vexed, when he was aduertised from the Pope, that notwithstanding he wished him as much good as before, yet for that he was no more a priuate person, but a common father to all, he was constrained for the time to come, to do nothing which should not turne to the publike good. But whilest the Viceroy prepared himselfe to go meet the enemies, he sent *Iohn de Medicis* before to *Marignan*, which towne yeelded to him together with the Castle: and not many dayes after, the Marquis of *Pesquiero* (who being resolued not to follow the warre vnder *Prosper Colonno*, would not come to the campe vntill he was aduertised that he drew to his end) hearing that Captaine *Bayard* lay in *Rebecco* with three hundred horse & many bands of footmen, hauing called vnto him *Iohn de Medicis*, they went and assailed him on the sudden, tooke the most part of the footmen and horsemen, and giuing the chase to the residue, returned immediatly to *Millan*, to giue no leisure to the enemies who were within *Biagrassa* to pursue them. In this enterprise he was praised for his industrie and valour, but much more for his celeritie, for that *Rebecco*, which is not past two miles from *Biagrassa*, is seuenteene miles distant from *Millan*, frō whence they went. The affaires of the warre being reduced to this degree, that the hope of the *French* men consisted in this, that want of money would fall vpon their enemies; and of the Imperials, that the *French* men would suffer scarcitie of victuals, because they had no hope to be able to chase them by force out of their strong lodging of *Biagrassa*: and yet each partie expecting succours, the one of Lanceknights, the other of *Swissers* and other footmen, the Admirall set fire vpon *Rossa*, and afterwards retired those bands that were within it to *Biagrassa*; and then set himselfe (to distresse the enemies) to ouerrunne and burne all the countrey. But the Lanceknights being at last arriued, the Emperours campe (which contained sixteene hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horsemen, seuen thousand *Spanish* footemen, twelue thousand Lanceknights, and fifteene hundred *Italians*, vnder the leading of the Duke of *Millan*, the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Viceroy of *Naples*, and the Marquis of *Pesquiero*) leauing foure thousand footmen for the guard of *Millan*, went to incampe at *Binasco*, where not many dayes after the Duke of *Vrbin* ioyned with them, with sixe hundred men at armes, sixe hundred light horsemen, and seuen thousand footmen of the *Venetians*. At what time the Castle of *Cremona* being no more able to endure the rage of hunger, *Federike de Bossolo* that was within *Loda*, hauing in vaine aduentured to succour it, yeelded vp to the Imperials. Afterwards the armie marched to *Casera*, a towne within fiue miles of *Biagrassa*, where the Admirall, who had distributed within *Loda*, *Nouaro* and *Alexandria*, two hundred Lances and fiue thousand footmen, kept himselfe incamped with eight hundred Lances, and eight thousand *Swissers*, to whom were ioyned within a few dayes after a regiment of three thousand others, together with foure thousand *Italians* and two thousand Lanceknights, there being found no want of victuals, for that they had as yet prouision for two moneths, as well in the armie, as in the places thereabouts, it being vnpossible to assaile them in a place of such strength without manifest daunger. Therefore the Imperials who many times had assayed to passe the riuer of *Thesin*, to stop victuals from the *French* on that side, to get into those townes which they held beyond *Thesin*, and to take such a course that the succours that were to come out of *Erance* might not ioyne with them, but were alwayes retained for feare lest *Millan* should remaine in danger, determined at last to passe, iudging by the confidence they had in the people of *Millan*, that it was not needfull to keepe there any great garrison: so that the Duke, accompanied with *Iohn de Medicis*, returned to *Millan*, where was remaining a strength of sixe thousand footmen. Thus the second day of May they passed the riuer of *Thesin*, vpon three bridges beneath *Pauie*, the battell lodging at *Gambalo*, and the residue of the armie in the villages thereabouts. And when they were passed *Thesin*, the Admirall sent *Ranse de Cere* speedily to guard *Vigeuena*, and fearing to lose that towne, with other peeces in the countrey of *Lomellina*, which being taken from him he should stand as it were besieged, he drew thither within fiue dayes with the whole armie, leauing within *Biagrassa* an hundred horsemen and a thousand footmen, and bestowed his vantguard about *Vigeuena*, and the battell at *Mortara*, a towne within two miles of *Gambalo*, where the Viceroy was: in which lodging which is very safe, he had victuals at command, both for the suretie of

The Imperials passe the riuer of Thesin.

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the wayes of *Monferrat*, *Verceil* and *Nouaro*, and alſo for that victuals came continually from one towne to another, as it had bene a ſtreame of water. The Admirall preſented battell two dayes together to the enemies, who refuſed to accept it, although they knew themſelues to be ſuperiour in number, and nothing inferiour in reſolution of ſouldiers, becauſe they would not put in danger the hope of the victorie which was almoſt certaine, hauing intelligence by the ſurpriſing of certaine letters, that the enemie began to want money. After the Emperours armie was paſſed *Theſin*, the Duke of *Vrbin* leading the *Venetian* regiments, went to incampe before *Garlaſco*, a towne ſtrong by ſituation, ditches and rampiers, wherein there were foure hundred footmen *Italians*; which ſtanding betweene *Pauie* and *Trumello* beyond *Theſin*, where he had an intention to beſtow himſelfe, did hinder the courſe of victuals, not onely from him, but alſo from all the reſidue of the armie: and when he had made a breach, he gaue the aſſault the ſame day, wherein being almoſt repulſed, many of his ſouldiers went into the water vp to the neckes, and ſo paſſed ouer the ditches; and with them were certaine bands of footmen of *Iohn de Medicis*, who alſo began to aſſaile it with ſuch furie, that they entred by force, making great ſlaughter of ſuch as they found within. Afterwards the armie approched Saint *Georges*, drawing towards the Pariſh of *Carro*, to go to *Satirano*, a towne of good ſtrength, ſituate vpon the hither ſhores of *Po*, in a place very apt to hinder their victuals, for the keeping whereof, were *Hugo de Peppoly* and *Iohn Birago* with certaine horſemen and ſixe hundred footmen. *Iohn* of *Vrbin* who was ſent thither with the artilleries, and a regiment of two thouſand footmen *Spaniards*, tooke firſt the towne, and then the litle Rocke, the moſt part of the men that were within being ſlaine, and the Captaines made priſoners. The *French* men remoued their campe to ſuccour *Satirano*, but being preuented by the diligence of their enemies, when they were aduertiſed by the way what was happened, they ſtayed all their armie at *Monce*. Neither did the affaires of the *French* men ſucceed any better in other places of the Duchie of *Millan*: for the ſouldiers that were left within *Millan* compelled the towne of *S. George* which ſtands aboue *Monce*, to render, from whence victuals were brought to *Biagraſſa*. *Vitelli* recouered the Citie of *Stradella*, the inhabitants whereof being conſtrained by the iniquitie of the ſouldiers, had called bands of footmen from *Loda*. *Paul Luſaſco* encountring with many light horſemen of the *French*, put them to flight: and *Federike de Boſſolo* being departed from *Loda* to ſet vpon *Piſqueton*, in ſtead of the victorie, brought home wounds and hurts, beſides the loſſe of many of his men: onely there were certaine light horſemen of the *French*, who running vp betweene *Plaiſance* and *Tortona*, ſurpriſed foureteeene thouſand duckats, which had bene ſent to the Emperours armie.

Amid theſe difficulties, the Admirall had two hopes, the one to haue the warre diuerted, and the other to be ſuccoured: becauſe the King ſent foure hundred Lances by the Mount *Geneura*, to whom were to be ioyned ten thouſand *Swiſſers*; and *Ranſe de Cere* led to the territorie of *Bergamo* by the way of *Valdeſaſina*, fiue thouſand *Griſons*, who were to paſſe from thence to *Loda* to ioyne with *Federike de Boſſolo*, with whom there were alreadie many bands of *Italian* footmen: and the Admirall perſwaded himſelfe that the armie of the Emperour would be conſtrained for the ſuretie of *Millan* to repaſſe the riuer of *Theſin*. Againſt theſe companies the Duke of *Millan* ſent *Iohn de Medicis* with fiftie men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and three thouſand footmen, who being vnited to three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſmen, and foure thouſand footmen of the *Venetians*, he drew neare to the enemies, who were come to the village of *Crauina*, betweene the riuers of *Adda* and *Brembo*, eight miles from *Bergamo*: and he ranne with part of his ſouldiers euen to the place where the *Griſons* were incamped, who the third day after, complaining that they had found at *Crauina* neither money, nor horſemen, nor other bands of footmen, as they ſaid *Ranſe de Cere* had promiſed them, they returned to their countrey. The ſtirring of the *Griſons* being thus diſſolued, *Iohn de Medicis* tooke *Caranage*, and afterwards paſſing *Adda*, he beat downe with his artilleries the bridge which the *French* had made at *Buſaloro* vpon *Theſin*: and of thoſe townes that are betweene *Millan* and *Theſin* there remained none but *Biagraſſa* in the power of the *French*: wherein there was ſtore of victuals, and a thouſand footmen in garriſon, vnder *Ierome Caracciolo* of *Naples*: but becauſe it hath his ſituation vpon the great channell, and by that meanes ſtoppeth the courſe of victuals which that channell is wont to bring in great plentie to *Millan*, *Francis Sforce* who ſent for *Iohn de Medicis* to come vnto him, and was followed by all the youth of *Millan*, beſides his ordinarie

bands of ſouldiers, and went to beſiege it, and hauing battered it from the Sunne riſing vntill noone, he ſent the ſouldiers to the aſſault, who tooke it the ſame day, to the great commendation of *Iohn de Medicis*, in whom that day was not onely diſcerned a vertue excelling all the other ſouldiers, but alſo a wiſedome and perfection worthy of a right noble Captaine. Captaine *Caracciolo* was taken, and many of the footmen committed to the ſword, beſides thoſe which *Iohn de Medicis* cauſed to be hanged, for that they had runne from him a litle before: and the towne being taken, the Caſtle yeelded, with reſeruation of the liues of them that were therein. The people of *Millan* reioyced maruellouſly for this ſucceſſe, but the aduerſitie that happened vnto them thereby, was farre greater without compariſon, then the ioy; for that by the ſpoiles and booties that were tranſported to *Millan* from *Biagraſſa* where the plague was, the ſeeds of that peſtilent contagion were ſowed in that Citie, and in few moneths increaſed ſo much, that there died thereof onely in *Millan*, more then fiftie thouſand bodies. But on the other ſide *Theſin*, where was the force and ſtrength of the warre, the Admirall after the loſſe of *Satirano*, the enemies being againe approched neare him, abandoned *Mortara*, and retired in two remoues to *Nouaro*, his forces being much diminiſhed, for that not onely many of his footmen, but alſo certaine of his men at armes were gone from the campe one after another, and returned into *France*: ſo that the Admirall had no other intention but to temporize vntill ſuch time as the ſupplies of the *Swiſſers* were come, who were alreadie neare to *Iurea*, in number about eight thouſand. On the other ſide, the Captaines of the Emperour going about to ſtop their coming, and to reduce the enemies into difficultie of victuals, ſeized vpon the townes neare to *Nouaro*, making ſlaughter of thoſe *French* men which they found there in garriſon: and when they had beſtowed within *Verceil* certaine bands of ſouldiers, to keepe the *Swiſſers* from entring there, they went to incampe at *Biandra* betweene *Verceil* and *Nouaro*, in a place enuironed on all parts with ditches, trees and waters. At laſt the Admirall vnderſtanding that the *Swiſſers* who had paſſed *Iurea*, were ſtayed along the riuer of *Sleſia*, which they could not paſſe ouer for the great abundance of waters that were there at that time, and deſiring to ioyne himſelfe with them, more (as was ſuppoſed) to go away in ſuretie, then to fight with the enemie, he went from *Nouaro* to lodge at *Romagnana* vpon the ſhore of the ſame riuer: where hauing want of victuals, and the number of his men decreaſing continually, he built a bridge betweene *Romagnana* and *Gattinara*: and on the other ſide, the enemies being come from *Biandra* to *Briona*, went to incampe within two miles of *Romagnana*. The *French* men perceiuing they were in ſo great a ſtreight, paſſed the riuer the day following; and it was beleeued, that if the enemies had bene carefull to watch their diſcamping, they had gained that day an abſolute victorie: but the opinions of the Captaines were diuerſe, of whom ſome had a great deſire to fight, and others to let them go without troubling them at all: and it ſeemed that the armie was not gouerned as appertained, for as much as the Marquis of *Peſquiero* onely proceeding in all his actions with his accuſtomed valour, ſeemed worthy to haue the whole direction of affaires referred to him; and others that bare enuie to his vertue and glorie, ſought rather to obſcure it, by detracting from him, and contradicting him, then in ioyning their hands together to the buſineſſe. The Captaines of the Imperial armie were very late aduertiſed of the diſcamping of the *French* men, but as ſoone as it was knowne, many light horſemen and bands of footmen paſſed the foord of the riuer without order and without enſignes, and followed them with ſuch diligence, that hauing ouertaken the reareguard, they began to skirmiſh with it: and albeit the *French* men fighting and marching, ſuſtained them for a long ſpace of time, yet in the end they left on the place ſeuen peeces of artilleries, a great quantitie of munitions and victuals, beſides many enſignes of horſemen and footmen, not a few alſo being ſlaine in the fight. The *French* made ſhew as though they would incampe at *Gattinara* which is within a mile of *Romagnana*, and in the meane while they ſecretly cauſed their artilleries and baggage to paſſe. But as the enemies, who beleeued they would incampe there, began to retire themſelues, they went and lodged at *Rauſſingo* towards *Iurea*, which is ſixe miles further. The Imperials without any impediment incamped the ſame night vpon the riuer, which they paſſed as ſoone as the Moone began to ſhine: but they were not followed by the *Venetians*, who for that they were entred vpon the lands of the Duke of *Sauoy*, thought they had exceeded the bonds of the confederation, by the which they were bound to no further matter then to the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*. The *French* men marched with a ſlow pace in battell array, and had beſtowed in the areareguard the bands

The Frēch men go from before Millan.

The politike wiſedome of the Venetians.

of

of *Swiſſers*, by whom were repulſed the firſt horſemen and footmen that came in diſorder to charge them, and the *French* by this time were gone from *Rauiſingo* about two miles. But the Marquis of *Peſquiero* coming on a ſudden with his light horſemen, they were eftſoones recharged, and yet they forbare not to march, of whom Captaine *Chabanes* was ſlaine in this laſt charge, and Captaine *Bayard* made priſoner, being firſt hurt with the ſhot of an harquebuze, whereof he died within a few dayes after. But the Marquis, notwithſtanding many bands of ſouldiers were come to him, thought not good to purſue the enemies further, both for that he was vnfurniſhed of artilleries, and had with him no more but one part of the armie: and thus the *French* who from that time forward were freed from any further troubles, returned together with the *Swiſſers* to their houſes, hauing left at *Vaury* beyond *Iurea* fifteene peeces of artilleries, in the guard of three hundred *Swiſſers* and one of the Lords of the countrey: but thoſe were no better preſerued then the others, for that the Emperours Captaines hauing aduertiſement thereof, ſent to take them. After this the Victors deuided themſelues into diuers parts: the Duke of *Vrbin* was ſent to *Loda*, and the Marquis of *Peſquiero* to *Alexandria*, which two Cities onely were holden for the King, for that *Nouaro* (the Duke of *Millan* and *Iohn de Medicis* approching neare vnto it) was rendred. The Viceroy was appointed to go againſt the Marquis of *Rothelin*, who was come ouer the Mounts with foure hundred Lances; neuertheleſſe as ſoone as he vnderſtood that the Admirall was gone, he returned ſpeedily into *France*, and *Monſieur de Buſſy* and *Iulio de S. Seuerin* to whom was committed the guard of *Alexandria*, made no reſiſtance. In like ſort *Federike*, after he had demanded a few dayes reſpite, to know if the Admirall were indeed paſſed the Mounts, compounded to yeeld vp *Loda*, vpon condition that it might be lawfull for him (as likewiſe it had bene accorded to them of *Alexandria*) to leade into *France* the bands of *Italian* footmen, who being in number about fiue thouſand, (for there were ſo many in both the Cities) did good ſeruice to the King afterwards. This was the end of the warre that was managed againſt the Duchie of *Millan* vnder the gouernment of the Admirall: whereby the *French* Kings power being nothing weakened, nor the rootes of euils remoued, the multitude of calamities was not take away, but only deferred to another ſeaſon, *Italy* remaining in the meane while freed from preſent troubles, but not of the feare of further aduerſities to come: and yet the Emperour by the incitation of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and allured by the hope that the authoritie of that Duke might ſerue him to ſpeciall purpoſe, was of mind to transferre the warre into *France*, whereunto the King of *England* alſo made ſhew to be readie and diſpoſed.

In the beginning of this yeare the Emperor had ſent his campe to *Fontaraby*, a towne of very ſmall circuite, ſtanding vpon the frontiers of *France* and *Spaine*: the which towne albeit it was very well manned, and furniſhed with artilleries and victuals, and that thoſe within had leiſure ſufficient to fortifie it, yet through the ignorance of the *French* men the fortifications were ſo ill made, that the towne lying open to the batterie of the enemies, neceſſitie conſtrained them to giue it vp with the ſafetie of their liues. When he had recouered *Fontarabie*, his thoughts reached yet further, making no reckoning of the perſwaſions and authoritie of the Pope, who hauing ſent in the beginning of the yeare, to the Emperour, the *French* King, and the King of *England*, to ſolicite a peace or a truce, had found their minds very ill diſpoſed thereunto. For, the *French* King conſenting to a truce for two yeares, refuſed the peace, for the ſmall hope he had to obtaine thereby ſuch conditions as he deſired: and the Emperour reiecting the truce, by the which was giuen good time to the *French* King to prepare himſelfe to make a new warre, deſired to haue peace: and any ſort of compoſition that could be made by the Popes meanes, was diſpleaſing to the King of *England*, for a deſire he had that the treatie of the accord might in the end be wholly referred to him; whereunto he was induced by the ambitious counſels of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who ſeruing as a true example in our dayes of immoderate pride, notwithſtanding he was of very baſe condition, and deſcended of very poore and abiect parents, was riſen to ſuch authoritie with the King, that it was manifeſt to all men, that the will of the King was nothing without the approbation of the Cardinall of *Yorke*: as of the contrary, whatſoeuer the Cardinall of *Yorke* determined, was of very great force. But the King and the Cardinall kept this matter diſſembled with the Emperour, and ſeemed very forward to moue warre againſt the Realme of *France*, which the King of *England* pretended lawfully to appertaine to him. The ground of his reaſons was, that King *Edward* the third, King of *England*, after the death

The claime of the Kings of England to the Crowne of France.

of the *French* King *Charles* the fourth called the faire, who died without iſſue male in the yeare of our ſaluation 1328, and of whoſe ſiſter the ſaid King *Edward* the third was borne, made inſtance to be declared King of *France*, as the next heire male to the *French* King deceaſſed: whereof neuertheleſſe he was refuſed by the States of the Realme, who determined, that by vertue of the law *Salike*, an ancient law of that kingdome, not onely the women were diſabled for the ſucceſſion of the Crowne, but alſo all ſuch as deſcended of them: which was the cauſe that ſhortly after taking vpon him the title of King of *France*, he inuaded the Realme with a mightie armie, where obtaining many victories, both againſt *Philip de Valois*, who by common conſent had bene declared ſucceſſour to *Charles* the Faire, and alſo againſt King *Iohn* his ſonne, who being ouerthrowne in battell, was led priſoner into *England*, at laſt he made peace with him, whereby many Prouinces and Eſtates of the kingdome remaining vnto him, he renounced the title of King. But this peace being of no long continuance, there were ſometimes long wars, and ſometimes tedious truces: vntill at laſt *Henrie* the fift King of *England* entring confederacie with *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, who bare a mind eſtranged from the Crowne of *France*, for the murder done vpon Duke *Iohn* his father, had ſo good ſucceſſe againſt *Charles* the ſixt who was diſtracted of his wits, that he occupied almoſt the whole kingdome, together with the towne of *Paris*: and finding in that Citie the *French* King accompanied with his wife, and the Ladie *Katherine* his daughter, he tooke to wife the ſaid Ladie, cauſing the mad King to conſent, that notwithſtanding his ſonne *Charles* did ſuruiue him, the kingdome ſhould be transferred to her and her children after his death. By vertue of which title, although vaine and of no force, when King *Henry* was dead, his ſon *Henrie* the ſixt was ſolemnly crowned at *Paris*, and proclaimed King of *England* and *France*: and albeit, after the death of *Charles* the ſixt, his ſonne *Charles* the ſeuenth, by reaſon of great warres happening in *England* betweene the Lords of the bloud royall, had chaſed the *Engliſh* out of all they held in *France*, except the towne and territories of *Calice*, yet the Kings of *England* did not leaue for all that to vſe the title of King of *France*. Theſe cauſes might haply moue King *Henrie* the eight to the warre, the rather alſo for that he ſtood more aſſured in his Realme then any of his predeceſſors had done: for that the Kings of the houſe of *Yorke* (that was the name of one faction) hauing ſuppreſſed the Kings of the houſe of *Lancaſter* (which was the other faction,) and the partakers with the houſe of *Lancaſter* ſeeing there was no more remaining of that houſe, raiſed to the kingdome *Henrie* of *Richmond*, for his proximitie and neareneſſe vnto them: who after he had ſubdued his aduerſaries, to the end he might reigne with more ſuretie and greater authoritie, tooke to wife one of the daughters of *Edward* the laſt King but one of the houſe of *Yorke*: ſo that it ſeemed that all the rights of both the one and the other houſe, were tranſported and fallen vpon the perſon of King *Henrie* the eight, who was borne of that mariage. Theſe houſes for the cognizances which they bare, were commonly called the *Red Roſe* and the *White*. Neuertheles the king of *England* was not principally ſo much carried by an hope to win the Realme of *France* by armes, for that he was not ignorant of innumerable difficulties therein, as by the ambitious deſire of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, that the long and tedious trauels and infinite neceſſities of the warre, might in the end bring his King to be the onely arbitrator of the peace; which the Cardinall knowing well that it would depend much of his authoritie, he thought at one time both to make his name great through all the world, and alſo to keepe himſelfe in grace with the *French* King, whom he fauoured ſecretly: and therefore the King of *England* purpoſed not to bind himſelfe to ſuch conditions, whereunto it was neceſſarie he ſhould be bound if he had had a forward mind to ſo great a warre. Thus the Emperour being incited to the warre by ſuch an occaſion, but much more by an hope that the fauour, authoritie and popular opinion which the Duke of *Bourbon* was wont to haue in that kingdome, would cauſe the Commons of that Realme to draw into commotion: and therefore notwithſtanding he was aduiſed by many about him, that being deſtitute of money, and hauing confederates whoſe fidelitie was vncertaine, he ſhould giue ouer the thoughts to begin ſo intricate a warre, and conſent that the Pope might treate vpon the ſurceaſſing of armes, he couenanted with the King of *England* and the Duke of *Bourbon* in this ſort: That the Duke ſhould enter into the Realme of *France* with part of the armie that was in *Italy*; to whom as ſoon as he ſhould be ouer the Mounts, the King of *England* ſhould pay an hundred thouſand duckats for the defrayments of the firſt moneth of the warre: and that it ſhould be in the election of the ſaid King either to continue this contribution from moneth to moneth, or elſe to

paſſe

paſſe into *France* with a ſtrong armie, to make warre from the firſt day of Iuly vntill the end of December: and in that caſe the countries of *Flanders* ſhould furniſh him of three thouſand horſe, and a thouſand footmen, with ſufficient artilleries and munitions: That if the victorie fell to them, there ſhould be rendred to the Duke of *Bourbon* all thoſe lands which the *French* king had taken from him, and that *Prouence* ſhould be gotten for him, whereunto he pretended right by reaſon of the reſignation that was made after the death of *Charles* the eight by the Duke of *Lorraine*, to *Anne* Ducheſſe of *Bourbon*; and that he ſhould hold it by the title of King: That firſt he ſhould make an oath to the King of *England* as King of *France*, and do him homage; which if he did not performe, this capitulation ſhould be voide: and alſo that the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould treate of nothing with the *French* King without the conſent of them both: That the Emperour at the ſame time ſhould make warre on the coaſt of *Spaine*: and that the Embaſſadours of the Emperour and the King of *England* ſhould procure the Potentates of *Italy*, to the end to be for euer aſſured of the warre of the *French*, to be concurrant with their money in this enterpriſe; a matter which ſorted to no effect, for that the Pope did not onely refuſe to contribute, but expreſly blamed that enterpriſe, preſaging that it would not onely haue an ill ſucceſſe in *France*, but alſo would be the cauſe to returne the warre againe vpon *Italy*, and that with a greater puiſſance and peril then before. Which confederation being made, although the Duke of *Bourbon* (who refuſed conſtantly to acknowledge the King of *England* for King of *France*) counſelled rather to march with the armie towards *Lions*, to the end to draw neare his owne lands and countreys: yet it was reſolutely determined, that he ſhould paſſe into *Prouence*, both for that it would be more eaſie for the Emperour to ſend him ſuccours out of *Spaine*, and alſo to make vſe of the armie by ſea, which was in preparing at *Genes* by the commandement and with the money of the Emperour.

The proceedings of this expedition were, that the Duke of *Bourbon* and with him the Marquis of *Peſquiero* (declared in this warre Lieutenant of the Emperour, for that he was not content to obey the Duke of *Bourbon*) ſhould paſſe to *Nice*, but with forces farre leſſe then ſuch as were appointed, for that to fiue hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, foure thouſand footmen *Spaniards*, three thouſand *Italians*, and fiue thouſand Lanceknights, which they had with them, there ſhould haue bene ioyned three hundred men at armes of the armie in *Italy*, and fiue thouſand other Lanceknights: but theſe came not for want of money; and the Viceroy hauing no meanes to wage new companies of footmen according to the reſolution ſet downe in the firſt counſels, retained the men at armes for the guard of the countrey, to the end to make head againſt *Michael Angeo* Marquis of *Saluſſo*, who being departed from his Eſtate, kept vpon the Mountaines with a thouſand footmen. Hereunto was added, that the Emperours armie at ſea (one of their principall hopes) being guided by *Don Hugo de Moncado*, a creature of the Duke *Valentinois*, and who was a man malicious and of a wicked life, appeared inferiour to the Nauie of the *French* King, which being parted from *Marſeilles*, was ſtayed in the port of *Villefranche*. Neuertheleſſe the Emperours armie entred into *Prouence*, where were *Monſieur de la Paliſſa*, Captaine *Fayetta*, *Ranſe de Cere*, and *Federike de Boſſolo*, Captaines of the *French* King, who withdrew themſelues into townes, for that they were not ſtrong enough to make head in the field: and a part of the armie marching along the ſea ſide, tooke the Tower that commandeth the port of *Tolon*, from whence were taken two Cannons that were drawne to the armie: and the Citie of *Aix* yeelded, which for her authoritie, and for that the Parliament is kept there, is the chiefeſt Towne of *Prouence*; many other townes of the countrey doing the like. The Duke of *Bourbon* deſired that from *Aix* the armie might march further, leauing the ſea ſide, and that they ſhould ſeeke to paſſe the riuer of *Rhoſne*, to get further into the bodie of the Realme of *France*, whileſt the Kings prouiſions were yet but weake: for that the men at armes of *France*, who had ſuffered much, and were very ill payed by the King, who being drained of money, and expected not that his enemies would paſſe out of *Lombardie* into *France*, were in ſuch diſorder, that they could not with ſpeed be marſhalled againe: and withall the King hauing no confidence in the valour of the footmen of his owne kingdome, was conſtrained before he could march into the field, to tarrie for the coming of certaine footbands of the *Swiſſers* and Lanceknights: in which time the Duke of *Bourbon* thought he might do ſome matter of importance in paſſing ouer *Rhoſne*. But the Marquis of *Peſquiero* with the other *Spaniſh* Captaines were of another aduice, who for the oportunitie of the ſea, deſired (knowing that

to be the will of *Ceſar*) that *Marſeilles* might be conquered; which is a hauen very conuenient to moleſt the Realme of *France* with ſea armies, and to paſſe out of *Spaine* into *Italy*; whoſe wils the Duke of *Bourbon* being not able to reſiſt, they pitched their campe before *Marſeilles*, wherein was newly entred *Ranſe de Cere* with thoſe bands of footmen which had bene led into *France* from *Alexandria* and *Loda*. They lay fortie dayes before *Marſeilles* without being able to do any thing. For although they battered the walls in many places with their artilleries, and laboured to work their entrie by mining, yet they found many difficulties; as, the wals that were very ſtrong and of ancient building; the valour of the defendants: the diſpoſition of the people moſt affectionate to the *French* King, and very hatefull to the name of the *Spaniards*, for the memorie that old *Alphonſo* of *Aragon* as he returned frō *Naples* into *Spaine* with an armie by ſea, had ſurprized and ſacked that towne; and for the hope of ſuccours as well by ſea as land, for that the *French* King was come to *Auignon*, (a Citie belonging to the Pope, ſtanding vpon the riuer of *Rhoſne*) where he aſſembled a mightie armie with great diligence. Moreouer, the Emperours Captaines began to fall into want of money, and their hopes began to faile, that the *French* King being inuaded in other places, would be letted to conuert all his forces to one part onely: becauſe the King of *England*, notwithſtanding he had ſent to the Duke of *Bourbon* Maſter *Richard Pace*, did both refuſe to pay the three hundred thouſand duckats for the ſecond moneth, and alſo made ſlender ſhewes to moue warre in *Picardie*: yea, hauing receiued into *England* *Iohn Ioachin de Paſſano* whom the *French* King had ſent to him; and the Cardinal of *Yorke* making ſtrange anſwers to the Emperours Embaſſadours; he gaue great occaſion both to doubt and diſtruſt him. And touching *Spaine*, the power was not anſwerable to the will: for the Courts of *Caſtile* (ſo they call the congregation of the Deputies aſſembled in the name of the whole kingdome) hauing refuſed to aide the Emperour with foure hundred thouſand duckats, which they are wont to do when it is for a matter of importance, and that the King ſtands in great need, could ſend no money to the armie that was in *Prouence*, nor raiſe againſt the *French* king in the frontiers of *Spaine* any other then very weake forces, and ſuch whereof there was ſmall reckoning made: ſo that the Imperiall Captaines deſpairing to be able to take *Marſeilles*, and fearing to runne into ſome great danger when the King ſhould approach, raiſed their campe the ſame day that the King departed from *Auignon* with his whole armie, hauing gathered a regiment of ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers*. When the Imperiall Captaines had raiſed their ſiege from before *Marſeilles*, they preſently turned their faces towards *Italy*, whither they retired with great diligence, for that they perceiued into what perill they ſhould fall, if either all, or part of the *French* Kings armie ſhould accoaſt them in the countrey of the enemie. And on the other ſide, the King iudging that a faire occaſion was offered to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, for that he had a puiſſant army, for the knowledge he had that the enemies were weake, & in a hope that taking the neareſt way, he ſhould be in *Italy* afore thoſe that went from *Marſeilles*; he determined to follow the benefite that fortune preſented vnto him: which he imparted to his Captains with theſe words: I haue concluded and reſolued with my ſelfe to paſſe in perſon into *Italy*, and whoſoeuer would counſell me the contrary, ſhall not onely not be heard of me, but alſo ſhall much diſpleaſe me. Let euery one therefore looke carefully to performe that which ſhall be giuen him in charge, or that any way belongeth to his office: for God who is a louer of iuſtice, and the inſolencie and raſhneſſe of the enemies haue at laſt layed open a meanes for vs to recouer that which hath bene violently taken from vs againſt all right and reaſon. To theſe words was correſpondent both his conſtancie in determining, and his celeritie in execution. For he cauſed his armie to march immediatly, wherein were two thouſand lances and twentie thouſand footmen, ſhunning to meete with the Ladie Regent his mother, who was come from *Auignon* to perſwade him not to paſſe the Mounts in perſon, but to manage the warre by his Captaines. He gaue order to *Ranſe de Cere* to furniſh his galleys with thoſe bands of footmen which he had at *Marſeilles*; and to the end not to giue eare to any negociations of peace, or elſe for that he ſomewhat diſtruſted the Pope, he forbad the Archbiſhop of *Capua* that was ſent vnto him to go afterwards to the Emperour, to paſſe any further, and told him he would negociate with him by letters ſtaying at *Auignon* with his mother, or elſe that he ſhould returne againe to the Pope: and in the meane while he followed the enemies with the greateſt diligence he could. But they making ſmall reckoning of the harmes which the payſants did to them, and marching in very good order along the ſea ſide, at laſt they got to *Monaco*, and from thence

The French king determineth to paſſe the mōts and follow the enemie.

when

when they had broken their artilleries in peeces,which for more facilitie of carriage, they laded their Mulets withall, they went to *Finale*; where vnderſtanding that the King approched, they doubled their pace,to the end to be able in good ſeaſon to defend the Duchie of *Millan*,wherin were not remaining forces ſufficient to make reſiſtance. Thus both the armies drawing towards *Italy*, they arriued in one and the ſame day, the *French* King at *Verceil*, the Marquis of *Peſquiero* with the horſemen and *Spaniſh* footmen at *Alba*, being followed one dayes iourney behind by the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Lanceknights. The Marquis not giuing himſelf leiſure to pauſe, or ſcarcely to breathe, went the day following from *Alba* to *Voguiera*, being fortie miles diſtant, to the end he might the next day get into *Pauie*: and there he ioyned his forces with the Viceroy who was come thither from *Alexandria*,for the guard of which towne he had left a ſtrength of two thouſand footmen,and it was at the time when the *French* armie began to draw faſt vpon the ſhores of the riuer of *Theſin*; and in this place they conſulted among themſelues with *Ierome Moron* of the common affaires, wherein their firſt deuice was, that leauing ſufficient garriſon within *Pauie*, they ſhould diſpoſe all their forces to the defence of *Millan*, as they had done at other times: and therefore they appointed that *Moron* ſhould go thither forthwith to make prouiſion of things neceſſarie, and that the Duke of *Millan* whom they had ſent for, ſhould follow him: and touching themſelues,when they had left within *Pauie*, *Anthonie de Leua* with three hundred men at armes, fiue thouſand footmen, all Lanceknights (except certaine *Spaniards*) they tooke their way to *Millan*.

But the Citie of *Millan*,afflicted with the great plague that had tormented it all the Sommer, appeared no more like it ſelf; for ỹ a great number of people were dead, many to auoid ſo great an inconuenience had abſented themſelues,and it contained not ſuch prouiſions of victuals as it was wont; the meanes to recouer money was very difficult, and touching the fortifications, there had bene no care had of them, ſo that all the bulwarkes and rampiers lay reuerſed on the ground; and yet notwithſtanding all theſe things, the inhabitants ſhewed themſelues readie to endure all labour,and vndergo any danger: but *Moron*, who ſaw that to put the armie into the towne, would rather cauſe the ruine then the defence of the Citie, tooke another courſe; for which cauſe putting himſelfe in the midſt of a great preaſſe of the people of *Millan*, he ſpake in this ſort: I know well that there remaineth in you the ſame affection which you haue alwayes had to defend *Francis Sforce* your Lord; and for his part the calamities and dangers of his dearely beloued people do pierce him to the very heart,as they haue always done,and he is likewiſe readie to lay downe his owne life for your ſafetie, as you do now expoſe your ſelues with no leſſe readineſſe then you haue often done heretofore: but your forces are in no ſort anſwerable to your wils, for that your towne being made almoſt emptie of inhabitants, naked of money and victuals, and withall your fortifications extremely ruined, there is no meanes to keepe the *French* men from entring. The Duke is maruellouſly grieued,that he is conſtrained to leaue you abandoned, but it would be more grieuous to him then death it ſelfe,if in ſeeking to defend you, he ſhould be the cauſe of your vtter ruine and deſtruction, as doubtleſſe he ſhould. Among ſo many and great euils, he is holden wiſe that chuſeth the leaſt, and that deſpaireth not ſo much,as to abandon all his hopes with one deliberation onely: and therefore the Duke aduiſeth you to yeeld to neceſſitie, and obey the *French* King, to preſerue your ſelues for a better time, which we haue great cauſe to hope will ſoone returne. The Duke will not abandon himſelfe for the preſent, nor you for the time to come. The power of the Emperour is very great, his fortune incredible, the cauſe very iuſt, and our enemies the very ſame whom we haue ſo often vanquiſhed. God wil behold your pietie towards the Duke,and the Dukes zeale to his countrey: and we ought to hold for certaine, that ſuffering for a good end, that whereunto preſent neceſſitie conſtraineth vs, he will quickly giue vs ſuch a victorie ouer the enemie, who is moſt proud, that happily enioying a very long peace, we ſhall be freed and reſtored in good time from ſo many diſcommodities and afflictions which we haue ſuffered. After which words, when he had put victuals into the Caſtle, he iſſued out of the towne. The Duke went alſo to *Millan*, not knowing any thing of that which *Moron* had done: but he was ſcarcely come out of *Pauie*,when he met with *Ferdinand Caſtriot* who conducted the artillerie,who aduertiſing him that part of the enemies were paſſed *Theſin*, and that they had ouerthrowne Captaine *Sucere* a *Bourgonian* with his light horſemen vpon the ſhores of the riuer, he returned to *Pauie*, fearing to find ambuſhes and impediments in the way. And albeit the Duke and *Moron* had proceeded

ded with ſinceritie in theſe matters, yet the Emperours Captaines who were with the armie at *Binaſco*, being entred into a iealouſie leſt they had ſecretly contracted with the *French* King, ſent to *Millan* Captaine *Alarcon* with two hundred Lances, either to follow him, or to lie ſtill, according to the aduertiſements that ſhould be giuen them: and when he was arriued there, the people who were alreadie compounded with certaine exiles that negociated in the Kings name, began to take heart, and to publiſh the name of the Emperour and *Francis Sforce*. But Captaine *Alarcon*, knowing there was no hope of defence, and vnderſtanding that the vantguard of the *French* was alreadie at hand, he iſſued out of the gate called *Rome* gate, and tooke the way to *Loda*, whither the whole armie alſo marched, at the ſame time that the enemies began to enter by the gates of *Theſin* and *Verceil*; who, if they had not turned towards *Millan*, but had ſet themſelues to follow the armie of the Emperour, being wearied with the long way they had marched, wherein they had loſt many of their weapons and horſes, it was beleeued for certaine, that they had very eaſily broken and diſperſed them: and alſo, if after they were approched to *Millan*, they had preſently drawne towards *Loda*, the Emperours Captaines would not haue had the courage to ſtay there; and haply by paſſing with diligence the riuer of *Adda*, they might with ỹ ſame facilitie haue put the reſidue of the enemies into great diſorder. But the King haply either ſuppoſing it a matter of great importance to aſſure himſelfe of *Millan*, which Citie had alwayes made the greateſt reſiſtance againſt him, or not knowing the occaſion, or being moued by ſome other cauſe, he not onely approched the Citie of *Millan*, whereinto he neither entred, nor ſuffered the armie to enter, but ſtayed a while to beſtow in it a ſufficient garriſon, and to giue direction for beſieging the Caſtle, wherein were ſeuen hundred *Spaniſh* footmen; and he forbad, to the great praiſe of his modeſtie and clemencie, that no diſpleaſures ſhould be done to the inhabitants: and after he had taken order for *Millan*, he turned towards *Pauie*, not holding it conuenient for the eſtate of his affaires, to leaue behind his backe a Citie wherein were ſo many ſouldiers. The King had in his armie (as the bruite went) reckoning thoſe that remained at *Millan*, two thouſand Lances, eight thouſand Lanceknights, ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers*, ſixe thouſand aduenturers, and foure thouſand *Italians*: which number increaſed much afterwards. At this time the Marquis of *Peſquiero* was gotten into *Loda* with two thouſand footmen: and the Viceroy hauing reuictualled the townes of *Alexandria*, *Coma*, and *Treſſa*, was entred into *Sonzin*, together with *Francis Sforce* and *Charles Bourbon*; who amid ſo many difficulties and diſtreſſes were ſomewhat encouraged by the Kings going to *Pauie*: and purpoſing to readdreſſe their companies if the defence of that Citie would giue them libertie (for otherwiſe they ſaw no remedie,) they ſent into *Germanie* to leuie ſixe thouſand footmen, for the payes of whom, and other expences neceſſarie, there was prouiſion made with the fiftie thouſand duckats which the Emperour had ſent to *Genes* to be employed in the warres of *Prouence*. But that which aboue all other things gaue impediment to their counſels, was their want of money: for they had no meanes to draw any out of the Duchie of *Millan*, nor any hope to obtaine from the Emperour, by reaſon of his diſabilitie, any other matter then a commiſſion, to ſell at *Naples* as much as they could of the reuenues of that kingdome; and touching their ancient Confederates, they expected of them very litle, or haply no reliefe, either of money or men: for that as the Pope and the *Florentines* being ſued vnto by them for ſome contribution of money, gaue them nothing but generall words. Alſo the Pope, who after the Admirall was gone out of *Italy* had abſolutely reſolued not to meddle any more in the wars between the Emperour and the *French* King, would neuer renew the confederation made with his predeceſſor, nor contract new league with any Prince: and which more is, although he declared himſelfe inclined to the Emperour and the King of *England*, yet he had afore ſecretly promiſed the *French* King, not to hinder him in the recouerie of the Duchie of *Millan*. And the *Venetians* being required by the Viceroy to furniſh thoſe bands of ſouldiers which they were bound vnto by the capitulations of the league; albeit they refuſed thē not, yet they made cold anſwers, as men who purpoſed to accōmodate their counſels according to the proceeding of things; either for that in many of them was renewed the memorie of their ancient alliance with the *French* king, or for an opinion they had that he would remain victorious, in regard of the forces he had in *Italy* againſt enemies ill prepared, and worſe prouided; or elſe for that the Emperours ambition was more ſuſpected to them then before, ſeeing that to the great maruel of all men, and complaint almoſt of all *Italy*, he had not inueſted *Francis Sforce* in the Duchie of *Millan*; and alſo they were much

carried

carried by the authoritie of the Pope, to whoſe counſels and example they bare no ſmall reſpect at that time. But the *French* King being approched *Pauie* on the vpper ſide betweene the riuer of *Theſin* and the way that leadeth to *Millan*, when he had incamped his vantguard within the ſuburbes of Saint *Anthonie* beyond *Theſin* vpon the way that goeth to *Genes*, and beſtowed himſelfe in the Abbey of Saint *Lanfranke*, which is within a mile of the wals, he battered the wals in two places with his artilleries for two dayes together, and then ranging his armie into battell array, he began to giue the aſſault: but finding the towne well rampiered within, and the defendants ſhewing themſelues valiant and aſſured in the defence, and on the contrary diſcerning in his owne ſouldiers manifeſt ſignes of feare, and many to be ſlaine in the charge, he cauſed the retrait to be ſounded; and knowing well that it would be hard to take by aſſault a towne that was defended by ſo many men of warre, he determined to caſt trenches and platformes by the labour of a great number of pioners, deuiſing to cut off the flanks, to giue more ſuretie to his ſouldiers when they ſhould approch: and beſides, (which was a labour long and difficult) he cauſed mines to be made in diuers places, hoping to preuaile by that meanes, if otherwiſe he could not: and at laſt, becauſe the valour and number of the defendants cauſed him to diſtruſt much, when he had asked counſell of many enginers and men that knew the courſe of the riuer, which about two miles aboue *Pauie* ſeparates it ſelfe into two armes, and paſſing a mile lower meeteth & ioyneth together againe before it falleth into *Po*, he determined to diuert the arme that paſſeth on that ſide to *Pauie*, and to make it fall into the leſſer arme, which they call the *Granalone*, in hope to take it the more eaſily on that ſide, where the wall by reaſon of the ſuretie which the depth of the water did giue, was not rampiered. And in this worke, which was performed with very great expences, and with an infinite number of men, not without feare of thoſe within, he conſumed many dayes: but the violence of the water (being much riſen by reaſon of the great raines that fell) breaking downe the bankes and ſluces which were made in the channell where the riuer was deuided to force the courſe of the water to enter into the leſſer arme, and the King hoping at this time with multitude of men and money to ſurmount the violence of the ſtreame, in the end experience made him know (which almoſt alwayes happeneth) that the force of water can do more then either the trauell of men, or induſtrie of enginiſts: ſo that the King being depriued of the hope to take *Pauie* by force, or by ſuch workings, he determined to continue the ſiege; with the long tract and continuance whereof, he hoped to reduce the defendants into a neceſſitie of rendring. Now whileſt theſe things were in doing, when the Pope heard that the King had taken *Millan*, being moued with ſo happie beginnings, he ſtudied to aſſure his owne affaires, and to this end he ſent to the *French* King, *Iohn Mathew Giberto* Biſhop of *Verona* his Datario, whom he truſted much, and who withall was verie acceptable to the *French* King. He gaue him in charge, to go firſt to *Sonzin*, to exhort the Viceroy and the other Captaines to peace, and to giue them to vnderſtand that he went to the King for the ſame cauſe: but their hopes being increaſed by the reſiſtance of *Pauie*, they made him this braue anſwer, That they would giue no eare to any compoſition whereby the King ſhould retaine any foote of land in the Duchie of *Millan*. The like, or haply a more hard diſpoſition he found in the *French* king, who was puffed vp by the greatnes of his armie, & for the good means he had, not onely to continue it, but alſo to increaſe it; vpon which foundation principally he affirmed he had paſſed into *Italy*, and not vpon a ſimple hope onely to preuent his enemies, although that in good part had ſucceeded to him. The King ſaid he had an aſſured hope to carrie *Pauie*, which he continued to batter verie furiouſly; and that by the meanes of the workes which he cauſed to be made about the walls, which he aſſured himſelfe the enemies could not hinder, for the want they had of munitions, which was eaſie to be diſcerned by the litle number of ſhots which they made, and for the ſcarcitie of bread that was within the towne: beſides that he was not without hope alſo to be able to turne the ſtreame of *Theſin*: and that he eſteemed § recouery of the Duchie of *Millan* & *Genes*, a recompence far vnworthy of ſo great labors & expences, but that he purpoſed alſo to inuade § kingdom of *Naples*. After this, the principall cauſe of the Biſhops legation was debated betweene them, and ſorted to effect with very ſmall difficultie, for as much as the Pope bound himſelfe not to giue againſt the King any ſuccours, manifeſt or ſecret; and the *Florentines* did the like: and the King receiued the Pope and the *Florentines* into his protection, comprehending eſpecially the authoritie which the family of *Medicis* had within *Florence*: and it was agreed that this accord ſhould not be publiſhed, but when

The French king before Pauie.

when the Pope ſhould thinke good. And yet, although it came not preſently to the knowledge of the Emperours Captaines, they entred dayly more and more into iealouſie of the Pope: and therefore to be fully aſſured of his intention, they ſent vnto him *Martin* Abbot of *Nagera* Commiſſarie of the campe, to propound vnto him both hope and feare. For on the one part they made him offer of very great things, and on the other they gaue him to vnderſtand, that if the Emperour and the King came to the extremitie of contention, the Emperour would hold ſuch as ſtood neuters for no other then enemies. But the Pope anſwered, that nothing could be more vndecent for him, then to giue ouer neutralitie, in warres that are made between Chriſtian Princes, for that the office of a Paſtor did ſo require, and for that he might with the greater authority interpoſe to ſolicite peace, whereof he treated at the ſame time with the Emperor, at whoſe Court ſince the taking of *Millan* was arriued the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, whom the Lady Regent had permitted to paſſe frõ *Lions* into *Spaine*: where, after he had with the ſame reaſons excuſed the Pope for that he would not renew the league, as the Emperour had inſtantly required him, when he vnderſtood that the King drew towards *Italy*, he earneſtly perſwaded him in his name, to lay aſide armes, by making peace or truce. But that which inclined the Emperour to accord, was the difficulties whereinto he ſaw his armie reduced, the ſlender meanes he had to leuie money in *Spaine* to relieue the affaires of *Italy*, the proſperitie which followed the *French* King, and the ſuſpition leſt the King of *England* had ſecretly contracted with his enemie: foraſmuch as that King not onely refuſed that the fiftie thouſand duckats, which at laſt he had prouided at *Rome*, for the warre of *Prouence*, ſhould be ſent to the armie that was in *Lombardie*; but alſo, which cauſed greater doubt, he demanded of the Emperour (ſuffering ſo great neceſſitie) reſtitution of the money he had lent him, and that he ſhould pay him all ſuch ſummes as he was bound vnto. For, the Emperour when he paſſed into *Spaine*, being very deſirous to be conioyned with him, (to remoue all difficulties that might hold him in ſuſpence) bound himſelfe to pay him that penſion which he had yearely of the *French* King, and twentie thouſand duckats for the penſions which the ſame King payed to the Cardinall of *Yorke* and others, together with thirtie thouſand duckats payable to Queene *Blanch* the widow of King *Lewis*: of all which ſummes he had made no payment till that day. And yet the Emperor, although to ỹ affliction of mind, was added an ill diſpoſition of his bodie, being fallen into a Feuer quartaine, either for the diſpleaſure he had conceiued when the difficulties to take *Marſeilles* began to appeare, or for that his mind, ill diſpoſed to giue place to the enemie, was not naturally made tractable by any difficulties, or for that he had a firme confidence in the vertue of his armie, if once they came to battell with the enemie; or for that he promiſed himſelfe, that hereafter Fortune would be as fauourable to him as ſhe had bene in former times; he anſwered, That it was not a matter agreeing with his dignity, to make any conuention ſo long as the *French* King vexed with armes the Duchie of *Millan*.

The Frẽch king ſendeth the Duke of Albanie into the realme of Naples.

In the meane time the *French* King had determined to inuade the Realme of *Naples*, in hope that the Viceroy moued with the danger, for that there was no garriſon at all there, would either abandon the Duchie of *Millan*, and go to the defence thereof, or at leaſt would agree to lay downe armes vpon ill conditions; a thing which the King began in a maner to deſire, for the difficulties he ſaw to obtaine *Pauie*. It was ſet downe, that *Iohn Steward* Duke of *Albanie*, of the bloud royall of the Kings of *Scotland*, ſhould march to the Realme of *Naples* with two hundred lances, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, which ſhould be drawne out of the armie, whereof the one halfe ſhould be *Italians*, foure hundred *Swiſſers*, and the reſidue Lanceknights: and that *Ranſe de Cere* to ioyne with them, ſhould deſcend to *Liuerne* with the bands of footmen appointed for the armie at ſea, which for the difficultie of neceſſary prouiſions remained yet in the hauen of *Villefranche*: and that the ſame *Ranſe* and the other *Vrſins* ſhould wage foure thouſand footmen in the countrey of *Rome*: which deliberation the *French* King ſignified vnto the Pope by his Embaſſadour *Albert* Earle of *Carpy*, and required leaue of him to leuie bands of footmen at *Rome*, and that he would conſent that his armie might paſſe through the Church dominion. This demand was grieuous to the Pope, to whom it was intollerable, that together with the Duchie of *Millan*, the Realme of *Naples* ſhould diuolue to the *French* King: but not hauing the courage to refuſe his demand openly, he aduiſed the King, not to vndertake as yet that enterpriſe, nor to bring him into a neceſſitie to denie him that, which for many iuſt regards he could not conſent vnto; declaring vnto him with a wiſe diſ-

courſe,

courſe, ſ̃ ſuch a thought was againſt his proper good and profite. For if the deſire to recouer the Duchie of *Millan* had heretofore ſtirred him vp ſo many enemies, what could be looked for now, when the world diſcerned that he aſpired to the kingdome of *Naples* alſo? What maruell can it be, if this moue the *Venetians* to take armes for the Emperour, breaking the bonds of their confederation? That he ſhould conſider, if by miſaduenture his affaires found any difficultie in *Lombardie*, with what reputation they could proceed in the Realme of *Naples*; and that if they ſhould happen to decline in either of theſe places, it would be the cauſe that they will decay in the other. Laſtly, that he ſhould remember that he had praiſed and commended him, for that he had contained himſelfe within the limites of the dutie of a Pope: and therefore it was not conuenient that now he ſhould compell him to do quite contrary. But this diſcourſe was in vaine, for that the Duke of *Albanie* without attending his anſwer, had (as aſſured of the Popes conſent) paſſed the riuer of *Po* at the bridge of *Stellato*, which is in the Duchie of *Millan*: and yet the fift day after he turned backe again, becauſe the King, vnderſtanding that the Lance-knights began alreadie to arriue in the enemies campe, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* was gone into *Germanie* to wage more, he would keepe the armie entire, vntill there came a new ſupply of *Swiſſers* and *Griſons*, which he had ſent to leuie: in which time both the armies remained in a maner idle: the King continued the ſiege of *Pauie*, not intermitting the labour in the trenches, and to vexe them within with his artilleries: and the Imperials expecting the returne of the Duke of *Bourbon*, remained quiet; onely the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, vpon whoſe prouidence and valour the moſt part of the counſels, and all the executions depended, iſſuing one night out of *Loda* with two hundred horſemen and two thouſand footmen, ſurpriſed the towne of *Melzi*, being negligently guarded by *Ierome* and *Iohn-Fermo Triuulce*, with two hundred horſemen, and tooke priſoners all the Captaines with the moſt part of all their ſouldiers, of whom *Ierome* died not many dayes after of a blow which he receiued in fight. Afterwards the *Swiſſers* and *Griſons* arriued in the Kings campe, by reaſon of whoſe coming the Duke of *Albanie* repaſſed againe the riuer of *Po* at *Stradella* into the countrey of *Plaiſance*. From which inclination the Pope being not able to turne the King, and making no great inſtance vnto him, leſt haply he ſhould bring him into ſome doubt, he thought it now time both to manifeſt to the Imperials the couenants he had made with him before, and alſo to renew the mention of the accord, being in hope that the difficultie to obtaine *Pauie*, and the danger of the kingdome of *Naples*, would make either partie leſſe obſtinate and leſſe hard to embrace the accord. To theſe ends he ſent to the Viceroy *Paul Vettorio* Captaine of his galleys, to ſignifie vnto him, that notwithſtanding he had vſed great diligence, he could neuer diuert the *French* King from his purpoſe to inuade the Realme of *Naples*: and that vnleſſe he would pull vpon himſelfe the warre which he could not reſiſt, he might not giue impediment to his paſſage, yea rather he was conſtrained to aſſure himſelfe of him by new contracts, but that he neuer accorded to any condition which might be preiudiciall to the Emperour; for whom, amid ſo many difficulties, he ſaw nothing more profitable then peace: and to the end the negociation thereof might be aduanced afore the difficulties grew greater, he perſwaded the Viceroy to conſent to a ſurceaſſing of armes, putting into the hands of a perſon not ſuſpected all thoſe peeces which he held yet in the Duchie of *Millan* in the name of the Emperour and the Duke, for that otherwiſe the King would not condeſcend thereunto: That he hoped, this being done, there would be found ſome honeſt meanes of peace, for the which he propounded, that the Duchie of *Millan* being wholly ſeparate from the Crowne of *France*, the Kings ſecond ſonne ſhould be inueſted therein by the Emperour, who in recompence ſhould receiue a competent ſumme of money: That there ſhould be ordained ſome reaſonable prouiſion for the Dukes of *Millan* and *Bourbon*: and that the Pope, the *Venetians* and the *Florentines* ſhould be bound to ioyne with the Emperour againſt the *French* King, in caſe he would not obſerue things promiſed. The Emperours Captaines diſcerned well the greatneſſe of the difficulties and dangers, hauing at one and the ſame time, in ſo great a want of money, to ſupport the warre in *Lombardie*, and to haue a care of the Realme of *Naples*, without the aide of the Pope and the *Florentines*, and being now certaine that the *Venetians* would abandon them; who, albeit they waged new bands of footmen, and ſtudied to entertain the Imperial Captains in an hope they would obſerue the league, yet deferred the execution with diuers excuſes: in ſo much as the Viceroy being nothing eſtranged from the accord, inclined to draw with the armie to the kingdome of *Naples* for the ſuretie thereof: but the

The Pope counſelleth the French king & the Emperour to peace.

Councell being thereupon aſſembled, the aduice of the Marquis of *Peſquiero* preuailed, who vſing both wiſedome and courage, ſhewed that it was neceſſarie to make ſmall account of all other dangers, and to reſolue vpon the warre of *Lombardie*, vpon the victorie whereof all other things were dependant: That it was not the Kings intention to inuade the Realme of *Naples* with thoſe forces which could not ſo ſpeedily be led into the kingdome, where there were many ſtrong townes, and where reſiſtance ſhould be made by thoſe whoſe ſafetie conſiſts in the defence thereof: ſo that it might be ſuſtained for certaine moneths, in which time it was verie likely that the warre of *Millan* would come to an end, of which if they obtained the victorie, there was no doubt but the Realme of *Naples* would quickly be freed, though the Emperour ſhould hold no other thing therein then one onely Tower: That if they abode in *Lombardie*, it might fall out that they ſhould be victorious both ouer *Millan* and *Naples*; but in marching to *Naples*, *Millan* would certainly be loſt, and the kingdome not deliuered from danger, for that the whole bodie of the warre would preſently be tranſported thither: and what hopes can there remaine to men that returne vanquiſhed? where on the contrary, the enemies would enter with ſuch a reputation and inclination of the people, who naturally either for feare or hatred, run before the fortune of the victor, that in the kingdome of *Naples* would be found no more defence then in the Duchie of *Millan*: That no other thing moued the *French* King, who as yet ſtood in doubt of the ſucceſſe of *Lombardie*, to deuide his armie, to begin a new warre whileſt the firſt did yet continue, then an hope that for the ouermuch care of the kingdome of *Naples*, they would at laſt leaue vnto him as a prey the eſtate of *Millan*: according to whoſe counſels and appetites, if the armie ſhould moue that ſo often had bene victorious, what elſe were this, then with eternall infamie to yeeld to the threats of the vanquiſhed, that glorie, which ſo many times we haue wonne vpon them by our armes? This aduice was in the end followed by the Viceroy, who diſpatched to *Naples* the Duke of *Traietto*, with direction that making as great leuies of money as poſſibly he could, *Aſcanio Colonno* and the other Barons of the Realme ſhould looke to the defence thereof: and albeit he had modeſtly anſwered the Embaſſage that was ſent him from the Pope, he wrote to *Rome* very harſh and diſpleaſant letters, whereby he gaue to vnderſtand that he would not heare ſpeake of the accord. By reaſon whereof, the Pope declaring that he was puſhed on by neceſſitie, for that the Duke of *Albanie* aduanced dayly, publiſhed (not as a thing done before) that he had contracted with the *French* King vnder a ſimple promiſe not to offend one another: which he ſignified by writing letters to the Emperors Agents, alledging the cauſes, and ſpecially the neceſſitie that induced him thereunto: and when the ſaid writing was preſented by *Iohn Corſi* Embaſſadour of *Florence* with words conuenient in ſuch a caſe, the Emperour (who afore could not be perſwaded that the Pope would abandon him in ſo great danger) being much moued in his mind, anſwered, that neither hatred, nor ambition, nor any other particular deſire, had moued him to begin warre with the *French* King, but onely the perſwaſions and authoritie of Pope *Leo*; who (as he ſaid) had bene incited thereunto by the preſent Pope, who at that time was Cardinall *de Medicis*, and who perſwaded him that it was a matter of great importance for the publike good, not to ſuffer that King to poſſeſſe any thing in *Italy*: That the ſame Cardinall had bene the author of the confederation made for that cauſe before the death of Pope *Adrian*. And therefore that he was verie angrie, that he, who aboue all others ought not to ſeparate himſelfe from him in thoſe dangers whereinto by his meanes he was entred, had made a change ſo hurtfull to him, and that without any neceſſitie: for whereunto might that be attributed, but to a great feare that was fallen vpon him, ſince thoſe within *Pauie* held out? He put him in mind of that which he had alwayes done to increaſe his greatneſſe ſince the death of Pope *Leo*, and ſpecially in two Conclaues, together with the deſire he had that he might be choſen Pope, for the opinion that by that meanes the libertie and common good of *Italy* might be reeſtabliſhed: and that he could not perſwade himſelfe that the Pope had forgotten how litle he might aſſure himſelfe of the *French* King, and that which he might either feare or hope of his victorie. And his concluſion was, that neither for the Popes reſolution, which was againſt all dutie and expectation, nor for any other accident would he forget or abandon himſelfe: and that no man ſhould thinke that for want of money he would alter his purpoſe, but that he would rather expoſe all his kingdomes and his proper life to all dangers; and that he had ſo well reſolued himſelfe in this matter, that he prayed God it might not be the cauſe of the damnation of his ſoule. To which complaints the *Florentine* Embaſſadour replied:

That

That the Pope, ſince he was raiſed to the ſoueraigne dignitie, was bound to proceed no more as Cardinall *de Medicis*, but as Pope of *Rome*, whoſe office was to be carefull ouer the peace of Chriſtendome: and for this reaſon he had neuer preached vnto him any other thing then the neceſſitie and needfulneſſe thereof, hauing ſo often written vnto him thereof, and ſent to him two ſeuerall times the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, by whom he proteſted vnto him, that he ought not to be partaker with any one: That he had admoniſhed him of the ſame at ſuch time as the Admirall *Bonniuet* departed out of *Italy*, for that he could not treate of peace at any time more for his honour, and yet he made him no other anſwer, then that he could conclude no peace without the conſent of the King of *England*: That the Emperour ſhould remember how often the Pope had diſſwaded the paſſage into *Prouence*, for as much as that would altogether trouble the hope of peace; and alſo (wherein he ſeemed to diuine of things to come) y the neceſſitie wherein it would put the *French* King to enter into armes, might be the occaſion to ſtirre vp a more dangerous fire in *Italy*: That the Pope by the Biſhop of *Verona*, had declared to the *French* King then poſſeſſor of *Millan*, and alſo to the Viceroy, how farre it concerned them to hearken to peace, but neither of them bare any inclination thereunto: That ſince that time he had with many and forcible reaſons refuſed to giue paſſage through the Eſtate of the Church, to the companies that marched againſt the Realme of *Naples*; and yet neuertheleſſe the King not onely became deafe at his reaſons, but cauſed the ſaid companies to march along the countrey of *Plaiſance* without tarrying for his anſwer: That for this cauſe he had (laſtly) ſent *Paul Vittorio* to induce the Viceroy to a ſurceaſſing of armes, propoſing vnto him conditions conformable to the time, and to certifie him how needfull it was for him to aſſure himſelfe of the danger imminent, chiefly ſeeing the *Venetians* ſtood in ſuſpence, and that the King of *England* would not be concurrant in the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, if at the ſame time the warre were not moued beyond the Mounts by the Emperour and himſelfe: but ſeeing the Viceroy made no reckoning of any thing that he propounded, and the Kings men of warre aduanced dayly, he was conſtrained to take faith and ſuretie of the King, without being bound to any other thing then not to offend him. The Emperour complained of the hardneſſe of the condition offered to the Viceroy, for that hee muſt leaue that which he held, without expreſſing any mention that the *French* King ſhould do the like: and laſtly, although the Marquis of *Peſquiero* counſelling him to agreement, had ſignified vnto him, that in the campe were many diſorders, & no leſſe danger to his affairs, yet his mind could not be framed to peace, for the hope he had, that through the valour of his men he ſhould cary the victorie, if the armies came once to fight one againſt another.

All this while the ſiege of *Pauie* continued, although for want of munitions they had ſomewhat ceaſſed to moleſt it with their artilleries: to remedie which difficultie, the King hauing newly receiued into his protection the Duke of *Ferrara*, with obligation to pay him threeſcore and ten thouſand duckats in readie mony, was content to accept twentie thouſand in munitions at a price, which he cauſed to be conueyed through the countrey of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, vſing the ſeruice of the horſes and carriages of the countrymen: wherein the King was readily holpen by the commiſſion and direction of the Pope, not without the complaining of the Viceroy, as though in that action he had manifeſtly miniſtred aide and ſuccours to the King: who, to the end the munitions might arriue in ſuretie, had ſent afore *Iohn de Medicis* with two hundred horſe and fifteene hundred footmen. The ſaid *Medicis* complaining in the beginning of the warre, that the Viceroy looked on him with an euill eye, and alſo for that money was not giuen him ſufficient to make the ſouldiers march, was paſſed out of the Emperours pay, to the entertainment of the *French* King: and it ſeemed that theſe forces were ſufficient to aſſure the munitions, the rather for that the Duke of *Albanie* was at hand, hauing paſſed at the ſame time the riuer of *Po*. But the Viceroy and the Marquis of *Peſquiero* who ſought to ſtop their paſſage, caſt a bridge neare to *Cremona*, and paſſed ouer *Po* with ſixe hundred men at armes and eight thouſand footmen, lodging the firſt day at *Monticello*; yet they returned againe ſodainely ouer the riuer, being aduertiſed by credible eſpiall, that the King had ſent *Thomas de Foix* with one part of the armie to make head againſt them. As ſoone as they were retired, the Duke of *Albanie* paſſed the *Appenine*, along the territories of *Reggia* and *Garfagnana*, but he marched ſo ſlowly, that he confirmed the opnion that was conceiued, that the King aſſayed that enterpriſe, more to induce the Emperours Captaines by that feare either to accord, or at leaſt to

The Duke of Ferrara aides the French king during the ſiege of Pauie.

abandon the affaires of *Lombardy*, then in hope of any great aduancement. *Ranſe de Cere* ioyned with him neare to *Lucques* with a regiment of three thouſand footmen who were come with the armie at ſea, to whom as they paſſed, *Sauona* and *Varagine* were rendred, which Nauie being returned to the Weſt riuer of *Genes*, kept that Citie in feare.

1525. Now followeth the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred twentie and fiue, in the beginning whereof *Don Hugo de Moncada* departing from *Genes* with the Nauie, tooke land with three thouſand footmen at *Varagine*, where were certaine *French* footmen in garriſon: but the *French* Nauie that was then at ſea, being commanded by the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, making to the ſuccors of that place, the other fleete being naked of footmen, retired: wherfore the *French* regiments of footmen taking land charged their enemies, and killing many, ouerthrew them, and tooke *Don Hugo* priſoner. In the beginning of the ſame yeare, the Duke of *Albanie* compelled the people of *Lucques* to contribute to him twelue thouſand duckats, and to lend him certaine peeces of artilleries: and then paſſing further through the lands of the *Florentines*, by whom he was receiued as a friend, he ſtayed with his armie neare to *Sienna* at the Popes requeſt, who for that neither by his authoritie, nor with armes, he could meete with ſuch things as were offenſiue to him, he endeuoured to manage his purpoſes with art and induſtrie. It nothing diſpleaſed the Pope that the *French* ſhould get the Duchie of *Millan*, for that he was of this opinion, that whileſt the Emperour and the *French* King abode in *Italy*, the Sea Apoſtolike and his Pontificacie ſhould ſtand aſſured from the greatneſſe of either of them, becauſe they would keepe iealous eyes the one ouer the other: and yet for the ſame reaſon it was grieuous to him that the *French* King ſhould conquer the Realme of *Naples*, for feare leſt at one and the ſame time that kingdome and the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be in the hand of one ſo puiſſant a Prince: and to hinder it, ſeeking occaſion to ſtay the Duke of *Albanie*, he made inſtance to the King, that as he paſſed he would reeſtabliſh the gouernment of *Sienna*, which the Pope (that Citie ſtanding in the midway betweene *Rome* and *Florence*) deſired greatly might fall into the hands of ſome of his friends, as not many moneths before by his meanes it had bene. For the Cardinall *Petrucci* dying during the Pontificacie of *Adrian*, and *Francis* his nephew pretending to ſucceed him in the gouernment, the principall men of *Montenouo*, although they were of the ſame faction, oppoſed againſt him becauſe of his inſolencie, and made ſolicitation to the Duke of *Seſſa* the Emperours Embaſſadour, and to the Cardinall *de Medicis*, to giue them another forme of gouernment, either reducing it into libertie, or elſe to referre that authoritie into the hands of *Fabio* the ſon of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, notwithſtanding a litle before he was ſecretly ſtolen away to *Naples*. Which matter being long debated, at laſt when *Clement* was elected Pope, by the common conſent of him and the Emperour, *Fabio* was reeſtabliſhed in the place of his father: but for that he had not ſo much authoritie as his father had, the Citie almoſt vniuerſally inclining to libertie, and thoſe of the family of *Montenouo* being not firmly knit with him, nor at any good agreement among themſelues, the weakneſſe that was diſcerned to be in the power of one alone, whē it is not founded vpon the good wils of the Citizens, or when it is not gouerned abſolutely, and without any reſpect, according to the maner of tyrants, was the cauſe that there happened one day by the incenſing of his aduerſaries, a popular tumult, by the which without the aide of any forreiners (notwithſtanding he had in the place a guard depending vpon him) he was eaſily driuen out of the Citie: by reaſon whereof the Pope who had no confidence in the commons, nor in any other faction, determined to put the authoritie into their hands, to the end afterwards to create chiefe Ruler either *Fabio*, or any other of them that ſhould be beſt agreeable to him: which was a matter (as ſuſpitious men are wont to take all things in the worſt part) that increaſed an opinion in the Imperiall Captaines, that the capitulation made betweene the Pope and the *French* King, contained on both parts more, and a greater bond then of neutralitie. It happened by the ſtaying of the Duke of *Albanie* vpon the confines of *Sienna*, that the inhabitants there, to free themſelues from the troubles of the armie, gaue moſt ample authoritie touching the gouernment to thoſe Citizens in whom the Pope had moſt confidence: and that being done, the *Siennois* ſent certaine artilleries and a ſumme of money to the Duke of *Albanie*, who paſſed on, marching notwithſtanding as ſlowly as he was wont. He went from *Monteflaſcone* to *Rome* to ſpeake with the Pope, and afterwards paſſing *Tiber* to *Fiano*, he abode vpon the lands of the *Vrſins*, where the bands of footmen aſſembled that were leuied at *Rome* by the permiſſion of the Pope, who likewiſe ſuffered the *Colonnois* who muſtered at *Marino* for

The confuſed eſtate of the Commonweale of Sienna.

for the defence of the Realme of *Naples*, to entertaine regiments of footmen at *Rome*. But both for that they aduanced not much, and that vniuerſally they were ill prouided of money, there was no great account made of thoſe muſterings, the eyes, the eares, and the minds of men being wholly ſet vpon the affaires of *Lombardie*, which drew towards an end, and by diuers accidents increaſed in both parties indifferently the humor of hope and feare.

The defendāt of Pauie in neceſſitie.

Thoſe that were within *Pauie* ſuffered no ſmall want of money and munitions, the ſtore of wine beginning alſo to faile them, and all other ſorts of victuals except bread: by reaſon whereof the Lanceknights aſſembled, and almoſt in maner of tumult demanded their payes, whereunto, beſides their owne diſpoſitions, they were puſhed on by the incitation of their Captaine, who was ſuſpected to haue ſome ſecret contract with the *French* king. On ỹ other ſide, the Duke of *Bourbon* approching, who brought out of *Germanie* fiue hundred men at armes *Bourgonians*, and ſixe thouſand Lanceknights payed with the money of the Emperour, the Viceroy was gone to *Loda*, where they meant to aſſemble the whole armie, pretending that it ſhould be nothing inferiour to that of the enemies: but there was no money to make the ſouldiers march, nor any meanes to recouer any to entertaine them: and there was no hope to be aided by the Pope or by the *Florentines*, and much leſſe by the *Venetians*, who after many excuſes and delayes, had at laſt anſwered *Caracciolo* the Pronotarie, and the Emperours Embaſſadour at *Venice*, that they would proceed according to the example of the Pope, by whoſe meanes and working it was ſuppoſed that they had ſecretly made a contract of neutralitie with the *French* King: and which more is, they priuily ſolicited the Pope, to procure an armie of ten thouſand *Swiſſers* to deſcend into *Italy* at their common charges, to the end they might not ſtand in feare of the victorie of either of the armies: which was well approued by the Pope, but both for want of money, and by the propertie of his nature, ſo ſlowly executed, that he ſent too late into *Swiſſerland* the Biſhop of *Verula* to diſpoſe the minds of the *Swiſſers* thereunto. The difficulties of *Pauie* were ſomewhat relieued by the induſtrie of the Viceroy and other Captaines: for certaine men being ſent into the *French* campe to ſell wine, *Anthonie de Leua* hauing a ſigne made, ſent out certain troupes to skirmiſh on that ſide where they were, by which occaſion the bruit being raiſed, the victuallers breaking their greateſt veſſell, ran into *Pauie* with a litle veſſell which they had incloſed in the greater, wherein were three thouſand duckats; and the Lanceknights ſeeing by that litle ſumme the difficultie to ſend them money, were from that time forward more patient: and likewiſe by the death of their Captaine, which happened very conueniently at the ſame time, (whom it was beleeued *Anthonie de Leua* had cauſed to be poyſoned) the matter and occaſion of tumults was taken away. In this time the Marquis of *Peſquiero* went to incampe before *Caſciano*, where were in garriſon fiftie horſemen and foure hundred *Italian* footmen, whom he compelled to render to diſcretion.

But whē the Duke of *Bourbon* was ariued with the Lanceknights, there was nothing that more retained the Captains, who were careful of the danger of *Pauy*, thē the want of mony, which was ſuch, that not onely they had not wherewith to pay the ſouldiers, but alſo they had not money ſufficient to conduct the munitions and artilleries: in which neceſſitie they propounded to the footmen the glorie and riches which they ſhould atchieue by meanes of the victorie, and reduced to their memorie the conqueſts paſt, inflaming their minds with the ſpurres of hatred againſt the *French* men; ſo that they induced the *Spaniſh* footmen to promiſe that they would follow the armie one whole moneth without receiuing any mony, and the Lanceknights to be contented with that which would ſuffice for their neceſſarie food. But they found greater difficultie to winne the men at armes and light horſemen, being lodged in the townes of *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*, for that hauing receiued no money of a long time, they alledged, that it was vnpoſſible in following the armie, to nouriſh and entertaine themſelues and their horſes, ſeeing they muſt buy all their victuals, and complained that their paines was leſſe acceptable and leſſe eſteemed then that of the Infantery, to whom at times had bene made ſome diſtributions of mony, and to them not one penie of a long time: neuertheles that they were not inferior, neither in valour nor fidelitie, but much ſuperiour in nobilitie and merites paſt. The Marquis of *Peſquiero* went to their lodgings, & appeaſed the minds of theſe; ſomtimes making excuſes, now cōforting them, & then again reprouing them, & declaring vnto them; that by how much their vertue was more renowned, and their valour more manifeſt, by ſo much the more ſhould they ſtriue not to be ſurmounted by footmen, either in loyaltie or affection to ỹ Emperor, of whoſe

honour there was not onely queſtion, but alſo of all the Eſtates he held in *Italy*: and that they ſhould neuer haue a better occaſion to ſhew how much they loued his greatnes and deſired to do him ſeruice: & ſeeing they had ſo many times offered their liues to hazard for the Emperour, what ſhame would it be for them, and how ſtrange would it appeare, if now they ſhould refuſe to ſerue him for the deſire of a ſmall ſumme of mony? Theſe perſwaſions, & the authoritie of the Marquis, cauſed them to conſent to reciue for one moneth a very ſmal allowance of mony: in ſo much as the whole armie being aſſembled, which was ſuppoſed to containe ſeuen hundred men at armes, as many light horſemen, a thouſand *Italian* footmen, and more then ſixteene thouſand as well *Spaniards* as Lanceknights, they departed from *Loda* the fiue and twentieth day of Ianuarie, and marched the ſame day to *Marignan*, making as though they would draw towards *Millan*, either to cauſe the King, being touched with the danger of that Citie, to raiſe his ſiege from before *Pauie*, or elſe to giue cauſe to the ſouldiers to go from *Millan* that were there in garriſon: neuertheleſſe hauing afterwards paſſed the riuer of *Lambro* neare to *Vidigolfo*, they tooke the way directly to *Pauie*. The King payed in his armie thirteene hundred Lances, ten thouſand *Swiſſers*, foure thouſand Lanceknights, fiue thouſand *French* men, and ſeuen thouſand *Italians*; and yet through the abuſes and deceitfulneſſe of his Captaines, and by the negligence of his officers, the numbers of the footmen were farre leſſe. *Theodore Triuulce* lay in garriſon within *Millan* with three hundred Lances, ſixe thouſand footmen *Griſons* and *Valeſians*, and three thouſand *French* men: but as ſoone as the King diſcerned that the Imperials turned towards *Pauie*, he reuoked to the armie all the footmen except two thouſand. As ſoone as the armie of the Imperials had taken the field, the *French* King began to deuiſe what was beſt to be done: and calling his Captaines to counſell, *Trimouille*, *Paliſſa*, and *Thomas de Foix*, with many others, aduiſed him to retire his armie from before *Pauie*, and to go incampe either at the Monaſterie of the Charterhouſe, or at *Binaſco*, which are places of good ſtrength, (as there are many found in that countrey, for the oportunitie of the chanels deriued to water the medowes.) They told him, that in taking this courſe, he ſhould ſpeedily obtaine the victorie, without bloud or danger, for that the armie of the enemie which was without money, could not hold out many dayes, but would be conſtrained either to diſſolue, or diſperſe their companies into ſeuerall townes: That the Lanceknights that were within *Pauie*, who to the end that it might not be imputed vnto them that they ſought to couer their timorouſneſſe with this excuſe that they were not payed, were content to beare with patience the prolonging of their payes for many moneths, as ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed, would demand their payes, the which the Captains hauing no meanes to prouide, nor any apparent hopes wherewith to entertaine them, they would draw into ſome dangerous tumult: That the enemies kept themſelues ſo orderly together, by no other meanes then an hope to giue the battell ſpeedily; but when they ſhall ſee the warre drawne out into longneſſe, and that the occaſion to fight will not be offered, they will become full of difficulties and confuſion: They declared vnto him how dangerous it would be to remaine betweene a towne wherein were fiue thouſand footmen of a moſt warlike nation, and an armie that came to reſcue it, which was no leſſe mightie in numbers of men, valour, and experience of Captaines and ſouldiers, then braue and reſolute by reaſon of their victories formerly obtained, and who now had repoſed all their hopes in the battell: That there was no infamie in a retrait that was made by diſcretion and not by timiditie, when it is done with a purpoſe not to put into doubt things that be certaine, and when by the iſſue and ſucceſſe of the warre the maturitie of the counſell is made manifeſt to all the world: and that there is no victorie more profitable, more honourable, nor more glorious, then that which is obtained without the domage and bloud of the ſouldiers: and that the chiefeſt commendation of militarie diſcipline conſiſteth in not oppoſing himſelfe to dangers without neceſſitie, and with induſtrie, patience and art to reuerſe and make vaine the enterpriſes of the aduerſaries, rather then in fighting courageouſly. The Pope gaue the King the ſame counſell, to whom the Marquis of *Peſquiero* being not without his feare in ſo great a neceſſitie, had aduertiſed aforehand the difficulties of the Emperours armie to be ſuch, that they almoſt cut from him all hopes of happie ſucceſſe. Neuertheleſſe the King who in his deliberations followed onely the counſels of the Admirall, ſetting before his eyes rather vaine bruites, varying for euery light accident, then the firme ſubſtance of the effects, eſteemed it to be a great infamie for him, that the armie wherein he was preſent in perſon, ſeeming to be fearefull, ſhould baſely giue place at the coming of the enemies: wherein

The Frēch king will not follow the counſels of his Captaines.

wherein he was alſo puſhed on, for that he was in a maner bound to follow with deeds, the words that he had vainly ſpoken; a reſolution then which there could be nothing more vndiſcreet in a Captaine: for he had affirmed before all the world, and many times ſignified by meſſengers into *France* and all the parts of *Italy*, that he would ſooner chuſe to die, then to retire from before *Pauie* without the victorie. He hoped, that in the place where he incamped, he might eaſily fortifie himſelfe to auoide all inconueniences by ſurpriſe: He hoped that through want of money, the leaſt neceſſitie that might driue the enemies to temporize, would put them into diſorder; and that hauing no meanes to buy victuals, but being conſtrained to take them by force here and there in the countrey, they could not remaine long in one lodging: He hoped likewiſe to giue impediment to the victuals that ſhould be brought to their campe, whereof he knew the greateſt part would come from *Cremona*, for he had newly taken into his pay *Iohn Lodowike Paluoiſin*, to the end either to ſeize vpon *Cremona*, where was a very ſlender garriſon, or at leaſt to cut off the ſuretie of paſſing victuals from that Citie to their campe.

For theſe reaſons the King remaining reſolute, would not leaue off the ſiege of *Pauie*, and to keepe the enemies from entrance, he reduced the incamping of his armie into another forme. For before the King was lodged towards *Borgarato*, in the Abbey of Saint *Lanfranke*, ſituated about a mile and a halfe beyond *Pauie*, beyond the way that leadeth from *Pauie* to *Millan*, and vpon the riuer of *Theſin*, neare to that place where they had aſſayed to diuert the waters: *Monſieur de Paliſſa* with the vantguard and the *Swiſſers*, within the ſuburbes neare Saint *Iuſtines* gate, hauing fortified himſelfe in the Churches of *S. Peter*, *S. Apollonia*, and *S. Ierome*: and *Iohn de Medicis* with his horſemen and regiments of footmen, was beſtowed in the Church of *S. Sauiour*. But when the King vnderſtood that the enemies were departed from *Loda*, he went and incamped within the Park, in the ſtately Pallace of *Mirabello*, ſituate on this ſide *Pauie*, & left the *Griſon* footmen at *S. Lanfranke*, without changing the lodging of the vantguard. At laſt the King went and lodged in the Monaſteries of *S. Paul* and *S. Iames*, places commodious and eminent, which are very neare to *Pauie*, and command the champion, but are ſomewhat without the compaſſe of the Parke: and *Monſieur d'Alanſon* with the areareguard went to incampe at *Mirabello*: and to the end they might giue ſuccours one to another, they brake downe the wall of the Parke on that ſide, and ſo they occupied all that ſpace or circuite that ſtretcheth towards *Theſin* on the lower ſide, and vntill the way that leadeth to *Millan* on the vpper ſide: ſo that holding *Pauie* enuironed on all ſides, and hauing at their deuotion the riuers of *Graualone*, *Theſin*, and *Torretta*, which is right againſt *Darſina*, the Imperials could not enter *Pauie* vnleſſe they paſſed the riuer of *Theſin*, or made their entrie by the Parke. The King put the Admirall in truſt for the managing of the armie, and conſumed the moſt part of his time in idleneſſe or vaine pleaſures, without troubling himſelfe with affaires, or thinking vpon matters of importance: and making no account of the aduice of the other Captaines, he communicated all his counſels with the Admirall, and likewiſe gaue eare to *Anne Montmorencie* and *Philip Chabot* Lord of *Brion*, perſonages much in his fauour, but of ſlender experience in matters of warre. Moreouer, the numbers of his armie were not ſuch as the bruite went, and as the King himſelfe beleeued. For, one part of the horſemen being gone with the Duke of *Albanie*, and another part left for the guard of *Millan* with *Theodore Triuulce*, and many alſo being diſperſed and lodged in ſeuerall villages and boroughs thereabouts, there was not commonly found in the campe aboue eight hundred Lances; and touching the footmen, the numbers were farre leſſe then was ſuppoſed, as well by the negligence of the officers, as through the fraud of the Captaines, of whom thoſe that vſed the greateſt deceit were the *Italian* Captaines, who notwithſtanding they receiued payes for the greateſt numbers of footmen, yet they entertained but few, many of the *French* Captaines being guiltie of the ſame fault: and two thouſand *Valeſians* that were beſtowed at *S. Sauiours* betweene *S. Lanfranke* and *Pauie*, being ſuddenly aſſaulted by thoſe within, were diſperſed. In this eſtate of affaires, the Imperiall Captaines hauing paſſed *Lambro*, made their approach to the Caſtle *S. Angelo*, which hauing his ſituation betweene *Loda* and *Pauie*, would haue giuen great impediments to the victuals that were brought from *Loda* to their campe, if it had not bene at their deuotion. *Pyrrhus* the brother of *Federike de Boſſolo*, lay there in garriſon with two hundred horſe, and eight hundred footmen; and the King not many daies before, to the end not raſhly to commit his people to danger, had ſent the ſame *Federike* and *Iames Chabanes* to viſite and conſider the place, who brought report that that garriſon was ſufficient to defend it:

The Imperials take the Caſtle S. Angelo.

but experience made knowne immediatly after, how farre they were deceiued in their reckoning, for as ſoone as *Ferdinand d'Aualo* made his approches with the *Spaniſh* footmen, and had cut off with his artilleries certaine defences, thoſe within being fearefull, retired the ſame day into the Caſtle: and not many houres after, they compounded that *Pyrrhus, Emilio Caueriana*, and the three ſonnes of *Phebus Gonzaga* remaining priſoners, all the reſidue might depart, without armour and horſe, when they had ſworne not to beare armes for one moneth againſt the Emperour. At this time the King ſent for two thouſand *Italian* footmen, parcell of thoſe companies that had bin at the ſiege of *Marſeilles*, who were within *Sauona*; but when they were come vpon the territories of *Alexandria* neare the riuer of *Vrbe*, *Gaſpar Maino* who lay there in garriſon with ſeuen hundred footmen, iſſuing out of *Alexandria* with a very ſlender ſtrength, ſet vpon them, and finding them very wearie with trauelling on the way, and without guard, for that they doubted no danger, he brake them eaſily, and being fled into *Caſtellaccio*, they rendred themſelues ſoone after with ſeuenteene Enſignes. And there happened no better ſucceſſe to the enterpriſe that was committed to the charge of *Iohn Lodowike Paluoiſin*, who after he was entred with foure hundred horſe and two thouſand footmen within *Caſalmaior*, where was no wall, but ramparts which he had made, and hauing afterwards wonne *S. Iohn* in *Croce*, he began from that place to make incurſions into the countrey, labouring with all the meanes he could to cut off the victuals. By reaſon whereof *Francis Sforce* who was within *Cremona*, when he had with great difficultie leuied foureteene hundred footmen, and ſent them to *Caſalmaior* with certaine troupes of horſemen of the band of *Rodolfo Camerino* and the horſemen of his guard, vnder the leading of *Alexander Bentiuole*: as they were drawne neare the place, *Paluoiſin* preſuming in the aduantage of his numbers, without tarrying for *Francis Rangon* who was to come thither with other horſemen & footmen, iſſued out the 18. day of Februarie, and ſet vpon them, and labouring to ſuſtaine his troupes that began to retire, was beaten from his horſe & made priſoner, and all his ſouldiers broken and diſperſed. There was alſo added to the affaires of the *French* King another difficultie of great conſequence: for *Iohn Iaques de Medicis* of *Millan* Captaine of the Caſtle of *Mus*, whither the Duke of *Millan* had ſent him for the murder he had done of the perſon of *Monſignor in Viſconte*, hauing placed by night an ambuſh on the ſide of the Caſtle of *Chiauenna* ſtanding vpon a hill ſide at the head of the lake, and ſomewhat diſtant from the houſes of the borough, tooke the Captaine priſoner as he was gone out to walke, and led him preſently before the gate of the Rocke, and threatning to kill him if he put not the Caſtle into his hands, he cauſed his wife to deliuer it vp: that being done, he iſſued out of another ambuſh with three hundred footmen, with whom he tooke the towne, making his entrie by the Caſtle. Whereupon it happened that the Leagues of the *Griſons*, taking ſuſpition vpon this accident, reuoked a litle before the battell the regiment of ſixe thouſand *Griſons* that were in the Kings armie. About this time arriued in the Imperiall armie the Knight *Caſalo*, whom the King of *England* ſent thither with great promiſes: for that King beginning to enuie the proſperitie of the *French* King, and alſo moued for that in the ſeas towards *Scotland* the *French* had taken certaine veſſels of the *Engliſh*, threatned to make warre vpon *France*, and deſired that the Imperiall armie ſhould hold out: therefore he ſent commandement to his Embaſſadour *Pace* remaining at *Trent*, to go to *Venice*, and proteſt in his name the obſeruation of the League, to the which he hoped they would be the more eaſily induced, for that the Emperour had ſent to the Viceroy the inueſtiture of *Francis Sforce*, to diſpoſe of it according to the occurrence of affaires. The King of *England* alſo ſolicited the Pope by his Embaſſadour, to miniſter aide to the Emperour in his affaires: whereof the Pope excuſed himſelfe vpon the capitulation made with the *French* King for his owne ſuretie, and without offending the Emperour, whereunto he added this complaint, that ſince the armie was returned from *Prouence*, he could not vnderſtand their purpoſes in twentie dayes, nor whether they pretended to defend or abandon the Eſtate of *Millan*.

The Imperials draw neare to Pauie.

But now the treaties and practiſes of Princes, and the diligence and ſtudies of Embaſſadours anailed litle, for as much as the armies approching together, the whole eſtate of the warre, together with the difficulties and dangers ſuſtained for many moneths, were reduced to the fortune and hazard of a very few houres: for the armie Imperiall paſſing further ſince the taking of *S. Angelo*, went and lodged the firſt day of Februarie at *Viſtarino*, and the ſecond day at *Lardirago* and *S. Alexis* beyond the litle riuer of *Lolona*, which place was diſtant frō *Pauie* 4 miles, & frō the

French

French campe three miles: and the third of Februarie they went and lodged at *Prati* towards the gate of *S. Iuſtine*, extending their campe betweene *Prati*, *Treleuero*, *la Motta*, and a wood on the ſide of *S. Lazarus*, places within two miles and a halfe of *Pauie*, within a mile of the *French* vantguard, and not halfe a mile from the rampiers and trenches of their campe: ſo that by reaſon of their neareneſſe, they endomaged them much with their artilleries. The Imperials commanded *Belioioſo*, with all the villages and countrey that lay vpon their backes, except *S. Colombana*, where lay a garriſon of the *French*, but ſo ſtraitly beſieged as no perſon could iſſue out. They found within *S. Angelo* and *Belioioſa* a great quantitie of victuals; and to haue more plentie and abundance, they laboured to command *Theſin*, as they did *Po*, by the commoditie of which they gaue impediment to the victuals of the *French* men. They held *Saint Croſſe*, and albeit the King at that time when he went to incampe at *Mirabello* had abandoned the Charterhouſe, yet they forbare to go thither, for feare leſt their victuals ſhould be cut off. The *French* men kept *S. Lazarus*, but they durſt not abide there, becauſe of the artillerie of the enemies. There was betweene the two campes a litle brooke of running water, called *Vernacula*, whoſe head or ſpring is within the Parke, and from thence paſſing in the midſt betweene *S. Lazarus* and *S. Peter in Verge*, falls afterwards into the riuer of *Theſin*: this brooke the Imperials, to the end they might come on with leſſe difficultie, labored to paſſe, as a matter of great importance: but they found a valiant defence made by the *French* men, to whom was much helping the deepneſſe of the channell, and the height of the bankes, by which impediments there was no paſſage without great difficultie; and each of them was carefull to fortifie their lodging. The Kings lodging had in front, in backe, and in the left flanke great rampiers, which were enuironed with ditches and fortified with baſtillions: and on the right flanke was the wall of the Parke of *Pauie*, ſo that it was ſuppoſed to be very ſtrong. The lodging of the Imperials was fortified in the ſame maner, and they kept all the countrey from *S. Lazarus* drawing towards *Belioioſo*, euen to the riuer of *Po*, ſo that they had plentie of victuals. Betweene the rampiers of the one and the other lodging, was no more diſtance then fortie paces, and the baſtillions ſo neare together, that they ſhot with their harquebuſes. Theſe two armies were thus incamped the eight day of Februarie, and skirmiſhed continually, but euery one keeping within his fort, not purpoſing to come to battell with diſaduantage. The Imperiall Captains made their reckning, that they had preuailed much till that day, approched ſo neare *Pauie*, that in that they were coming to battel, they might be aided with the garriſons that were within the towne. Thoſe within *Pauie* ſuffered want of munitions, and therefore the Imperials ſent them fiftie horſemen, euery one carrying behind him a litle bag full of powder; who taking by night the way of *Millan*, and expecting till by the appointment of thoſe in the campe, the alarme was giuen by the *French* men, they got ſafely into *Pauie*, from whence *Anthonie de Leua* made many ſallies, endomaging the enemies many waies, and one day amongſt others hauing charged thoſe that had the guard of *Burgorato* and of Saint *Lanfranke*, he defeated them, and tooke from them three peeces of artilleries, and as many wagons laden with munitions. In this condition of affaires it was wonderfull to behold what was the vigilancie, induſtrie and trauell both of bodie and mind of the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, who ceaſſed not day and night, by skirmiſhing, giuing the alarme, and commonly doing ſome new thing to endomage the enemies, neuer ceaſſing to vndermine, intrench, and raiſe mounts. They cauſed to erect a cauallier or mount vpon the channell: and the *French* men endomaging much thoſe that wrought with two peeces of artilleries planted vpon Saint *Lazarus*, they planted there certaine peeces of artillerie which reuerſed the ſaid place of Saint *Lazarus*, and compelled the *French* men to abandon it, ſo that the artilleries of this cauallier annoyed them much, as likewiſe they had great detriment by another which they had made within *Pauie*: and the *Spaniards* had ſo fortified themſelues with baſtillions, rampiers, and other preparations, that they greatly offended the *French* campe, receiuing litle harme themſelues. For which cauſe the *French* men remoued their artilleries to beate them in flanke, the *Spaniards* continually vſing all their endeuour to aduance, and to winne now a foote and then another. In this neare affronting of the armies, the skirmiſhes were very rife, wherein the *French* men for the moſt part carried the worſe, the proceedings of warre being not any whit intermitted for the negociation of truce, which was cõtinually ſolicited by the Popes Nuncios reſident in both the armies: & many who were very familiar with the King, admoniſhed him daily, and the Pope himſelfe counſelled him many times, that to auoide ſo great a perill, it were his beſt to retire his armie from before

Pauie,

Pauie, and that in ſo doing he ſhould vndoubtedly obtaine the victorie, in ſhort time, and without effuſion of bloud, ſeeing the enemies ſuffered great want of money. The ſeuenteenth day of Februarie the ſouldiers of *Pauie* made a ſally, and charged the regiment of *Iohn de Medicis*, who gaue them a braue repulſe, and compelled them to retire: but immediatly after, as he returned to ſhew the Admirall the place of the encounter, with relation of things as they paſſed, certaine ſouldiers who had hidden themſelues in a houſe, gaue him a wound with the bullet of an harquebuſe a litle aboue the heele, which brake the bone, (to the great diſpleaſure of the King) ſo that he was conſtrained to be carried to *Plaiſance* to be cured: by reaſon of whoſe hurt, all the furie of the *French* campe began preſently to abate in skirmiſhes and aſſaults, and thoſe within *Pauie* iſſuing forth dayly with greater boldneſſe, and hauing burned the Abbey of *S. Lanfranke*, beat the *French* men continually, who ſeemed to be much diſcouraged: and the night betweene the nineteenth and twentieth day, the Marquis of *Peſquiero* with three thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen aſſaulted the baſtillions of the *French* men, and winning the rampiers, he ſlue more then fiue hundred footmen, and cloyed three peeces of artilleries.

In the end, it being vnpoſſible for the Imperiall Captaines to maintaine their armie in that place any longer for want of money, and conſidering that if they ſhould retire, not onely *Pauie* would be loſt, but alſo they ſhould be without hope to be able to defend the other peeces which they poſſeſſed in the Duchie of *Millan*, hauing alſo very great confidence to obtaine the victorie by the valour of their ſouldiers, and for that there were infinite diſorders in the *French* armie, and that beſides that many footmen were gone from them, their numbers came farre ſhort of ſo many as were inrolled in their pay-bookes; the night before the fiue and twentieth day of Februarie, a day dedicated by the Chriſtians to the Apoſtle Saint *Matthias*, and which was the day of the natiuitie of the Emperour, they determined to march to *Mirabello*, where lay incamped certaine companies of horſemen and footmen, with this intention, that if the *French* men moued not, then they had freed *Pauie* from the ſiege; but if they moued, then to aduenture the fortune of the battell. Therefore after they had giuen many alarmes in the beginning of the night, to wearie and annoy the *French* men, making ſemblance as though they would charge them on that ſide towards *Po*, *Theſin* and *S. Lazarus*, about midnight euery ſouldier, by the commandement of the Captaines, put on a white coate ouer his armour, to be knowne from the *French* men, and were caſt into two ſquadrons of horſemen, and foure of footmen. In the firſt were ſixe thouſand footmen, equally compounded of Lanceknights, *Spaniards* and *Italians*, vnder the charge of the Marquis of *Guaſt*: the ſecond was onely of *Spaniſh* footmen, vnder the Marquis of *Peſquiero*; the third and fourth of Lanceknights, led by the Viceroy and the Duke of *Bourbon*. They arriued at the walls of the Parke certaine houres before day, and with their Maſons and by the helpe of the ſouldiers, they caſt to the ground threeſcore fadomes of the wall: and when they were entred into the Parke, the firſt ſquadron drew towards *Mirabello*, and the reſidue of the armie tooke the way to the campe of the enemie. But when the King vnderſtood that they were entred into the Parke, thinking they would draw to *Mirabello*, he iſſued out of his lodging to fight in plaine and open field, deſiring to be in that place rather then in any other, for the aduantage which the horſemen had there; and at the ſame time he commanded to turne the artilleries towards the enemies, which beating them in flanke, brought ſome domage to the areareguard. But in the meane while the battell of the Imperials gaue a furious charge vpon the Kings ſquadron, which ordinarily was the battel, but as the *Spaniards* went it was the auantguard; the King fighting valiantly ſuſtained the violence of his enemies, who with the multitude of their harquebuziers conſtrained his men to giue ground, vntil the *Swiſſers* coming on, the *Spaniards* were repulſed, as well by them as by the horſemen that charged them in flanke. But the Viceroy (called by the Marquis of *Peſquiero*) arriuing with the Lanceknights, they were broken eaſily, and with great ſlaughter of the *Swiſſers*, who that day did nothing anſwer the valour they had bene accuſtomed to ſhew in battels; and the King being in the midſt of the battel with a great number of men at armes, and endeuouring to containe & confirme his ſouldiers, when he had fought long, and had his horſe ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe lightly hurt in the face and in the hand, being fallen to the ground, he was taken priſoner by fiue ſouldiers that knew him not; but the Viceroy chancing to come, he made himſelfe knowne vnto him, who gaue him his hand with great reuerence, and receiued him priſoner in the name of the Emperour. At the ſame time the Marquis of *Guaſt* with the firſt ſquadron had defeated the horſemen

The battell of Pauie wherein the Frēch king is taken priſoner.

men that were at *Mirabello*: and *Anthonie de Leua*, who, as ſome ſaid, had to that end caſt downe ſo great a ſpace of wall, that an hundred and fiftie horſemen might paſſe forth in front, iſſued out of *Pauie*, and ſo charged the *French* men behind, that he put them to flight, and they were almoſt all ſtripped, except the areareguard of the horſemen, which being led by *Monſieur d'Alenſon*, retired whole preſently after the beginning of the battell. It is holden for certaine, that in this battell there died more then eight thouſand men of the *French* campe, part in the field, and part drowned in the riuer *Theſin*, as they ſought to ſaue themſelues; of this number were about twentie of the moſt noble Lords of *France*, as the Admiral, Lord *Iames Chabanes*, the Lords *de Paliſſa* and *Trimouille*, the Maſter of the horſe, *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, *Monſieur de Buſſy*, and *Monſieur d'Eſcut*, who being taken grieuouſly wounded by his enemies, died preſently. The priſoners were the King of *Nauarre*, the Baſtard of *Sauoy*, the Lords of *Montmorencie*, of *S. Paul*, of *Brion*, of *Aual*, of *Chandiou*, of *Imbercourt*, *Galeas Viſconte*, *Federike de Boſſolo*, *Barnaby Viſconte*, *Guidanes*, with many Gentlemen, and almoſt all the Captaines that eſcaped the ſlaughter. There was alſo taken *Ierome Leandro* Biſhop of *Brunduſium*, the Popes Nuncio, but by commandement of the Viceroy he was ſet at libertie; of which priſoners, *Monſieur S. Paul* and *Federike de Boſſolo*, who were committed to the Caſtle of *Pauie*, fled away ſhortly after from thence, hauing corrupted the *Spaniards* that had the charge of them. Of the Imperials there died about ſeuen hundred, but not one Captaine, except *Ferdinand Caſtriot* Marquis of *S. Angelo*. The Marquis of *Peſquiero* was wounded in two places, and in one with the bullet of an harquebuze, and *Anthonie de Leua* was lightly hurt in the leg. Of ſo great an armie there was preſerued but the areareguard of foure hundred Lanceknights, commanded by *Monſieur d'Alenſon*, who without fighting, or being aſſailed, while no man followed them, but leauing behind them their baggage, retired with great diligence into *Piemont*: and as ſoone as the report of the victorie was brought to *Millan*, *Theodore Triuulce* who lay there in garriſon with foure hundred Lances, departed, and tooke his way to *Muſocco*, all the ſouldiers following him by troupes; ſo that in the ſame day that the battell was fought, all the Duchie of *Millan* was freed from the *French*. The day after the King was led into the Rocke of *Piſqueton*, for that the Duke of *Millan*, for his owne ſafetie, was vnwilling that he ſhould be brought into the Caſtle of *Millan*; and there, except his libertie (for he was very carefully guarded) he was in all other things vſed and honoured as a King.

The end of the fifteenth Booke.

THE

THE XVI. BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THe taking of the French King putteth all the Potentates of Italy in great heauineſſe, and among others the Pope, who is ſolicited by the Venetians to confederate with them. He forſaketh the Venetians, and accordeth with the Emperour. Many practiſes are vſed for the Kings deliuerie. Moron conſpireth againſt the Emperour. The King is deliuered out of priſon, and returneth into France.

NOw when at the battell fought in the Parke of *Pauie*, the *French* armie was not onely ouerthrowne by the Imperials, but alſo the Moſt Chriſtian King taken priſoner, and about him the moſt part of the Nobilitie of *France*, and the Captaines either dead or taken priſoners; the *Swiſſers* who in times paſt had made warre in *Italy* with ſo great fame, hauing carried themſelues ſo cowardly, the reſidue of the armie depriued of their tents, neuer ſtayed till they came to the foote of the Mounts. And (which maruellouſly increaſed the reputation of the victors) after the Imperiall Captaines had obtained ſo memorable a victorie, with ſmall loſſe of their men, it is vnſpeakable how much all the Potentates of *Italy* were aſtoniſhed, who ſeeing themſelues almoſt quite diſarmed, and the forces of the Emperour remaining very puiſſant in the field, without any impediment of enemies, they were in great feare: and in this confuſion they could not be ſo much aſſured by that which many diuulged of the good intention of the Emperour, and of his inclination to peace, and not to vſurpe the Eſtates of others, as they were aſtoniſhed by the conſideration of the great danger, leſt (puſhed on either by ambition, naturall almoſt to all Princes, or by inſolencie, which commonly accompanieth victories, and incited likewiſe by the importunitie and couetouſneſſe of thoſe that gouerned his affaires in *Italy*, and laſtly at the perſwaſions of his Councell and all his Court,) he would in ſuch an occaſion, ſufficient to ſet an edge vpon the dulleſt ſpirit that was, diſpoſe his thoughts to make himſelfe Lord of all *Italy*: and knowing how eaſie it is to euery great Prince, but aboue all others to an Emperour of *Rome*, to iuſtifie his enterpriſes with titles appearing honeſt and reaſonable, not onely the leaſt puiſſant in forces and authoritie were troubled with this feare, but the Pope and the *Venetians* in a maner more then others. For the *Venetians* being pricked in conſcience for that they had failed him without iuſt cauſe, and had not followed the capitulations of the confederation; but much more for the memorie of ancient hatreds, and the frequent quarrels which had bene betweene them and the houſe of *Auſtria*, and the great warres they had had not many yeares before with *Maximilian* his grandfather, whereby the name and memory of the rights of the Empire, which were almoſt buried and forgotten were maruellouſly renewed and reuiued in the eſtate which they poſſeſſed in the firme land: and for that they knew that whoſoeuer had any purpoſe to make himſelfe great in *Italy*, muſt ſeeke meanes to pull downe their too great puiſſance. And the Pope, for that beſides the maieſtie of the Papacie, which euen in the times of the ancient reuerence that the world bare to the Sea Apoſtolike, was oftentimes ill aſſured of the greatneſſe of the Emperours, found himſelfe in all other regards verie eaſie to be endomaged, being diſarmed, without money, and the Eſtate of the Church very weake, wherein there were very few ſtrong townes, and the people not vnited nor firme in deuotion to their Prince, but almoſt all the demaine of the Church full of diuiſions, one part being *Guelfs*, and another *Gibelins*, and the *Gibelins* by an ancient and almoſt naturall impreſſion inclined to

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the name of the Emperours; and the Citie of *Rome*, aboue all the reſt, weake, and infected with theſe ſeeds of diuiſions. Furthermore the Pope had reſpect alſo to the Eſtate of *Florence*, which depending of him, and being the proper and ancient greatneſſe of his houſe, was haply no leſſe deare vnto him then the State of the Church, neither was it leſſe eaſie to alter it. For that Citie, ſince they had chaſed out the family of the *Medices* at the paſſage of King *Charles*, hauing taſted the popular gouernment vnder the name of libertie, for the ſpace of eighteene yeares, had hardly brooked their returne, ſo that there were found very few to whom indeed their power was pleaſing: and the Pope feared maruellouſly, leſt to ſo mightie occaſions there might be added no ſmall deſire to offend him: and might alſo feare that the will was no leſſe, not ſo much in regard of the ambition of the mightieſt, whereof the leſſe puiſſant is neuer fully aſſured, as for that he feared that for diuers cauſes his name at that time was odious to the Emperour: diſcourſing with himſelfe, that although in the life of Pope *Leo*, and afterwards ſince he was Cardinall, he had trauelled much for the greatneſſe of the Emperour, yea Pope *Leo* and he with very great expences & dangers had opened him the way in *Italy* to ſo great a puiſſance; & that ſince he was choſen Pope, he had giuen money to his Captaines, and made the *Florentines* to contribute whileſt the Admirall was in *Italy*, without reuoking from his armie the regiments of the Church and thoſe of the Commonweale of *Florence*: neuertheleſſe, either in conſideration that it belonged to his office to be a father and paſtor indifferent betweene Chriſtian Princes, and rather the author of peace then a nouriſher of warres; or elſe for that he had begun very late to feare ſuch a greatneſſe, he had preſently retired himſelfe to runne the ſame fortune, ſo that he would neither renew the confederation made by his predeceſſor for the defence of *Italy*, nor aide him with money when the Duke of *Bourbon* entred the yeare before with his armie into *Prouence*. And albeit theſe matters had not giuen to the Emperours Captaines any iuſt cauſe to complaine, ſeeing alſo he was not bound by the League of *Adrian* to be concurrant againſt the *French* men in the wars of *Italy*; yet were they beginnings to cauſe them not to eſteeme him the ſame man with the Emperour, yea rather they diminiſhed much of the faith which til that day they had in him, as men who caried only either by their appetite or neceſſitie, thought themſelues in a maner offended, if, to their particular enterpriſes dreſſed to occupie *France*, others did not likewiſe lay to their hands, as they had formerly done in the publike wars, vnder colour to aſſure *Italy* againſt the power of the *French*. But the complaints and diſpleaſures began to diſcouer themſelues at ſuch times as the *French* King paſſed the Mounts to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*. For, albeit the Pope, according to that which he wrote in a Brieſe, wherein he complained afterwards to the Emperour, had ſecretly giuen a certaine ſumme of money to the *French* men at their returne from *Marſeilles*, yet afterwards he had no ſuch ſtraite familiaritie or intelligence with them: but as ſoone as the King had made conqueſt of the Duchie of *Millan*, ſeeing his affaires take good ſucceſſe, he entred into capitulations with him; whereof he excuſed himſelfe to the Emperour, alledging that at that time his Captaines hauing not communicated with him any of their deſignes for the ſpace of twentie dayes, and deſpairing afterwards of the defence of that State, not without feare of the kingdome of *Naples*, for that the Duke of *Albanie* drew with his regiments towards *Tuſcane*, he was conſtrained to looke to his ſuretie; and yet the regard of his proper danger did not ſo much carrie him, but that he did accord with conditions no leſſe fauourable for the Emperours affaires then his owne, refuſing very great offers which the *French* King tendred, to the end to make him enter into the alliance with him: and yet theſe excuſes had not ſuch operation, but that the Emperour and his Captaines were much troubled, not ſo much for that they ſaw themſelues wholly depriued of hope to haue any more ſuccours of him, as for the doubt they had leſt the capitulation contained not ſome further matter then the obligation of neutralitie; and for that it ſeemed vnto them that in any ſort he had giuen too much reputation to the enterpriſe of the *French* men, and alſo for that they feared leſt the Pope wold be the meanes that the *Venetians* ſhould follow his example; which afterwards was diſcerned to be true, by certain letters and Brieſes found in the Kings tent after the victorie: and laſtly the Pope had kindled theſe ſuſpitions and diſcontentments when he conſented that the munitions lent by the Duke of *Ferrara* to the *French* King when he lay afore *Pauie*, ſhould paſſe through his lands, and that help ſhould be giuen to conduct them: but much more when the Duke of *Albanie* went to the enterpriſe of the Realme of *Naples*, not onely for that he was receiued and honoured as a friend along all the Eſtates of the Church

and the *Florentines*, but alſo he ſtayed certaine dayes about *Sienna* to reforme at his inſtance the gouernment of that Citie; which matter although it was a meanes to prolong the Dukes voyage to the Realme of *Naples*, and that it had bene principally ſolicited by him to that end, as being a matter offenſiue vnto him, that vpon one man ſhould be layed the iuriſdiction of *Naples* and *Millan*: yet the Imperials in this reſpect had made an interpretation, that betweene the *French* King and him, there was a further bond, then a ſimple promiſe not to offend one another. It was then not without good reaſon, that the Pope feared not onely, as all the other Potentates, to be inuaded by the Imperials when time and occaſion ſhould ſerue, but alſo leſt that without expecting a greater oportunitie, they would preſently come and aſſaile the Eſtate of the Church, or that of *Florence*: and that which more increaſed his feare, was, that the Duke of *Albanie* as ſoone as he was aduertiſed what fortune had befallen the King, retiring from Mount *Rotondo* towards *Bracciano* for his ſafetie, and hauing alſo ſent thither a cornet of an hundred and fiftie horſemen that were within *Rome*, whom the Pope cauſed to accompanie him thither for his guard, becauſe the Duke of *Seſſa* and the Imperials prepared themſelues to defeate the regiments of the Duke of *Albanie*, it happened that about foure hundred horſe and twelue hundred footmen of the bands of the *Vrſins* coming from *Sermonette*, being followed by *Iulio Colonno* with many troupes of horſemen and footmen, he ouerthrew them at the Abbey of three Fountaines, and that as they fled for their ſafetie into the Citie of *Rome*, where they entred at the gates of *S. Paul* and *S. Sebaſtian*, the bands of *Iulio* entred with them pelmell, and ſlue many of them in the field of *Flora* and other places of the Citie, which with great tumult aroſe all in armes, firſt to the great feare, and afterwards with no litle indignation of the Pope, for the ſlender regard and reuerence that was giuen to his autoritie. But in ſuch a doubt and great perplexitie of mind, the counſels and offers of the *Venetians* came to him vnlooked for, who being of themſelues entred into the like feare, laboured to perſwade him with no ſmall inſtance, that ioyning together they might cauſe a regiment of ten thouſand *Swiſſers* to deſcend preſently into *Italy*, and calling together a great band of *Italians*, they might oppoſe againſt ſo great dangers: and they promiſed for their parts (according to their cuſtome) farre greater things then they are wont to obſerue. They alledged, that it was now many moneths ſince the Lanceknights within *Pauie* had bene payed, and that they ſeeing ſince the victorie the ſame difficulties of payment to continue, were become mutinous, had ſeized vpon the artilleries, and made themſelues ſtrong within *Pauie*: and that for the ſame cauſe all the reſidue of the armie was drawne into tumult, and would dayly be more tumultuous, becauſe the Captaines had no meanes to pay them: in ſo much as both he and they falling ſpeedily into armes, both their Eſtates would be aſſured, and the occaſion entertained, whereby the Imperials, being engaged in theſe difficulties, and conſtrained to keepe continually great forces for the guard of the King that was priſoner, would of themſelues fall into diſorder. To this they added, that there was no doubt but the Ladie Regent who had in her hands the gouernment of *France*, being very deſirous of that vnion, at their inſtance would not onely cauſe the Duke of *Albanie* to march with his regiments, and the foure hundred Lances of the areareguard that were retired from the battell in ſafetie, but alſo with the vniuerſall conſent of the kingdome of *France*, would be concurrant for the ſafetie of *Italy* with a great ſumme of money, as knowing that thereupon depended the greateſt part of the hope to recouer the King her ſonne. That without all doubt this deliberation was very good, if it were with ſpeed put in execution; but to deferre and temporize, were to giue meanes to the Imperials to reorder themſelues: and ſo much the rather for that whoſoeuer tooke not a reſolution to enter into armes, ſtood in caſe of conſtraint to compound with them, and to giue them money, which were no other thing, then to become an inſtrument and meanes to deliuer them from all their difficulties, and to ſubmit themſelues wilfully vnder a yoke of perpetuall ſubiection. Moreouer they put him in hope, that the Duke of *Ferrara* would follow them, who both for his ancient dependence of the *French*, and for the aide which in that warre he had adminiſtred to the King, was not without his feare: and the coniunction of whom ſeemed of no litle importance, for the great commoditie of his Eſtate in the warres of *Lombardie*, the towne of *Ferrara* being verie ſtrong, and he being very well ſtored of munitions and artilleries, and (as the bruite went) very rich in money.

The Venetians ſolicite the Pope to confederate with them.

But neither the hope to ouercome ſo difficult an enterpriſe, nor the conſideration of perils further off, to the which time is wont to bring ſuch remedies as were neuer dreamed of, could incline

incline the Pope to open his eares to ſuch ſpeeches, vnleſſe the feare to be preſently inuaded had induced him rather to expoſe himſelfe to the danger leaſt certaine, then to the perill that ſeemed moſt aſſured and moſt preſent: and therefore the practiſes were ſo farre aduanced betweene them, that being come euen to the ſetting downe of capitulations in writing, there was expectation from houre to houre that they would accord: in ſo much as the Pope, who deſired the concluſion, diſpatched in poſt to the King of *England*, *Ieronimo Ghinuccio* a *Siennois*, and Auditor of the Chamber Apoſtolike, to labour dexterouſly to diſpoſe the King to oppoſe himſelfe againſt ſuch a greatneſſe of the Emperour, when very conueniently for this purpoſe arriued the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, his ancient Secretarie and Counſellour, and who for many yeares had bene of great authoritie with him; who as ſoone as he was aduertiſed of the victorie of the Imperials, departed from *Plaiſance*, and went to the campe to *Don Charles de Lanoy* Viceroy of *Naples*, of whoſe intention being well aſſured, he came preſently in poſt to the Pope, to whom he brought an aſſured hope of accord. For the Viceroy and the other Captaines were occupied at that time with two thoughts: the one, to prouide money to content the armie, with whom, for that they had no money to pay them, they found themſelues in very great confuſion: the other, to bring the perſon of the *French* King into ſuch a place, as the difficultie to guard him might not keepe them in continuall care and feare: which two things being well accompliſhed, they iudged themſelues to ſtand in ſuch a degree as they might alwayes put their purpoſes to effect, and therefore they deſired accord with the Pope, preſuppoſing thereby to draw from him a great ſumme of money: and to diſpoſe him the more thereunto by putting him in feare, and alſo to diſcharge the Eſtate of *Millan*, which was much exhauſted, from lodging of ſouldiers, they ſent foure hundred men at armes and eight hundred Lanceknights to lie vpon the countrey of *Plaiſance*, not as enemies, but alledging ſometimes that the Duchie of *Millan* was vnable to nouriſh ſo great an armie, and ſometimes threatning to make them march vp to the territories of *Rome* againſt the Duke of *Albanie*, vnleſſe the regiments of men of warre that had bene leuied by the *Vrſins* were diſſolued. But theſe induſtries were ſuperfluous, for that as ſoone as the Pope was aſſured that he might auoide the dangers preſent, he left off all other thoughts, and diſpoſed his mind wholly to the accord: and therefore as ſoone as he had heard the Archbiſhop, he ſent after the Auditor of the Chamber, to countermand him backe againe. And to remoue all occaſions that might hinder the accord, he cauſed the Duke of *Albanie* to diſperſe his whole armie, except thoſe bands of footmen and horſemen of beyond the Mounts, and lodged him at *Cornetto*, whē on ẏ other ſide he had receiued promiſe of the Emperors Captains that they alſo would diſmiſſe their ſouldiers that lay about *Rome*, and cauſe *Aſcanius Colonno* with the other companies that came from the kingdome, to ſtay: and withall he interpoſed himſelfe to the end that the *Colonnois* who began to moleſt the lands of the *Vrſins*, might deſiſt from armes. The Pope both deſired, and did all he could that the *Venetians* might be comprehended in the accord which he ſolicited with the Viceroy, but the difficultie was, that they refuſed to pay the money which the Viceroy demanded of them. For he required that they ſhould pay ſo much money as they ſhould haue ſpent in the warre which they ought to contribute vnto, and that hereafter they ſhould contribute thereunto, not with men, but with money: and the like demand did he alſo make to all thoſe that were comprehended in the confederation made with *Adrian*. But it made well for the Pope that the *Venetians* ſhewed themſelues hard and ſtraite, putting the Viceroy into ſuſpition that they looked for new ſtirres and commotions: and whileſt theſe matters were negociated with a very aſſured hope of concluſion, the *Florentines* by the Popes ordinance ſent fiue and twentie thouſand duckats to the Marquis of *Peſquiero* for the entertainment of the armie, hauing firſt receiued promiſe from *Iohn Bartlemew de Gattinaro* who negociated with the Pope for the Viceroy, that that ſumme ſhould be reckoned in the principall ſumme which was to be payed to him by vertue of the new capitulation. And not many dayes afore the reſolution and concluſion of the ſaid capitulation, the Duke of *Albanie*, who for his returning into *France* had tarried for the Nauie at ſea, ẏ ſame being come into the port of Saint *Stephen*, and the Galleys that were ſent him, he embarked himſelfe in them at *Ciuitauecchia*, together with the Galleys of the Pope, which were lent him by the conſent of the Viceroy, notwithſtanding there was no ſafeconduct giuen either to the one or the other. *Ranſe de Cere* was embarked with him, together with the artilleries which he had had from *Sienna* and *Lucques*, and foure hundred horſe, a thouſand Lanceknights, with a very ſmall troupe of *Italians*,

The Imperials determine to accord with the Pope.

the reſidue of the regiments being retired and gone away by troupes; and the reſidue of the horſes were part ſold, and part left there. It was clearely diſcerned by the proceeding of the Duke of *Albanie*, that he had bene ſent thither, either to the end that the Imperials ſtanding in feare of the kingdome of *Naples*, ſhould depart from the Duchie of *Millan* to ſuccour it, or elſe that they might by meanes of that feare be induced to accord; and as well for that cauſe, as for that the forces which the King had giuen him were not ſufficient for ſuch an enterpriſe, he had marched ſlowly. But at laſt leauing out the *Venetians*, the confederation was concluded within *Rome* the firſt day of Aprill, betweene the Pope and the *Florentines* on the one part, and the Emperour on the other, for whom the Viceroy vndertooke, being his Lieutenant generall in *Italy*; and for the Viceroy, *Iohn Bartlemew de Gattinaro*, nephew to the Emperours chiefe Chancellor, was at *Rome* with full and ample commiſſion. The effect of the moſt important capitulations was this: That betweene the Pope and the Emperour ſhould be a perpetuall amitie and confederation, by the which both the one and the other ſhould be bound to defend with a certaine proportion of men the Duchie of *Millan*, being then poſſeſſed vnder the name of the Emperour by *Francis Sforce*, who was named as principall in this capitulation: That the Emperour ſhould take into his protection all the Eſtates which the Church held, together with thoſe which the *Florentines* poſſeſſed, and particularly the houſe of *Medicis*, with the authoritie and preheminences they held in that Citie: That the *Florentines* ſhould preſently pay an hundred thouſand duckats in recompence of ẏ which they ſhold haue contributed to the laſt wars, by vertue of the league made by Pope *Adrian*, which the Emperour pretended not to be diſſolued by his death, for that it was expreſſed in the capitulations, that it ſhould endure one yeare after the death of any of the Confederates: That the Imperiall Captaines ſhould withdraw their forces from off the Eſtates of the Church, and that they ſhould not ſend any to lodge there hereafter without the conſent of the Pope. There was place left for the *Venetians* to enter into this confederation within the terme of twentie dayes vnder honeſt conditions, which were to be declared by the Pope and the Emperour. Moreouer, it was accorded that the Viceroy ſhould be bound to bring the Emperours ratification to all theſe capitulations within foure moneths: and thoſe that were Deputies for the Viceroy, bound themſelues ſeuerally to a capitulation which was confirmed by oath, that if the Emperour did not ratifie the capitulations within the ſaid time, the Viceroy ſhould repay the ſaid hundred thouſand duckats, and yet vntill the time they were rendred, the league ſhould be fully obſerued; whereunto were added three articles, which were not of the ſame ſubiect with the capitulations, but written apart, and confirmed alſo by oath: That in all matters concerning Benefices in the Realme of *Naples*, it ſhould be lawfull for the Popes to vſe the ſame authoritie and iuriſdiction as was ordered by the inueſtitures of the kingdome: That hereafter the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould make all their prouiſion of ſalt from *Ceruia* for ſuch a price, and according to the ſame order, as had bene heretofore agreed vpon betweene Pope *Leo* and the *French* King, and confirmed by the capitulation which the ſaid Pope *Leo* made with the Emperour in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred twentie and one: and that the Viceroy ſhould be bound to bring the matter ſo to paſſe, that the Duke of *Ferrara* ſhould immediatly render to the Church *Reggia*, *Rubiera*, with ſuch other townes as he had take during the vacancie of the Sea of *Rome* by the death of *Adrian*: and that in conſideration thereof, the Pope as ſoone as he was poſſeſſed of them, ſhould pay to the Emperour an hundred thouſand duckats; and at the firſt requeſt that ſhould be made vnto him, ſhould abſolue the Duke of *Ferrara* of the cenſures and priuations which he had incurred, but not of the penaltie of an hundred thouſand duckats, which he had promiſed in caſe of breaking the couenant made with *Adrian*: and yet when the Pope had recouered poſſeſſion thereof, there ſhould be examination by order of law, whether thoſe townes and *Modena* appertained to the Church or to the Empire: and if they were found to belong to the Empire, that then they ſhould be holden and acknowledged in fee of the Emperour, otherwiſe to remaine free to the Sea Apoſtolike. This deliberation of the Pope was diuerſly interpreted, according to the diuerſitie of the paſſions and iudgements of men, and chiefly of the common ſort, to whom ſuch counſels as carrie the faireſt ſhewes, are wont to be more pleaſing then thoſe that are mature and well digeſted; and who oftentimes do eſteeme thoſe men generous and noble who meaſure not things by diſcretion: and all thoſe likewiſe that made profeſſion to deſire the libertie of *Italy*, blamed him, as if for want of courage he had let ſlip the occaſion to vnite it againſt the Emperour, and had aided the Impe-

Confederation betweene the Pope and the Emperour.

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riall armie with his owne money, to free them from all the difficulties whereinto they were fallen. But the moſt part of men of better vnderſtanding iudged farre otherwiſe: for they conſidered that it had bene no wiſe counſell to oppoſe with new companies againſt a very great and victorious armie; and that the coming of the *Swiſſers* could not but be long and dilatorie, and that it would be very difficult to cauſe them to paſſe although they ſhould be verie readie to deſcend, whereof conſidering their nature, and the hurt which they had ſo lately receiued, there was not any aſſurance; neither was there any better hope on the behalfe of *France*, where, by reaſon of ſo great an ouerthrow there remained neither courage nor counſell, and where there was no prouiſion of money, nor any men at armes in a readineſſe, and thoſe few alſo that eſcaped from the battell hauing loſt their baggage, there was need both of time and money to readdreſſe them. So that this vnion had no other apparent foundation, then an hope that the armie of the enemies would not ſtirre for want of money; which although it ſhould ſo come to paſſe, they remained not for all that depriued of the Duchie of *Millan*, the which ſo long as it was at the deuotion of the Emperour, the Pope ſhould haue alwayes great occaſion of feare: and that this hope likewiſe was very vncertaine, for that it was to be feared, that the Captaines with their authoritie and cunning, and by propounding to the ſouldiers the ſacke of ſome rich towne of the Church, or of *Tuſcane*, would diſpoſe the armie to march: and that it was alreadie perceiued, that part of the Lanceknights, onely to ſeeke a more plentifull lodging, were paſſed the riuer *Po*, and come vpon the lands of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*: in ſo much as if they had any intention to paſſe further, all remedies would come too late; and that ſo great a deliberation was grounded, with too great danger, vpon a bare hope of the difficulties of the enemies, who had it in their power at length to rid themſelues therefrom. Therefore the counſell of Pope *Clement*, according to the preſent time, was wiſe and well conſidered, but haply it had bene more commendable, if in all the articles of the captulation, he had vſed the ſame prudence, and diſpoſed his wit rather to cloſe vp and heale all the wounds of *Italy*, then to open and aggrauate any one of conſequence; imitating the wiſe Phyſition, who when the remedies which he prepareth to cure the indiſpoſition of the other members, do augment the maladie of the head or heart, he layeth aſide all care of the leſſer griefes, which may ſtay their time, and proceedeth diligently and carefully to the cure of that which is moſt important, and moſt neceſſarie for the health of the patient. But that we may the better vnderſtand this matter, it is needfull that we looke backe to ſome of thoſe things which we haue ſet downe here and there, and reduce them into one place.

The rights and pretenſions of the family of Eſte.

Thoſe of the family of *Eſte*, beſides that they had poſſeſſed of long time the iuriſdiction of *Ferrara* vnder the title of Vicars of the Church, had bene Lords alſo for many yeares of *Reggia* and *Modena* by vertue of inueſtitures from the Emperours, for at that time no man made queſtion of the ſubiection of thoſe two Cities to the Empire; and they were enioyed peaceably vntill Pope *Iulio* the ſecond (who ſtirring vp the ancient titles and rights of the Church, almoſt buried, and vnder the colour of pietie was the author of many euils) began the warre with Duke *Alphonſo*, to reduce *Ferrara* wholly vnder the obedience of the Church: in which warre, occaſion being offered him to take from him *Modena*, he retained it at the firſt for himſelfe, as a towne which together with all the other townes euen to the riuer of *Po*, appertained to the Sea Apoſtolike, as being part of the Exarchie of *Rauenna*: but ſhortly after, for feare of the *French*, he gaue it to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and yet for all that the warre ceaſſed not againſt *Alphonſo*, but afterwards he tooke from him *Reggia* alſo; and it was beleeued, that if he had liued longer, he would haue taken *Ferrara*, for that he was a great enemie to *Alphonſo*, as well for his ambition couered with pietie, whereby he pretended to recouer to the Church all that he could find had bene held by her at any time, as for the diſdaine that *Alphonſo* had rather followed the amitie of the *French* then depended of him; and haply alſo by the implacable hatred which he bare to the memorie and relikes of *Alexander* the ſixt his predeceſſor, whoſe daughter *Lucrecia* had bene maried to Duke *Alphonſo*, of which mariage were now procreated many children. *Iulio* by his death left to his ſucceſſors not onely the heritage of *Reggia*, but alſo the ſame deſire to get *Ferrara*, whereunto they were ſpurred forward by the glorious memorie that he ſeemed to haue left of himſelfe to poſteritie: and therefore this ambition was more mightie in *Leo* his ſucceſſor then the regard of the greatneſſe which the houſe of *Medicis* had in *Florence*, for the which it ſeemed more profitable that the puiſſance of the Church

ſhould diminiſh, then that *Ferrara* being added thereunto, it ſhould become redoubted to all her neighbours: and chiefly after he had bought *Modena*, he diſpoſed himſelfe wholly to get *Ferrara*, but more by practiſes and ambuſhes, then by force, for as much as that was become too difficult, by reaſon that *Alphonſo* when he ſaw himſelfe in ſo great dangers, had fortified himſelfe on all ſides, and made plentifull prouiſion of artilleries and munitions, and as the brute went, was plentifully ſtored with money: and the hatreds of *Leo* were haply greater, but carried more ſecretly then thoſe of *Iulio*: and beſides many plots which he often layed to take *Ferrara*, either by ſurpriſe or by fraud, he bound in ſuch ſort thoſe Princes vnto him with whom he made alliance, that at leaſt they might not hinder him in this enterpriſe: and that not onely during the life of *Iulian* his brother, and *Laurence* his nephew, for whoſe greatneſſe and exaltation it was thought he was carried with that ambition, but alſo euen after their death. And this deſire was ſo great and hote in him, that many were perſwaded that the laſt rather raſh then diſcreete deliberation that he made to ioyne with the Emperour againſt the *French* King, proceeded chiefly of this cauſe: in ſo much as neceſſitie conſtrained *Alphonſo* (to ſatisfie the *French* King, his onely founder and hope) to make warre vpon them of *Modena*, at ſuch time as the armie of Pope *Leo* and the Emperour held *Pauie* beſieged; in which warre, hauing had ill ſucceſſe, he had ſoone bene reduced into very great difficulties, if Pope *Leo* at the ſame time, during the courſe of his victories, had not died of a ſodaine and vnexpected death, which aſſuredly chanced no leſſe conueniently for him then the death of *Iulio*. And I know not whether in the end *Adrian* the ſucceſſor of *Leo*, was not touched with this couetouſneſſe, although being newly created, and vnexperienced in the affaires of *Italy*, he had in the firſt moneths after his coming to *Rome*, giuen him abſolution of the cenſures, granted him of new the inueſtiture, and alſo permitted him to retaine all that he had poſſeſſed during the vacation of the Sea; beſides the hope that he gaue him to render him *Modena* and *Reggia*, though afterwards vpon better information of the eſtate of things, he well expreſſed how farre his mind was dayly eſtranged therefrom. But by the creatiõ of Pope *Clement*, *Alphonſo* entred into a great feare to returne again into the ſame dangers wherein he had bene before, and that with good reaſon; for that if things had happily ſucceeded with him, the ſame diſpoſition would haue bene found in him, which had bene in *Iulio* and *Leo*: but the occaſion being not yet offered for *Ferrara*, he ſet himſelfe wholly to get *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, as a matter of more facilitie, and better to be iuſtified, by the late poſſeſſion which the Church had had of them, and as though, in that regard, it were a great diſhonour and infamie for him to leaue them vnrecouered. Hereupon it came to paſſe, that afore in many other ſorts, and laſtly in the capitulation with the Viceroy, he had more care hereof then many deſired, who perceiuing how dangerous the greatneſſe of the Emperour was to all men, and that there was no better remedie for the ſame, then a readie and generall vnion of all the Eſtates of *Italy*, and that there might dayly ariſe occaſions and neceſſities to take armes, they iudged it a better courſe that the Pope ſhould not trouble the Duke of *Ferrara*, nor put him into neceſſitie to caſt himſelfe into the armes of the Emperour, chiefly the Duke being a very rich Prince, and of whom, as well for the commoditie of his Eſtate, as for other conditions of his, there ought in ſuch times great account to be made: but that he ought rather to embrace him, and vſe all meanes poſſible to take from him both hatred and feare: if notwithſtanding to do benefites and pleaſures to one that perſwades himſelfe to haue receiued ſo many iniuries, be ſufficient to wipe out of a mind ſo ill diſpoſed and full of iealouſie, the memorie of wrongs and offences, ſpecially when the pleaſure is done at a time, when it ſeemes to proceed more of neceſſitie then good will.

The Pope ſends to viſite the French king being priſoner.

After this capitulation was reſolued, the Pope not to omit any conuenient office to ſo great a Prince as the *French* King, by permiſſion of the Viceroy, ſent vnto him the Biſhop of *Piſtoya* to viſite and comfort him in his name: and the King after the generall words that paſſed betweene them in the preſence of Captaine *Alarcon*, and after he had ſaid that he beſought the Pope to do the office of a good ſoliciter for him with the Emperour, he asked him ſecretly, what was become of the Duke of *Albanie*, and was anſwered to his great griefe, that one part of his armie being broken and retired, he was returned with the reſidue into *France*. At this very time the *Lucquois* accorded with the Viceroy, who receiued them into the protection of the Emperour, to pay him the ſumme of ten thouſand duckats; and likewiſe the *Siennois* contracted with him for fifteene thouſand duckats, without binding him to maintaine one forme of gouerne-

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ment more then another; for that of the one ſide, the family of *Montenouo*, who at the inſtance of the Pope and by the meanes of the Duke of *Albanie*, had reſumed the authoritie, which neuertheleſſe was not yet well confirmed, and on the other part, thoſe who by the profeſſion they made to deſire libertie, were commonly called Libertines, hauing taken courage by reaſon of the battell of *Pauie*, and would not endure the policie and gouernment induced by the forces of the *French* King, both parts ſent meſſengers to the Viceroy, to incline him to be fauourable to their deſignes; and hauing receiued from him no certaine reſolution touching the forme of gouernment, they ioyned both together and ſolicited readily compoſition; which being done, and the men arriued whom the Viceroy ſent to receiue the money, it happened that whileſt they were telling the money, and in their preſence, *Ierome Seuerin* a Citizen of *Sienna*, who had bene ſometime with the Viceroy, ſlue *Alexander Pichi* chiefe of the new gouernment, to whom the Pope had aſſigned at that time the whole authoritie; by reaſon whereof the reſidue of the Citizens who were of his faction hauing taken armes, and the people who were malcontent that the gouernment ſhould returne to a Tyrannie, being alſo riſen into arms, when they had chaſed out the Chieftaines of the family of *Montenouo*, they reformed the Citie, and ſet vp againe the popular gouernment, being enemie to the Pope, and adhering to the Emperour; and it was beleeued that theſe things were not done without the priuitie of the Viceroy, or at leaſt not without his great approbation, conſidering how profitable it was for the affaires of the Emperour to haue that Citie on his ſide, which for her forces is very puiſſant, hauing the oportunitie of ports and hauens of the ſea, being in a fertile countrey, and for her neighbourhood to the Realme of *Naples*, being ſituate betweene *Rome* and *Florence*; and yet the Viceroy and the Duke of *Seſſa* had giuen hope to the Pope that they would not alter the gouernment introduced by his fauour. There were many other townes in *Italy* who followed the inclination of the *Lucquois* and *Siennois*, and the fortune of the victors, with whom the Marquis of *Montferrat* compounded for fifteene thouſand duckats; and the Duke of *Ferrara* was content to lend the Viceroy fiftie thouſand duckats, vnder promiſe to haue them repayed if they did not capitulate together; and this he did for that his affaires could not be ſo ſpeedily eſtabliſhed, both for the reſpects they bare to the capitulation made with the Pope, and alſo for that it was neceſſarie to vnderſtand firſt the will of the Emperour: with which money, together with the hundred thouſand duckats promiſed by the *Millanois*, and the impoſition of the *Siennois* and *Lucquois*, and that alſo which was ſent to *Genes* by the Emperour for the ſupportation of the warre, but came after the victorie, the Captaines tooke order, as the money came in, to pay the ſouldiers for all that was paſt, and to ſend backe from hand to hand the *Almaines* into *Germanie*: ſo that no tokens appearing that there was any intention at that time to follow the courſe of the victorie againſt any man, but that the Viceroy hauing ratified the capitulation made with the Pope according to his requeſt, and negociating at the ſame time a new appointment with the *Venetians* which he greatly deſired, the eyes of euery man were ſet to behold with what propertie of affection the Emperour would receiue this gladſome newes, and to what ends he would diſpoſe his thoughts: who ſo farre as exterior demonſtrations made ſhew of, expreſſed great tokens of a mind much moderated, and very apt eaſily to reſiſt the proſperitie of fortune: yea ſuch as ſeemed incredible in ſo mightie and yong a Prince, who as yet had neuer taſted but of one felicitie. For after he was informed of ſo great a victorie, whereof he had the report the tenth day of March, together with letters of the *French* Kings owne hand, which were very humbly written, rather in the condition of a priſoner then of a King, he went forthwith to the Church to make his holy oblations to God, with many ſolemnities, and the morning following receiued the Sacrament of the Euchariſt with ſignes of right great deuotion, and ſo went in proceſſion to our Ladies Church out of *Madril*, where he was at that time with his Court: & would not ſuffer, that according to the cuſtome of others, any ſignes ſhould be made of reioycing, as by ringing of bels, making of bonfires, or any ſuch thing; ſaying, it was fit to reioyce & be glad for victories obtained againſt Infidels, and not for thoſe which were gotten againſt Chriſtians: and ſhewing in his words and countenance no ſignes of any great ioy, or that he was puffed vp, he anſwered the congratulations of the Embaſſadors & great perſonages that were about him, that he took pleaſure, in that God hauing ſo manifeſtly aided him, he acknowledged it as a ſigne, although he had not deſerued it, that he ſtood in his fauour: and for that he hoped he ſhould now haue occaſion to reduce Chriſtendome to peace, and to prepare warre againſt the Infidels;

The moderation and temperance of the Emperor vpon the newes of the victorie.

fidels; and for that he ſhould haue greater meanes to do good to his friends, and to pardon his enemies: he added, that albeit he might iuſtly appropriate to himſelfe the whole victorie, for that the helpe of none of his friends did concurre in the action, yet he was contented that it ſhould be communicated to them all: ſo that when he had heard the Embaſſadour of *Venice*, who iuſtified afore him the ſeruices done by his Commonweale, he ſaid to thoſe that ſtood about him, that his iuſtifications were not true, but that he would accept them and repute them for true: and after he had continued certaine dayes in theſe ſpeeches and demonſtrations full of great wiſedome and honeſtie, he called his Councell together, to the end that (according to his cuſtome) nothing might be done which was not well and maturely conſidered. His propoſition was, that they ſhould aduiſe him in what ſort he ſhould deale with the *French* King, and to what ends this victorie was to be addreſſed, commanding that euery of them ſhould deliuer freely in his preſence their ſeuerall opinions: after which commandement the Biſhop of *Oſimo* who was his Confeſſor, ſpake in this maner:

The Oration of the Biſhop of Oſimo touching the taking of the Frech king.

Although (moſt glorious Prince) all things that happen in this inferiour world, proceed from the prouidence of the great God, and are thereby alwayes gouerned, yet this is ſometimes more manifeſtly ſeene in ſome particulars: but if euer it appeared manifeſtly in any thing, it hath bene ſeene and knowne in the preſent victorie. For both for the greatneſſe thereof, and the facilitie wherewith it was gotten, and to haue vanquiſhed verie puiſſant enemies, and much better furniſhed then your ſelfe of prouiſions neceſſarie for warre, no man can denie, but it was the expreſſe will of God, and almoſt a miracle. Now by how much his goodneſſe hath bene more manifeſt and more great, by ſo much the more is your Maieſtie bound to acknowledge it, and to declare how much you find your ſelfe bound vnto him: which conſiſteth principally in addreſſing the victorie to the exaltation of the ſeruice of God, and to the end for which it may be thought he hath caſt it vpon you. And certainly when I conſider into what termes the eſtate of Chriſtendome is reduced, I ſee nothing that can be more holy, more neceſſarie, or more pleaſing to God, then an vniuerſall peace among Chriſtian Princes; for that without this it is verie ſenſible that religion, pietie, and the manners of men will fall into manifeſt ruine. We haue the *Turks* on the one ſide, who haue wonne much vpon the Chriſtians by our diſcords, and do now threaten the kingdome of *Hungarie* which appertaineth to the huſband of your ſiſter, which if they get, as aſſuredly they will, if the Chriſtian Princes ioyne not themſelues together, the way into *Germanie* and *Italy* wil be open vnto them. On the other ſide we haue the *Lutheran* hereſie, ſo much offenſiue to God, ſo ignominious to thoſe that haue power to oppreſſe it, and ſo dangerous for all Princes, which hath now gotten ſuch footing, that if it be not reſtrained, the world will be filled with heretikes: neither can it be met with by any other meanes, then by your authoritie and puiſſance, which, ſo long as you ſhall be engaged in other warres, cannot be applied to the extirpation of this moſt pernicious poyſon. Moreouer, although for the preſent there were no feare either of the *Turks* or of heretiks, what can be more foule, more impious or pernicious, then for our paſſions to ſpill vnprofitably ſo much Chriſtian bloud, which might be glorioufly employed for the augmentation of the faith of Chriſt, or at leaſt reſerued for times more neceſſarie? chiefly ſeeing the ſame cannot be done without cõmitting of violations and whoredoms, without infinite ſacriledges and other execrable deeds? which are ſuch euils, as whoſoeuer is a voluntarie author of them, can looke for no pardon at Gods hand; and whoſoeuer by neceſſitie is the cauſe thereof, is not worthy to be excuſed, if at leaſt he reſolue not with himſelfe to remedie the ſame as ſoone as he can. Your end therefore, and the thing you ought to aime at, is an vniuerſall peace among Chriſtians, as a matter honorable, holy, and neceſſarie aboue all other things: the which we are now to conſider how it may be obtained. Your Maieſtie may take three deliberations touching the *French* king: the firſt, to keepe him a perpetuall priſoner: the ſecond, to deliuer him friendly and brotherly, without any other conditions then ſuch as may eſtabliſh a perpetuall peace and amitie between you, and cure the hurts of Chriſtendome: the third, to deliuer him, but to exact as great profit thereby as poſſibly you can: of which, if I be not deceiued, the other two do augment and prolong the warres; but an amiable and brotherly deliuerance is the onely remedie to remoue and extinguiſh them. For who can doubt, but that the *French* King (when ſo great generoſitie ſhall be vſed towards him, with ſuch ſingular liberalitie) will not for ſo great a benefite remaine more bound to you in his mind, and more at your command, then he is now in his bodie? and that if

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betweene your ſelfe and him there be a true vnion and concord, all other Chriſtian Princes wil » follow the way which you two haue ſhewed them? But if you take a reſolution to detaine him » alwayes priſoner, beſides that ſuch a matter cannot be without great note of crueltie, and will » be taken for a ſigne of a man not knowing the power of fortune; will it not multiply one warre » vpon another? for that it wil be preſuppoſed that you haue a deſire to get either all or ſome part » of *France*, which cannot be done without new and very great warres. And to chuſe the middle » way, which is to deliuer him, but vnder capitulations for your moſt aduantage, I take it to be » the moſt intricate and dangerous way of all others. For, make what alliance, what capitu- » lations, and what obligations you will, yet he will be your enemie ſtill, and will neuer want the » aſſociation of all thoſe who feare your greatneſſe: ſo that new warres, and more bloudie and » dangerous then the former, are to be expected. I am not ignorant how farre this opinion diffe- » reth from the taſte of ordinarie men, neither how new it is, and without examples: but extraor- » dinarie and ſingular deliberations do well beſeeme the Emperour, and it is not to be wondred » at, if his mind be capable of ſuch conceptions as the capacitie of other men cannot reach vnto, » whom by how much he doth exceed in dignitie, by ſo much ought he to ſurmount thē in mag- » nanimitie, and therefore to know more then all others, how much ſo great generoſitie is reple- » niſhed with true glorie, and how much it is the dutie of the Emperour to pardon and vſe libera- » litie, rather then to be couetous in getting: that God hath not giuen him in vaine, yea almoſt » miraculouſly, the power to bring peace into the world: that it appertaineth vnto him, after ſo » many victories, after ſo many graces that God hath beſtowed vpon him, after he hath ſeene all » men proſtrate at his feete, to proceed no more as an enemie to any man, but to prouide as a » common father, for the ſafetie of all men. The magnanimitie which *Alexander* the Great and » *Iulius Cæſar* haue ſhewed in pardoning their enemies, and reſtoring kingdomes to thoſe they » had vanquiſhed, hath made their names more glorious then their infinite victories and many tri- » umphs: whoſe example it importeth him to follow, who not propoſing to himſelfe glorie for » the onely end (though it be a right great reward) deſireth principally to do that which is the true » and proper office of euery Chriſtian Prince. But to the end to conuince ſuch as meaſure humane » things onely by humane ends, let vs conſider further, if there remaine yet any other deliberation » more conformable to their end. Certainly I beleeue, that in all the greatneſſe of your » Maieſtie, there is no part more wonderfull nor more worthy, then this glorie, to haue bene e- » uen till this day inuincible, and to haue guided all your enterpriſes to a moſt happie end, with ſo » great proſperitie and reputation. It is without doubt the moſt precious iewell, and moſt ſingular » treaſure amongſt all your treaſures. Then how may it better be eſtabliſhed, how may it better be » aſſured, or more certainly kept, then in leauing the warres with an end ſo honourable and wor- » thy, & in taking out of the power of fortune the glorie gotten, and in reducing from the midſt » of the ſea to the port of ſafetie, this veſſell loaden with merchandize of ineſtimable value? But » let vs proceed. The greatneſſe which is preſerued willingly, is it not more to be deſired, then that » which is maintained by violence? No man doubts of it, for that it is more ſtable, more eaſie, » more plauſible, and more honorable. If the Emperour bind the *French* King to him by ſo great » a liberalitie, and by ſo great a benefite, ſhall he not be alwayes Maiſter and Lord both of him » and his kingdome? If he giue to the Pope and other Princes ſo manifeſt a certaintie, that he is » content with the Eſtates which he hath, and that he thinketh of no other thing then of an vni- » uerſall peace, will they not remaine without ſuſpition? And hauing no more any cauſe to feare » him, nor any quarrell with him, they will not onely loue, but alſo adore ſo great a bountie. By » this meanes, with the good wils of all, he ſhall giue lawes to all, and by this meanes preuaile » more without compariſon with Chriſtians by good will and authoritie, then with forces » and ſubiection: and he ſhall haue the meanes, being followed and aided of all men, to turne his » armes againſt the *Lutherans* and Infidels, with greater glorie, and with more occaſion of greater » conqueſts, the which I know not why they ſhould not be alſo deſired in *Afrike*, in *Greece*, or in » *Leuant*, although it were ſo eaſie to amplifie his dominion amongſt the Chriſtians, as many (in » my iudgment) do vainly imagine. For the power of your Maieſtie is ſo much augmented, that it » is almoſt become terrible to them all; and when they ſhall ſee your purpoſes extended further, » all the world will by neceſſitie vnite themſelues againſt you. The Pope redoubteth your power, » the *Venetians* ſtand in feare, all *Italy* is aſtoniſhed, and by the tokens that are diſcerned, it is cre- » dible that the King of *England* enuieth your felicitie. You may for certaine moneths entertaine »

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cc the *French* men with faire hopes and vaine practiſes, but in the end the King muſt be deliuered,
cc or they muſt be out of hope. If they deſpaire, they will ioyne with all the reſidue. And if you
cc deliuer the King with conditions of litle profite to your Maieſtie, what ſhall you winne, to loſe
cc the occaſion to vſe ſo great a magnanimitie? which if you expreſſe not at this beginning, when
cc you would ſhew it hereafter, it will haue neither the like praiſe, glorie, nor grace. If you deliuer
cc him with couenants profitable to your ſelfe, he will not obſerue them, for that no ſuretie that
cc he ſhall giue you, can ſo much import him, but that it will import him much more not to haue
cc his enemie to become ſo great, as afterwards he ſhall not be able to oppreſſe him. And ſo ſhall
cc we haue either an vnprofitable peace, or verie dangerous wars, whoſe end is vncertaine; and the
cc change of fortune is more to be feared of him who hath enioyed ſo long felicitie, and the griefe
cc and heauineſſe farre greater when things ſucceed ill, to him who hath had power to aſſure all
cc things. Me thinkes (moſt mightie Emperour) I haue ſatisfied your commandement, if not with
cc wiſedome, yet at leaſt with affection and fidelitie; and now there remaineth nothing elſe but to
cc beſeech God to inſpire you with a mind and facultie to make a deliberation which may be moſt
cc agreeable to his will, moſt for your owne glorie, and in the end may be moſt for the benefite
cc of the commonweale of Chriſtendome, whereof both for your ſupreme dignitie, and for that
cc it is apparent that ſuch is the will of God, it is neceſſarie that you be the father and defender.

The opinion of the Duke of Alba touching the Kings imprisonment.

This counſell was heard of the Emperour with great attention, without declaring by any ſigne, whether he allowed or condemned it: but after he had pawſed a while, giuing the ſigne to the reſidue to ſpeake, *Federike* Duke of *Alba*, a man of great authoritie with the Emperour, roſe vp and ſpake in this ſort: I deſire to be excuſed (moſt inuincible Emperour) if I confeſſe
cc that my iudgement differeth not from the cõmon iudgment of others, nor my wit able to pierce
cc into ſuch things as the vnderſtanding of others cannot reach vnto: yea haply I may deſerue more
cc commendations, if I perſwade you to follow the ſame way which your fathers and elders haue
cc alwayes taken. For new and vnuſuall counſels may haply at the firſt ſight ſeeme more glorious
cc and magnanimous, but, without doubt, are in the end found more dangerous and deceitfull
cc then ſuch as at all times haue bene approued of all men by reaſon and experience. The will of
cc God principally, and next the valour of your Captaines and armie, haue giuen you the greateſt
cc victorie that any Chriſtian Prince hath gotten of a very long time; but all the fruite of the victo-
cc rie conſiſteth in the well vſing of the ſame, which whoſoeuer doth not, incurreth an infamie ſo
cc much the greater then not to know how to ouercome, by how much it is a greater fault
cc to be deceiued by the things that are in a mans power, then by thoſe that depend vpon fortune.
cc Wherefore ſo much the more heed is to be taken not to make a deliberation which in the end
cc may cauſe ſhame before others, and repentance to your ſelfe: and by how much more weightie
cc the matter is that is treated of, ſo much the more circumſpectly ought it to be proceeded in, and
cc thoſe deliberations to be maturely made, wherein the faults that are once committed cannot
cc afterwards be amended: and it is to be conſidered, that if the King be deliuered, he may no lon-
cc ger be retained; but ſo long as he remaineth your priſoner, it is alwayes in your power to giue
cc him libertie; and if there be no haſte made to deliuer him, he cannot maruell at it, for that if I
cc be not deceiued, he knoweth well in his owne conſcience how he would vſe the Emperour if he
cc were his priſoner. Truly it was a very great thing to take the *French* King, but who ſo conſidereth
cc the matter well, ſhall find, that it would proue a farre greater matter without compariſon, to let
cc him go: and it will neuer be eſteemed a wiſe action, to make a deliberation of ſo great conſe-
cc quence without good and long conſultation, and without hauing infinitely reuolued it in the
cc mind. And haply I ſhould not be of this opinion, if I could be perſwaded that the King being
cc preſently deliuered, would acknowledge ſo great a benefite as he ought, and that the Pope and
cc the other Potentates of *Italy* would lay aſide their ſuſpition, together with their couetouſneſſe
cc and ambition. But who knoweth not how dangerous it is to ground a reſolution of ſo great
cc importance vpon a preſuppoſition ſo vntrue and vncertaine? He that diligently conſidereth
cc the natures and manners of men, will iudge the contrary, for that ordinarily there is nothing
cc of leſſe continuance then the remembrance of benefites receiued; and by how much they are
cc greater, by ſo much the more (according to the prouerbe) are they payed with ingratitude, ſee-
cc ing that he who either cannot or will not efface them with recompence, ſeeketh oftentimes to
cc deface them with forgetfulneſſe, or at leaſt to extenuate them, in perſwading themſelues that
cc they were not ſo great: and ſuch as are aſhamed to be brought to that paſſe, that they haue ſtood

in

in need of a benefit, are alſo diſcontent to haue receiued it: ſo that hatred is more powerfull in them for the remembrance of the neceſſitie wherein they were fallen, then thankfulneſſe in reſpect of the fauours that was vſed towards them. Moreouer, to whom is inſolence more naturall and lightneſſe more familiar then to the *French* men? But where inſolencie is, there is inconſideration, and where is lightneſſe, there is no knowledge of vertue, no iudgement to diſcerne of the actions of others, nor grauitie to meaſure that which concerneth themſelues. What then can be hoped for in a *French* King, filled with as great preſumption as may enter into any King of the *French* men, but that he burneth in diſdaine and rage to be priſoner to the Emperour, in a time when he hoped to haue triumphed ouer him? He will haue alwayes before his eyes, the remembrance of this infamie, and being deliuered, he will neuer beleeue that the meanes to quench it, is acknowledgement, but he will alwayes ſtriue to be ſuperiour, and perſwade himſelf that you haue let him go for the difficultie to retaine him, and not through your bountie and magnanimitie. Such is for the moſt part the nature of men, and ſuch hath bene alwayes the condition of the *French* men, from whom who ſo looketh for conſtancie or magnanimitie, expecteth a new order and rule in humane things. For peace therefore, and in ſtead of reducing the world into order, there will be cauſed greater warres and more dangerous then the former: for that your reputation will be leſſened, and your armie, which now expecteth the fruite due for ſo great a victorie, being deceiued of their hopes, will haue no more the ſame vertue and vigor, nor your affaires the ſame fortune, who is hardly holden by him that retaineth her, and much leſſe will ſhe tarrie with ſuch as chaſe her away. Neither will the Pope and the *Venetians* be much better, but repenting themſelues to haue ſuffered you to go away with the victorie paſt, they will ſeeke to hinder thoſe that are to come: and the feare they haue now of you, will compell them to vſe all their endeuour, to the end not to returne into a new feare: and whereas you haue now in your power to hold all men bound and aſtoniſhed, your ſelfe with an inconſiderate bountie will be he that will vnbind them and giue them heart. I know not what is the will of God, neither do I thinke others can reach to the knowledge of it, for that it is vſually ſaid, that his iudgements are ſecret and deepe: but if any coniecture can be made by that which appeareth ſo clearely, I beleeue that he fauoureth your greatneſſe, and cannot beleeue that he extendeth his graces vpon you in ſo great abundance, to the end you ſhould diſſipate them of your ſelfe, but thereby to make you ſuperiour to others, as well in effect, as you are in title and right: and certainly to loſe ſo rare an occaſion which God ſendeth you, would be no other thing then to tempt him, and make you vnworthy of his grace. Reaſon hath alwayes taught, and experience doth well confirme it, that things which depend vpon the counſels of many, do neuer ſucceed well: therefore I know not whether he meaſure rightly the nature of the world, who thinkes himſelfe able to roote out the Heretikes or ſuppreſſe the Infidels by the vnion of many Princes. Theſe are enterpriſes that haue need of a Prince ſo mightie and great, as to be able to giue lawes to others. If that be not conſidered, they will be debated and performed hereafter with the ſame ſucceſſe, wherewith they haue bene debated and acted heretofore. I beleeue that for this cauſe God ſends you ſo great victories, and that for the ſame reaſon he hath opened you the way to the Monarchie, whereby onely ſo great and holy effects may be performed: and it is beſt to be ſlow to giue the firſt beginnings, to the end to accompliſh them with better and more certaine foundations. Let not the feare of ſo many leagues as are contracted, eſtrange you from this deliberation, for as much as the occaſion which you haue in your hand, is very great; and if things be well negociated, the Kings mother, for her affection to her ſonne, and for the neceſſitie to recouer his libertie, will neuer caſt off her hopes to redeeme him of you by accord; neither will the Princes of *Italy* euer ioyne themſelues with the gouernment of *France*, who knowing that it is alwaies in your power, by deliuering the King, not onely to ſeparate him from them, but alſo to turne him againſt them, they will remaine aſtoniſhed and in ſuſpence, to the end they may be the firſt to receiue lawes of you, towards whom it will be a glorious thing to vſe clemencie and magnanimitie, when matters ſhall be reduced to that degree, as they cannot chuſe but acknowledge you for ſuperiour. *Alexander* and *Cæſar* did euen ſo, who were forward to pardon iniuries, but not raſh and inconſiderate, to bring themſelues againe into thoſe difficulties and dangers which they had already ſurmounted. He that doth thus, deſerueth praiſe, for that he doth an act which hath very few examples; but haply he is vnwiſe who doth that which hath no example. Therfore (moſt inuincible Emperour)

" I am of opinion, that there be as great profite made of this victorie as possibly there may, and " that to this end, the King (whom you may alwayes vse with such honours as belong to a King) " if he cannot be sent into *Spaine*, at least might be conueyed into *Naples*: and that for answer " to his letter, there may be a man sent vnto him with very gracious words, who should propound " vnto him conditions of his deliuerance, such as (vpon more particular consultation) may be a " worthy recompence and reward of so great a victorie. Thus, these foundations being layed, " and you propounding such ends, time and the accidents which will be discouered, will make ei- " ther more quick or more slow the deliuerie of the King, and wil beget occasions of peace or war " with the *Italians*, to whō for the present good hopes may be giuen, & the fauour and reputation " of armes augmented as much as may be with art and industrie, to the end not to proue euery " day a new fortune, and that we may be readie to accord either with this or that Prince, either " with all together, or with none, as occasion shal counsel vs. These be the wayes which wise Prin- " ces haue alwayes followed, and particularly those who haue left to you the foundations of such " a greatnesse: who haue neuer reiected the occasions to raise themselues, nor any way let slip the " fauour of fortune when they saw her well disposed towards them: the same also ought you " to doe, to whom by right appertaine those things which in any of your predecessors may be " said to be ambition. Remember your selfe (most noble Emperour) that you are a Prince, and " that it is your dutie to imitate Princes, and that there is no reason either diuine or humane that " perswadeth you to leaue the occasion to restore the authoritie of the Empire, vsurped and op- " pressed, yea that bindeth you not wholly to stirre vp your mind to recouer it rightfully: and re- " member aboue all, how easily occasions are lost, and how difficultly they are gotten, and there- " fore whilest you haue them, it is necessary to do all your endeuour to retaine them, and not to " build vpon the goodnesse or wisdome of the vanquished, seeing the world is full of folly and wic- " kednesse. And further, seeing the estate of Christendome cannot be defended by any other " meanes then by your greatnesse, faile not to increase it as much as you can, not so much for the " interest of your owne authoritie and glorie, as for the seruice of God, and zeale of the publike " good.

It cannot be expressed with what fauour of all the Councell, the Duke of *Alba* was heard, euery one hauing already propounded in his mind the Empire of all Christendome: so that there was not one amongst them who without reply did not confirme his opinion, which the Emperour himselfe also approued, though more not to seeme to swerue from the counsell of his friends, then in disclosing his owne inclination. Then *Monsieur Beaurain* who lay in his chamber, and was much in his fauour, was dispatched to make his deliberation knowne to the Captaines, and in his name to visite the *French* King, and to propound vnto him the conditions whereby he might obtaine his deliuerance: and taking his way by land (for the Kings mother hindred not the passage of messengers and posts to come and go to the Emperours Court, for the more easie negociation of the affaires of her sonne) he went together with the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Viceroy to *Pisqueton*, where the King remained as yet, and offered him his libertie, but with such and so hard conditions, that the very hearing of them was grieuous to the King. For, besides the giuing ouer of the rights which the King pretended in *Italy*, the Emperour demanded that he should render vnto him the Duchie of *Burgondie* as properly appertaining to him, and to giue *Prouence* to the Duke of *Bourbon*: and he required besides, that he should accord as well for himselfe as for the King of *England*, to other conditions of very great importance. To which demands the King answered constantly, that he had rather offer vp his life in prison, then to depriue his children of any part of the Realme of *France*, and though he should determine otherwise, that it was not in his power to execute it: for that the ancient constitutions of *France* suffered not to alienate any thing belonging to the Crowne without the consent of the Parliaments, and others in whose hands rested the authoritie of the whole kingdome, who in like cases were wont to preferre the vniuersall safetie afore the particular interest of the persons of their Kings: That they should demand things that were in his power, and then they should find him most ready to ioyne with the Emperour, and to fauour his greatnesse: and from that time forward he ceassed not to offer diuers conditions, making no difficultie to accord largely touching the Estates of others to obtaine his libertie, without promising any thing of his owne. In the end, he offered to take to wife the Emperours sister, who remained a widow by the death of the King of *Portugal*, with acknowledgment to hold *Burgondie* as her dowrie, and that it should

ſhould appertaine to the children iſſuing of that mariage: That he would reſtore to the Duke of *Bourbon* the Duchie that had bene confisked from him, and would adde thereto ſome other Eſtate: and in recompence of the Emperours ſiſter who had bene promiſed to him, he would giue him his ſiſter, a late widow by the deceaſſe of *Monſieur d'Alenſon*: That he would ſatisfie the King of *England* with money, and that he would giue a great ſumme to the Emperour for his ranſome: That he would yeeld vp vnto him his rights in the kingdome of *Naples* and Duchie of *Millan*: That he would promiſe to accompanie him, both with a nauie by ſea and an armie by land, at ſuch time as he ſhould go to *Rome* to take the Crowne Imperiall, which was as much as if he ſhould promiſe to giue him in prey the whole Monarchie of *Italy*. *Monſieur Beaurain* returned with theſe capitulations to the Emperour, and there went with him *Monſieur Montmorancie*, a perſonage then very acceptable to the King, and afterwards made by him great Maiſter, and at length great Conſtable of *France*.

The ſorrowes and feares of France for the impriſonment of the King.

But when the newes came into *France* of the ouerthrow of the armie, and the taking of the King, the aſtoniſhment and deſpaire of all men was ſo great, as it is almoſt impoſſible to be imagined. For, beſides the incredible ſorrow which the pitifull accident of the King brought to that nation, naturally very deuout and affectionate to their Kings, there appeared infinite mournings and heauineſſe, as well publike as priuate: priuate, for that as well of thoſe of the Court as of the Nobilitie, there were very few who had not loſt in the battell, their children, their brethren, or other their kindred and friends of qualitie: publike, for ſo great a diminution of the authoritie and glorie of ſo flouriſhing a Realme: which was ſo much the more grieuous vnto them, by how much naturally they are haughtie and preſuming of themſelues, and for that they feared leſt ſo great a calamitie would be the beginning of a greater ruine, the King being priſoner, and with him either taken or ſlaine in the battell, the heads of the gouernment, and almoſt all the chiefe Captaines, and the Realme exhauſted of money, and enuironed with moſt mightie enemies. For the King of *England*, notwithſtanding he had holden many treaties, and ſhewed in many things the inconſtancie of his mind, yet a litle before the battell he had cut off all the negociations which he had entertained with the King, and publiſhed that he would paſſe into *France* if the things of *Italy* tooke any good ſucceſſe. Therefore it was much feared leſt in ſo great an oportunitie the Emperour and he would raiſe warre againſt *France*, either for that there was no other Gouernour then a woman and the litle children of the King, of whom the eldeſt was not yet eight yeares of age; or becauſe the enemies had with them the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was a puiſſant Prince, of ſo great authoritie in the Realme of *France*, that any ſtirre they ſhould make, would be very dangerous. And alſo among ſo many afflictions which the Ladie Regent ſuffered, as well for the loue of her ſonne, as for the dangers of the Realme, ſhe was not without her proper and particular paſſions: for that being full of ambition, and very deſirous of gouernment, ſhe feared that if the Kings deliuerie were prolonged, or that any new difficultie happened in *France*, ſhe ſhould be conſtrained to yeeld vp the adminiſtration to ſuch as ſhould be deputed by the Realme. Yet in ſo great aſtoniſhments, ſhe and ſuch as were about her, hauing taken heart, beſides ỳ they fortified the frontiers of the Realme with all the diligence that could be, and cauſed good prouiſion of money to be made, the Ladie Regent, in whoſe name all expeditions and diſpatches went out, wrote to the Emperor letters full of humilitie and compaſſion, propounding, and afterwards ſoliciting from hand to hand, as much as ſhe could, the practiſes of accord; by vertue whereof, hauing a litle after deliuered *Don Hugo de Moncado*, ſhe ſent him to the Emperour, to offer him, that her ſonne ſhould renounce all rights to the kingdome of *Naples* and the Eſtate of *Millan*, and ſhould be content to referre to the cenſure and arbitration of the law, to whom the right of *Burgondie* appertained, and if it belonged to the Emperour, to acknowledge it for the dowrie of his ſiſter: That he ſhould render to *Monſieur Bourbon* his Eſtate, together with his moueables and goods, which were of great value, and the fruites and reuenues which had bin leuied by the cõmiſſioners deputed by the Regall chamber, and that he ſhould giue to him his ſiſter in mariage, and conſent that he ſhould haue *Prouence*, if it were found and iudged that he had better right thereto. And to the end theſe practiſes might be the more eaſie, rather then for any deſire ſhe had to hearken to warre, ſhe diſpatched immediatly Embaſſadours into *Italy*, to recommend to the Pope and the *Venetians* the ſafetie of her ſonne, offering that if for their proper ſecuritie they would contract with her, and raiſe armes againſt the Emperour, to furniſh for her part fiue hundred Lances, and to contribute a great

ſumme of money. But the principall deſire, as well of her, as of the whole Realme of *France*, was; to appeaſe the King of *England*, iudging (as the truth was) that if they had not him for enemie, the Realme of *France* ſhould remaine without moleſtation; but if he on the one ſide, and the Emperour on the other, ſhould raiſe armes, hauing with them the Duke of *Bourbon* and ſo many occaſions, that all things would be full of difficulties and dangers. Now it happened that the Ladie Regent began to diſcerne ſome good hope hereof: for notwithſtanding the King of *England* immediatly after the firſt newes of the victorie, had expreſſed great tokens of gladnes, and publiſhed that he would paſſe in perſon into *France*, and withall had ſent Embaſſadours to the Emperour to ſolicite and treate of the mouing of warre ioyntly together; yet proceeding at that time after the ſame maner that he vſed at other times, he ſent to the Ladie Regent, to diſpatch to him a man expreſſe, which was preſently accompliſhed, and that with verie large commiſſions, vſing all ſubmiſſions and meanes poſſible to appeaſe the mind of that King, who gouerning himſelfe alwayes by the counſell of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, made ſhew that his principall end was, to take ſuch knowledge of the controuerſies that were betweene other Princes, that all the world might acknowledge that the conſummation of great affaires depended of him. And for this cauſe he offered to the Emperour at the ſame time to deſcend into *France* with a puiſſant armie, to giue perfection to the alliance concluded formerly betweene them; and to remoue all ſuſpition, he offered preſently to deliuer vnto him his daughter, who was not as yet at age fit for mariage. But in theſe matters he found very great difficulties, depending partly vpon himſelfe, and partly vpon the Emperour, who was not now ſo forward to contract with him as he had bene before. For that King demanded for himſelfe almoſt all the rewards of the victorie, as *Normandie*, *Guyen*, and *Gaſcoigne*, with the title of King of *France*: and that the Emperour, notwithſtanding things were ſo far vnequall, ſhould paſſe himſelf into *France*, and participate equally in the expences and dangers. The inequalitie of theſe conditiõs troubled much the mind of the Emperour, and that ſo much the more, for the remembrance that in the yeares next before, he had alwayes deferred to make warre in the greateſt dangers of the *French* King: ſo that he perſwaded himſelfe he could make no foundation vpon that confederation: and being much drained of money and treaſure, and wearied with ſo many dangers, he hoped to obtaine more from the *French* King by the meanes of peace, then by armes and warre in ioyning with the King of *England*: and likewiſe he made not that account which he was wont to do of the mariage of his daughter who was yet vnder age, for whoſe dowrie that money was to be reckoned which he had borrowed of the King of *England*: but being puſhed on with a deſire to haue children, and coueting to get money, he was deſirous to marrie the ſiſter of *John* King of *Portugal*, who was ready for mariage, and with whom he hoped to receiue for her dowrie a verie great ſumme of money; and many of his peoples alſo offered in caſe the mariage went forward, to giue him a beneuolence: ſuch was their deſire to haue a Queene of the ſame nation and language, and that would preſently bring forth children. So that the negociation becoming euery day more difficult betweene both theſe Princes, and the ordinarie inclination of the Cardinall of *Yorke* towards the *French* King being added thereunto, together with the open complaints againſt the Emperour, as well for the intereſts of his King, as for that he thought the Emperor began to make ſmall account of him: who being accuſtomed afore the battel of *Pauie*, neuer to ſend vnto him any letters, but ſuch as were written with his owne hand, and ſubſcribed, Your ſonne and couſin *Charles*; but after the victorie he began to cauſe letters to be written vnto him, wherein was nothing of his owne hand but the ſubſcription, no more full of titles of ſo great reuerence and ſubmiſſion, but onely with his owne name *Charles*. All theſe things were the cauſe that the king of *England* (who receiued with very gracious words and demonſtrations the man ſent by the Ladie Regent, and encouraged him to hope wel of the time to come) wholy giuing ouer the negociations betweene him and the Emperour, he made a confederation with the Ladie Regent, contracting in the name of her ſonne, wherein he would haue inſerted this expreſſe condition, that for the Kings deliuerie there ſhould not be giuen to the Emperour any thing that at that time was in the power of the Crowne of *France*. This was the firſt hope of ſafetie which the Realme of *France* began to receiue, and this was the firſt conſolation in ſo many aduerſities, which was continually augmented by the diſorders of the Imperials in *Italy*: who becoming moſt inſolent for ſo great a victorie, and perſwading themſelues that all men and all difficulties ſhould giue way to their will, they loſt the occaſion to accord with the *Venetians*,

and

and ſwarued from that which they had promiſed to the Pope, and filled the Duchie of *Millan* and all *Italy* with ſuſpition, ſowing the ſeeds of new troubles, which in the end brought the Emperour into a neceſſitie to make a raſh deliberation, to the great danger of his Eſtate in *Italy*, if his ancient felicitie, and the hard fortune and deſtinie of the Pope, had not bene of greater force: matters aſſuredly moſt worthy of particular knowledge, to the end that of ſuch and ſo memorable accidents the foundations and counſels may be vnderſtood, which being oftentimes hid, are for the moſt part publiſhed farre from the truth thereof. The Pope then had ſcarcely capitulated with the Viceroy, when the great offers of *France* to ſtirre him vp to the warre, were preſented vnto him: and although he wanted not the perſwaſions of many to the ſame effect; & that the diſtruſt which he had before of the Imperials was not diminiſhed, yet he determined to proceed ſo in all things, as he would giue no cauſe to either of them to ſuſpect him for his actions. Therefore as ſoone as he vnderſtood that the Viceroy had accepted and publiſhed the contract made at *Rome*, he alſo cauſed it to be publiſhed in *S. Iohn de Latran*, without tarrying till the ratification of the Emperour which was promiſed him, were come: and the better to demonſtrate his intention, he honored with his preſence, and with the ſolemnitie of his coronation, the publication which was made the firſt day of May, and ſolicited the *Florentines* to make paiment of the money promiſed, interpoſing as much as he could to draw the *Venetians* alſo to enter appointment with the Imperials. But on the other ſide, they gaue him many iuſt cauſes to complaine, for as much as in the payment of the money promiſed, they would not accept the fiue and twentie thouſand duckats payed by the *Florentines* by his appointment, whileſt the accord was in debating, the Viceroy alledging impudently, that if other promiſe were made, it was done without his commiſſion: and alſo they retired not their ſouldiers from off the lands of the Church, but filled the townes of *Plaiſance* with garriſons. To theſe things, which in ſome ſort might haply be excuſed by their want of money, and neceſſitie of harbour and lodging, was added, that not onely in the mutation of the ſtate of *Sienna*, they gaue ſuſpition to beare a mind eſtranged from the Pope, but alſo they ſuffered afterwards the Citizens of *Montenouo* to be ill intreated and ſpoiled of their goods by the Libertines, notwithſtanding that the Pope complaining oftentimes thereof, they gaue him hope to remedie it. But that which vexed him moſt of all, was that the Viceroy ſuddenly gaue eare to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and put him in hope not to force him to leaue *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, & to induce the Emperor to take his Eſtates into protection, notwithſtanding he dayly made promiſes to the Pope, that when the *Florentines* had performed to pay that which they ought, he would reeſtabliſh him in thoſe townes: and that the Pope, the better to ſolicite the effects of theſe promiſes and hopes, and alſo to obtaine to haue the companies of men of warre to retire from the territories of the Church, had ſent vnto him the Cardinall *Saluiati*, his Legate in *Lombardie* and Deputie Legate with the Emperour, to whom the Viceroy ſaid that he had determined to procure the reſtitution of *Reggia* by force of armes, if the Duke refuſed to render it voluntarily. But the effects were not anſwerable to his words; which matter being not to be excuſed by the neceſſitie of money, for that vpon the rendring of thoſe townes there grew to them a greater quantitie, gaue cauſe to conceiue that in all likelihood that matter proceeded either of a deſire they had of his embaſement, or elſe to winne the Duke of *Ferrara*, or to be alwayes the more readie and prepared for the oppreſſing of *Italy*. Theſe matters brought to the Pope a ſuſpition and griefe of mind almoſt incredible, but much more for that he eſteemed ſuch actions to be nothing different from the intention of the Emperour, who hauing diſpatched to the Pope letters of ratification of the confederation made in his name by the Viceroy, deferred to confirme the three articles accorded apart from the capitulation: alledging touching the reſtitution of the townes holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, that he might not preiudice the rights of the Empire, nor force that Duke, who proteſted to hold them in fee of the Empire, and therefore offered to referre that controuerſie to the triall of law, or to a friendly compoſition. And it was eaſily comprehended, that he could haue bene contented they ſhould ſtill haue remained to the Duke vnder his inueſtiture, paying him for the ſame an hundred thouſand duckats, and as much to the Pope for the inueſtiture of *Ferrara* and the penaltie appointed by the contract which he had made with *Adrian*. He alledged, that it was a thing impertinent to accord with his officers touching the furniſhing of the Duchie of *Millan* with ſalt, becauſe the ſoueraigne profite of that Dukedome, by reaſon of the inueſtiture agreed vpon, although not as yet conſigned, appertained to *Francis Sforce*; and therefore the

Viceroy was not ſimply bound by that article to compell him to take it from *Ceruia*, but to do what he could to induce him to conſent thereto, and that that promiſe, for that it contained the action of a third perſon, was notoriouſly of no force touching the effect to bind either himſelfe or another: and yet for the deſire he had to gratifie the Pope, he had endeuoured to induce the Duke to conſent thereto, if the matter had not become no more his owne intereſt, but the intereſt of another, ſeeing the Duke of *Millan* in recompence of the ſuccours which the Archduke had ſent him, had already couenanted to take ſalt of him: and yet notwithſtanding, he ſaid he would interpoſe and do all he could to induce his brother (receiuing recompence of money) to accord and conſent to it, yet not for euer, as the article expreſſeth, but during the Popes life. He would not admit alſo the article of matters touching Benefices, vnleſſe to that which was expreſſed in the inueſtitures, were ioyned ſuch things as had bene obſerued by his predeceſſors Kings of *Naples*. In regard of theſe difficulties, the Pope would not accept the letters of ratification, nor ſend his to the Emperour, and demanded that ſeeing the Emperour had not ratified within the terme of foure moneths according to the promiſe of the Viceroy, that the hundred thouſand duckats might be reſtored to the *Florentines*: which demand was anſwered rather with cauillations, then with firme and good foundations: that the condition of reſtitution of the hundred thouſand duckats was not ſet downe in the inſtrument, but promiſed in an article apart by the Viceroys Agents by oath, and that it belonged not to the ratification of the league, which the Emperour had ratified within the terme of foure moneths, and ſent letters in due forme. Moreouer, the Pope was aduertiſed that the Emperours Court was vniuerſally ill diſpoſed to the eſtate of *Italy*, and he knew alſo that the Captaines of his armie went about to perſwade him, that to aſſure himſelfe abſolutely of *Italy*, it were good to cauſe *Modena* to be rendred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, to repoſſeſſe the family of the *Bentiuoleis* of *Bolognia*, and to take the iuriſdiction of *Florence*, of *Sienna*, and of *Lucques*, as townes appertaining to the Empire: ſo that being full of doubt and ſuſpition, and hauing not whereon to rely, knowing alſo that the *French* men offered the Emperour to giue him *Italy* in prey, he was conſtrained by neceſſitie to temporize and diſſemble.

A treatie of accord betweene the Viceroy and the Venetians.

At this time the accord betweene the Viceroy and the *Venetians* was ſolicited continually, wherein beſides that the Viceroy ſought to bind the *Venetians* againe to the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, he demanded a very great ſumme of money to ſatisfie their fault of inobſeruation of the confederation paſſed. There were many reaſons which enclined the *Venetians* to giue place to neceſſitie, and many which on the contrary incited them to remaine in ſuſpence: ſo that their counſels were full of varietie and irreſolution. In the end, after many diſputes, the *Venetians* being aſtoniſhed as wel as others for ſo great a victorie of the Emperor, & to ſee themſelues to remaine alone on all ſides, they ſent commiſſion to *Peter* of *Peſera* their Embaſſadour reſident with the Viceroy, to confirme the league in the ſame manner it had bene made afore, paying notwithſtanding to the Emperour foureſcore thouſand duckats for ſatisfaction of matters paſt: but the Viceroy anſwering them reſolutely, that he would not renew the confederation, vnleſſe they payed an hundred thouſand duckats, it happened (as oftentimes it chanceth in matters which are vnwillingly deliberated) that ſo much time was ſpent in diſputing and debating for this litle ſumme, that the *Venetians* had aduertiſement that the King of *England* ſhewed himſelfe no more ſo hote againſt the *French* as was feared in the beginning, and that in the Imperiall armie they had already payed and diſmiſſed many Lanceknights; the Senate aſſuring themſelues to receiue no vexation for the preſent, determined to dwell as yet in ſuſpence, and to reſerue in themſelues (as much as they could) power to take ſuch deliberations, as by the generall euent of things they ſhould know to be the beſt.

The perſon of the Frēch king led priſoner into Spaine.

Theſe things incited the Viceroy and the other Captaines ſo much the more, beſides the deſire which they had alwayes had to tranſport the perſon of the *French* King into a place of ſuretie, iudging that for the ill diſpoſition of others, they could not keepe him in the Duchie of *Millan* without perill. Therefore they reſolued to conuey him to *Genes*, and from thence by ſea to *Naples*, to keepe him within Newcaſtle, where they had alreadie prepared his lodging: whereat the King was maruellouſly grieued, who from the beginning had vehemently deſired to be caried into *Spaine*, for the opinion he had (haply meaſuring others by his owne nature, or for that men eaſily deceiue themſelues in the things they deſire) that if once he might come in preſence of the Emperour, either through his benignitie, or by the conditions he meant to offer,

offer, he ſhould eaſily be deliuered. The Viceroy was of the ſame deſire, for the augmentation of his own glorie, but for as much as he was retained by a feare of the *French* armie by ſea; *Monſieur Montmorancie* went by common conſent to the Ladie Regent, and when ſhe had granted him ſixe light galleys of thoſe that lay in the port of *Marſeilles*, vpon promiſe to haue them reſtored as ſoone as the King was arriued in *Spaine*, he returned with the galleys to *Portofino*, where the Kings perſon was already arriued; and theſe being ioyned to ſixteene galleys of the Emperour, which was the nauie appointed at firſt to conduct him to *Naples*, when they were armed with *Spaniſh* footmen, they tooke ſuch a courſe the ſeuenteenth day of Iune (not onely the Princes of *Italy*, but alſo the Emperours Captaines and the Duke of *Bourbon*, holding for certaine that the King ſhould be conueyed to *Naples*) that with a happie voyage they arriued the eight day at *Roſa* a hauen of *Catalognia*, to the great ioy of the Emperour, who till that day had vnderſtood nothing of that reſolution: & as ſoone as he had knowledge thereof, he ſent commandement that in all places where he ſhould paſſe, he ſhould be receiued with great honours, and gaue charge neuertheleſſe that vntill it were otherwiſe determined, he ſhould be kept in the Caſtle of *Sciatiua* neare to *Valence*, where anciently the Kings of *Aragon* vſed to keep great perſonages, and wherein the Duke of *Calabria* had lately bene kept priſoner for many yeares. But this deliberation ſeeming to the Viceroy too rigorous, and farre differing from the promiſes he had made to the King in *Italy*, he procured by letters from the Emperour, that vntill he tooke other order, he might be kept neare *Valence*, in a place apt for hunting and other delights: where when he had lodged him with ſufficient guard, vnder the charge of Captaine *Alarcon*, in whoſe cuſtodie he had alwayes remained, he went together with *Montmorancie* to the Emperour, to report vnto him the eſtate of *Italy*, and the things which till that day had bene debated with the King, perſwading him with many reaſons to come to accord with him, for that he could haue no faithfull amitie and coniunction with the *Italians*: ſo that the Emperour after he had heard the Viceroy and *Montmorancie*, determined that the King ſhould be brought into *Caſtile* to the Caſtle of *Madrill*, a place farre remoued from the ſea and the confines of *France*, where being honoured with ceremonies and reuerences agreeable to ſo great a Prince, he ſhould neuertheleſſe be kept vnder carefull and ſtrait guard, except that it was lawfull for him to iſſue out of the fortreſſe certaine times of the day, mounted vpon a Mule: and the Emperour would not conſent that the King ſhould be admitted into his preſence, vntill the accord were eſtabliſhed, or reduced to an aſſured hope of reſolution: the which to the end it might be negociated by an honorable perſonage, and one who was in a maner all one with the King, *Montmorancie* was ſent in great diligence into *France*, to bring the Ducheſſe of *Alenſon* the Kings ſiſter who was a widow, with fulneſſe of authoritie to debate and contract: and to the end the accord might not be hindered by new difficulties, there was made a litle after a truce vntill the end of December, betweene the Emperour and the gouernment of *France*. Moreouer, the Emperour gaue order that part of thoſe galleys which were come with the Viceroy, ſhould returne into *Italy* to bring the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Spaine*, without whoſe preſence he affirmed he would make no conuention: which galleys notwithſtanding for want of money were diſpatched ſomewhat ſlowly. And ſhewing himſelfe vehemently diſpoſed to eſtabliſh an vniuerſall peace among Chriſtians, and purpoſing at the ſame time to giue ſome forme to the affaires of *Italy*, he inſtantly ſolicited the Pope to haſten away the Cardinall *Saluiati*, or others with ſufficient authoritie: and when he had excuſed himſelfe to the King of *England*, that he could not reſiſt the will of his people, he ſent alſo *Lopes Vrtado* to the Pope, for a diſpenſation to marrie the infant of *Portugal* his couſin german, who by that meanes was conioyned to him in the ſecond degree, whom he had already reſolued to take to wife. He ſent by the ſame *Lopes*, who departed in the end of Iuly, the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan* to *Francis Sforce*, with this condition, that he ſhould promiſe preſently to pay an hundred thouſand duckats, and be bound to pay fiue hundred thouſand more at diuers termes, and to take the trade of ſalts of the Archduke his brother: and the ſaid *Lopes* carried alſo a commiſſion, that except the regiments of *Spaniſh* footmen who were beſtowed in the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa*, all the others ſhould be diſmiſſed: and that ſixe hundred men at armes ſhould returne to the Realme of *Naples*, and the reſidue remaine in the Duchie of *Millan*: and that the Marquis of *Peſquiero* ſhould be Captaine generall of the armie. The Emperour added to this commiſſion, that certaine money which he had ſent to *Genes* to arme foure Caricks, with intention ſpeedily to paſſe in perſon into *Italy*, ſhould be

Ceremonies obſerued in the treaties of great Princes.

conuerted to the neceſſities of the armie, for that he was now determined not to depart out of *Spaine*: and that the Protonotarie *Caracciol* ſhould go from *Millan* to *Venice* in the name of the Emperour, to induce that Senate to a new confederation, or at leaſt leaue all men ſatisfied that all his actions tended to the vniuerſall peace of Chriſtendome. But the going of the *French* king into *Spaine*, brought no litle perplexitie to the Pope and the *Venetians*. For the Emperors armie being much diminiſhed, they ſuppoſed ẏ into what part ſoeuer of *Italy* the Kings perſon ſhold be tranſported, the neceſſitie to guard him well would much trouble the Imperials; ſo ẏ either there might eaſily ariſe ſome occaſion to deliuer him, or at leaſt a difficultie to carrie him into *Spaine*; and the litle ſuretie to keepe him in *Italy*, would conſtraine the Emperour to giue ſome honeſt forme to the generall affaires. But when they ſaw he was gone into *Spaine*, and that himſelfe being diſappointed of his vaine hopes, had giuen meanes to the enemies to leade him into a ſure priſon, they diſcerned that all treaties and negociations were wholly in the hands of the Emperour, and that there could no foundation be eſtabliſhed vpon the practiſes and offers of the *French*: in ſo much as the reputation of the Emperour increaſing dayly, men began to expect from his Court and fr ōhis hand laws and rules for all affaires. And I know not whether the diſpleaſure were leſſe which the Duke of *Bourbon* & the Marquis of *Peſquiero* took (but for diuers cauſes) for that the Viceroy tooke vpon him without their priuitie to leade the *French* King into *Spaine*. The Duke of *Bourbon*, for that ſeeing himſelfe chaſed out of *France* for the alliance with the Emperour, he had more intereſt then any other to haue a hand in all practiſes of accord: in regard whereof he determined to paſſe into *Spaine*, and yet he was driuen to ſtay longer then willingly he would, for that he tarried for the returne of the galleys that carried the Viceroy. The Marquis, being angrie for the ſmall eſtimation which the Viceroy made of him, and alſo diſcontented with the Emperour, for that he was not ſo thankfull as appertained to his merites and the many ſeruices he had done him in the laſt warres, and ſpecially in the battell of *Pauie*, for which victorie albeit he had deſerued more praiſe and glorie then all the other Captaines, yet he iudged that the Emperour had transferred the whole reputation to the Viceroy, with many praiſes and demonſtrations: which the Marquis being not able to endure, he wrote letters to the Emperour full of detraction againſt the Viceroy, complaining that wrongfully and without cauſe he had bene ſo much deſpiſed by him, as not to be thought worthy at leaſt to be made priuie to ſuch a reſolution: and that if in the warre and dangers thereof, the deliberation of things had bene referred to the counſell and aduice of the Viceroy, the *French* King had not onely not bene taken, but as ſoone as *Millan* was loſt, the Imperiall armie abandoning the defence of *Lombardie*, had retired to *Naples*: That the Viceroy was gone to triumph of a victorie, wherein it was well knowne to the whole armie, he had no part at all: and that in the heate of the battell, being without courage or counſel, there were many that heard him crie diuers times, *We are vndone*: the which if he would denie, he offered to iuſtifie, with weapon in hand, according to the lawes of warre. The Marquis was alſo further incenſed, for that ſending immediatly after the victorie, to take poſſeſſion of *Carpy*, thinking the Emperour would deliuer it to him, he was not ſatisfied in that deſire, for that the Emperour hauing granted it two yeares before to *Proſper Colonno*, affirmed that notwithſtanding he had neuer inueſted him, yet he would for the loue of him that was dead, leaue to *Veſpaſian* his ſon the recompence of that which he had done in his life time, in acknowledgement of his vertue and ſeruices: which reaſon although it was iuſt, and that ſuch examples of gratitude ought to be wel pleaſing to the Marquis, if for no other cauſe, yet at leaſt for that his hope was thereby augmented, that the great ſeruices which he had done to the Emperour ſhould be recognized: yet it was not accepted of him, for that for the opinion he had of himſelfe, he held it conuenient that that deſire of his, proceeding of couetouſneſſe, and an irreconciliable hatred which he bare to the name of *Proſper*, ſhould be preferred before all other reſpects, how iuſt ſoeuer. Therefore he complained much both to the Emperour and to all the Councell, and his complaints were ſo open through all *Italy*, and with ſuch deteſtation of the Emperours ingratitude, that they encouraged others to make new plots.

Occaſions giuē to the Emperor of new emotiōs

By reaſon whereof there was offered to the Emperour (though he purpoſed to proceed no further in the affaires of *Italy*) iuſt cauſe, yea almoſt a neceſſitie, to take other reſolutions: and if he had ambitious purpoſes, he had meanes to couer them with the moſt honeſt occaſion and faireſt colour he could deſire: and ſeeing that was the beginning and cauſe of right great ſtirres, it is fit to declare it very particularly.

The

The warre which in the life of Pope *Leo*, was begun as well by him as by the Emperour, for the chasing of the *French* King out of *Italy*, was attempted vnder colour to reestablish *Francis Sforce* in the Duchie of *Millan*: and albeit for the execution thereof, after the victorie was obtained, the obedience of that State was consigned vnto him, together with the Castle of *Millan*, and the other places of strength, as they were recouered; yet that Duchie being so faire and commodious, the former feare ceassed not, which men had that the Emperour aspired to make himselfe Lord of it, who iudged, that the great impediments which he receiued by the *French* King, were the cause that he kept cloked as yet such a desire, for that it would haue altered the people much, who desired vehemently to haue *Francis Sforce* for their Lord, and would haue stirred vp all *Italy* against him, who would not haue bene content that he should rise to such a greatnesse. So that *Francis Sforce* held that Duchie but with very great subiection, and charges almost intollerable. For all the foundation of his defence against the *French* consisting in the Emperour and his armie, he was constrained not onely to respect him as his Prince, but also to be subiect to the will of his Captaines: and he was compelled also to entertaine those souldiers that were not payd by the Emperor, sometimes with money which he leuied vpon his subiects with great exactions and difficulties, somtimes suffering them to liue licentiously in one place, and then in another, the Citie of *Millan* excepted: which things of themselues being very grieuous, were by the behauior of the *Spaniards* made more intollerable, being by nature couetous and cautelous, and when they haue the meanes to discouer what they are, very insolent. Neuertheless the imminent danger of the *French* men infinitely hated of the people, and the hope that those vexations would one day draw to end, caused men to suffer more then their forces or faculties could well beare. But after the victorie of *Pauie* the people could no longer endure, seeing the same necessities continued not by reason of the taking of the King, that ỹ same calamities should continue; and therefore they required that the whole armie should depart from the Duchie of *Millan*. Likewise the Duke, who till that day had enioyed of the Dukedome no other thing then the bare name and title, vehemently desired the same, and no lesse for that he feared lest the Emperour, being now assured of the *French* King, would occupie and retaine it for himselfe, or at least giue it to some that depended absolutely of him. Which feare and doubt, ingendred of the very nature of the affaires, was not a litle increased in him by the insolent words spoken by the Viceroy afore he conueyed the King into *Spaine*, and those of other Captaines, together with the demonstrations they made that they respected the Duke but litle, and to desire openly that the Emperour might oppresse him: and much more for that the Emperour, after many delayes, hauing sent to the Viceroy the priuiledges of the inuestiture, the said Viceroy, when he presented them to the Duke, demanded that for recompence of charges for conquering and defending that State, he should pay within a certaine terme twelue hundred thousand duckats; which was a demand so excessiue, that the Duke was driuen to haue recourse to the Emperour, to the end the summe might not be so great and intollerable. But these difficulties drew a doubt lest such exorbitant demands were not interposed to deferre still. Moreouer, such as sought to excuse the necessitie of *Francis Sforce*, alledged many other causes which had iustly brought him into suspition, and particularly the knowledge he had that the Imperiall Captaines had resolued to retaine him: in so much as being summoned by the Viceroy to a certaine meeting, he refused to go, faining to be sicke, and had done the like in all places where they might do him violence. Now this suspition, whether true or false, was the cause that he perceiuing there remained very few companies in the State of *Millan*, for as much as part of the *Spanish* footmen were gone into *Spaine*, first with the Viceroy, and after with the Duke of *Bourbon*, and also for that many finding themselues very rich, by reason of so many booties and pillages which they had gotten, were retired by troupes into sundry places; and considering also the great indignation that appeared in the Marquis of *Pesquiero*, he thought to assure himselfe frō that danger, and entred into hope that the armie might easily be dissolued, by the consent of the said Marquis. The author of this counsell was *Ierome Moron* his Chancellor, who was in great authoritie with him, and who for his wisedome, eloquence, promptitude, inuention and great experience, and for that he had oftentimes made singular resistance against euill fortune, was, in our age, a personage worthy of memorie, and had bene yet more worthy, if such gifts had bene found accompanied with sinceritie of mind, and more loue of honestie, and with such maturitie of iudgement, that his counsels might not for the most part haue

Conspiracie against the Emperour.

bene diſcerned to be rather raſh and impudent, then honeſt or aduiſed. This man ſounding the intention of the Marquis, entred ſo farre in diſcourſe with him, that they began to ſpeake of cutting in peeces the regiments that remained in the Duchie of *Millan*, and to make the Marquis King of *Naples*, if the Pope and the *Venetians* would be concurrant therein. To which counſell, the Pope being full of doubt and perplexitie, after he was founded by the aduice of *Moron*, ſhewed himſelfe no whit diſagreeing, although on the other ſide, he aduertiſed the Emperour, vnder colour of friendſhip, that he ſhould keepe his Captaines in good contentment; which he did, not to diſcloſe the practiſe, but to prepare a refuge for himſelfe if the matter ſucceeded not wel. But the *Venetians* ſhewed themſelues very affectionate hereunto, euery one perſwading themſelues that no leſſe readineſſe of mind would be found in the Ladie Regent, who began to perceiue, that ſince her ſonne was arriued in *Spaine*, the negociations of his deliuerie were not continued with that facilitie that was looked for. Without doubt theſe counſels had eaſily ſucceeded, if the Marquis of *Peſquiero* had proceeded ſincerely in this confederation againſt the Emperour. But whether at the firſt the ſaid Marquis gaue eare to this practiſe or not, there was diuerſitie of opinions, euen amongſt the *Spaniards*, and in the very Court of the Emperour: and many obſeruing the times and euents of affaires, beleeued that at the beginning he had indeed bene concurrant with the reſidue, but that afterwards (conſidering many difficulties that might happen in time, and fearing principally the continuall ſolicitations of the *French* with the Emperour, and alſo for that it was reſolued that the Ducheſſe of *Alenſon* ſhould go into *Spaine*) he made new deliberations: yea ſome do aſſure, that he deferred ſo long to aduertiſe the Emperour of theſe nouelties that were practiſed in *Italy*, that the Emperour hauing receiued knowledge thereof by *Anthonie de Leua* and *Marino* Abbot of *Nagera*, Commiſſarie in his armie, all the whole Court maruelled at the ſilence of the Marquis. But howſoeuer it was then, it is certaine, that a litle after he ſent *Iohn Baptiſta Caſtaldo* to the Emperour, and that he manifeſted vnto him all the conſpiracie: and that with his conſent he continued the ſame practiſe; and further, the better to decipher the thoughts of euery man, and to take from them all the meanes to denie that they had conſented thereto, he ſpake himſelfe with the Duke of *Millan*, and perſwaded *Moron* to induce the Pope (who a litle before had giuen him the perpetuall gouernment of the Citie of *Beneuent*, and in whoſe fauour and ſeruice he kept himſelfe as much as he could) to ſend *Dominicke Saulo* with a letter of credence to conferre with him of that matter. The concluſions of the treatie were theſe: That betweene the Pope, the Realme of *France* and the gouernments of *Italy*, ſhould be a league, of which the Marquis of *Peſquiero* ſhould be Captaine generall: and that firſt he ſhould beſtow the *Spaniſh* footbands ſeuerally in ſundrie places of the Duchie of *Millan*, and then drawing to himſelfe ſo many as would follow him, the others ſhould be ſpoiled and put to the ſword; together with *Anthonie de Leua*, who next to himſelfe was the chiefe man in the armie: and then with the forces of all the Confederates, he ſhould execute the enterpriſe of the kingdome of *Naples*, whereof the Pope would grant him the inueſtiture. The Marquis ſeemed to find no other difficultie in theſe actions, ſauing that afore he put any thing to triall, he deſired to be ſatisfied, whether without blemiſhing his honour and fidelitie, he might embrace ſuch an enterpriſe in caſe the Pope put it vpon him by his authoritie: whereupon was brought into conſideration, to whom, he (being a Baron and ſubiect of the Realme of *Naples*) ought to be obedient, either to the Emperour, to whom the profitable iuriſdiction of the Realme appertained by the inueſtiture he had receiued of the Church, or to the Pope, who had direct ſoueraigntie ouer it, being abſolute Lord thereof. Vpon which article, both at *Millan* by the ordinance of *Francis Sforce*, and at *Rome* by the appointment of the Pope, were called very ſecret conſultations of excellent Doctors with ſuppreſſion of their true names. Theſe hopes againſt the Emperour were augmented by the offers of the Ladie Regent, who iudging that either neceſſitie, or at leaſt the feare of the Emperour, would aduance much the matters that were treated with him for the deliuerie of her ſonne, ſolicited to take armes, promiſing to ſend into *Lombardie* fiue hundred Lances, and to be concurrant in the expences of the warre with a great ſumme of money. And *Moron* ceaſſed not to confirme the minds of the reſidue in this opinion. For, beſides the perſwaſions he made how eaſie it would be, euen without the aide of the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, to defeate that armie, ſo much diminiſhed in numbers, he promiſed in the Dukes name, that if the Marquis ſhould not ſtand firme in that which had bene debated, that immediatly after order giuen to the other buſineſſe, both he and the other Cap-

Capitulations betweene the Confederates againſt the Emperour.

Captaines who went dayly to the Caſtle to conſult, ſhould there be made priſoners. But albeit theſe occaſions ſeemed great, yet they had not bene ſufficient to cauſe the Pope to take armes without the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, if at the ſame time hearing of the prouiſion ſent to *Genes* to arme the foure Caricks, he had not likewiſe had ſome intelligence from *Spaine* of the Emperours inclination to paſſe into *Italy*; which matter maruellouſly afflicting him, as well in regard of the conditions of the preſent time, as for the ancient diſpoſition of the Popes of *Rome*, to whom nothing had wont to be more fearfull then the coming of the Emperours armed into *Italy*, deſiting to meete with this danger, he diſpatched ſecretly into *France*, with the conſent of the *Venetians*, to conclude the matters negociated with the Ladie Regent, *Sigiſmund* Secretarie to *Albert Carpy*, a fit man, and of ſingular confidence with the Pope: who riding in poſt, was ſlaine in the night by theeues neare the lake of *Iſea*, in the territories of *Breſſia*; which accident being kept ſecret many dayes, brought the Pope into great ſuſpition that he was ſecretly taken and ſtayed in ſome place by the appointment of the Imperiall Captaines, and haply by the Marquis himſelfe, whom they began to diſtruſt much for his maner of proceeding, and for the delays which he vſed.

In this eſtate of affaires, arriued the diſpatch giuen by the Emperour to *Lopes Vrtado*, who remaining ſick in *Sauoy*, ſent it preſently to *Millan* by expreſſe meſſengers, with ſ patteut whereby the Marquis of *Peſquiero* was declared Captaine generall, who to continue with others in the ſame ſemblance, made as though ſuch a charge was not very plauſible to him, and yet he accepted it immediatly. And the ſaid *Lopes* ſent alſo to the Pronotarie *Caracciol*, the commiſſion to go to *Venice* in the Emperours name, to induce the Senate to a new confederation, or at leaſt that all men might know what deſire the Emperour had to liue in peace with all men. *Francis Sforce* who was fallen into a very dangerous diſeaſe, accepted the inueſtiture of the Duchie, and payed for it fiftie thouſand duckats, but ceaſſed not for all that to continue the practiſes begun with the Marquis. The opinions were diuers touching this diſpatch of the Emperour: for ſome beleeued that he had ſimply determined to aſſure the *Italians*: and others iudged, that for feare of new ſtirres he ſought to hold men in ſuſpence with diuers hopes, and to proceed alwayes winning of time, in agreeing to the inueſtiture, and in appearance granting a commiſſion ſo agreeable to all *Italy*, to cauſe his armie to retire; though on the other ſide he had giuen direction to his Captaines not to ſtirre. Yea and there were ſome that had this opinion, that he had intelligence from the Marquis of the practiſes entertained with *Moron*, and therefore that he ſent ſuch a commiſſion, not to be obeyed, but to get ſome iuſtification, and with theſe hopes to lull mens minds aſleepe, vntill he ſaw fit time to execute his purpoſes. In which diuerſitie, it being verie hard to know the ſimple truth, ſeeing withall it was not knowne whether *Lopes Vrtado* was diſpatched at the ſame time that *John Baptiſta Caſtaldo*, ſent by the Marquis to aduertiſe the Emperour of the negociation, arriued at the Court: yet conſidering what courſe the Emperour hath taken ſince in many things, it is without doubt that he is leſſe deceiued that holds for true the better and more eaſie interpretation. In the meane while the Marquis ceaſſed not to entertaine *Moron* and the others with the ſame hopes, deferring notwithſtanding the execution with many excuſes: wherein he tooke one occaſion of the ſickneſſe of the Duke of *Millan*, who was growne ſo weake, that euery one held almoſt for certaine that he would die. For all the Captaines pretending that in ſuch a caſe that Eſtate ſhould returne to the Emperour, as ſoueraigne Lord in chiefe, he was not onely not permitted to retire the armie, but alſo was conſtrained to call in a new ſtrength of two thouſand Lanceknights, and alſo to take order that there might be a greater number in readineſſe: ſo that the ſoldiers being ſo puiſſant in the Duchie of *Millan*, there was no meanes either to diſſolue them, or to offend them: and he gaue hope to execute the counſels of the conſpiracie as ſoone as time would ſerue; in expectation whereof he ſaid he would proceed with great reſpect to the Pope; and to gratifie him, he leuied from off the Eſtates of the Church the garriſons, whereof he complained much. But at the ſame time almoſt all things were changed by a new accident which happened in *Spaine*. For the *French* King being much diſpleaſed that he had in vaine deſired the preſence of the Emperour, fell, by a ſickneſſe which tooke him in the Caſtle of *Madril*, into ſuch extremitie and danger of his life, that the Phyſitions appointed for his cure, told the Emperour, that they had no hope of his recouerie, if he himſelfe in perſon came not to comfort him, and giue him ſome hope of his deliuerie: and as he prepared himſelfe to go vnto him, his high Chancellor endeuoured to diſſwade him from it, and

The French king extremely ſick in the Caſtle of Madrill.

and told him that it ſtood not with his honour to go, vnleſſe it were with intention to deliuer him preſently, and without any couenant: and that otherwiſe it would be a humanitie not royall but mercenarie, and a deſire to recouer him, not moued of charitie, but puſhed on by his proper intereſt, to the end not to loſe by his death the occaſion of the profit hoped for by the victorie; a counſell indeed memorable, and worthy to be followed by ſo great a Prince: and yet others counſelling otherwiſe, he took poſt & went vnto him. The viſitation was ſhort, for that the Moſt Chriſtian King was now almoſt at the extremitie; yet for the time full of gracious words, and of moſt certaine hope that he would deliuer him as ſoone as he had recouered his health: and whatſoeuer was the cauſe, either the comfort that he gaue him, or his youth, which of it ſelfe was ſtronger then the maladie, he began after this viſitation to find himſelfe ſo much refreſhed, that within a few dayes he was out of danger, although he could not recouer his former health but with longer time. And now neither the difficulties that were ſhewed on the Emperours ſide, nor the hopes which were giuen by the *Italians*, could ſtay the voyage of the Ladie *Alenſon* into *Spaine*: for that nothing was more hard to the *French* men then to leaue off the practiſes of accord begun with thoſe that had power to reſtore their King, and nothing more eaſie to the Emperour, then by giuing hope to the *French*, to diuert their minds from taking of armes, and by that meanes to keepe the *Italians* in ſuſpence, ſo that they had not the courage to enterpriſe any new thing: and thus, ſometimes vſing delayes, and ſometimes preſſing forward the affaires, to keepe the minds of all men confuſed and intangled. The Ladie *Alenſon* was receiued by the Emperour with very gracious demonſtrations and hopes, but the effects fell out both hard and difficult: for when ſhe had ſpoken to him the foureteenth day of October, for the mariage of his ſiſter the widow with the King, he made anſwer, that it was a matter which could not be done without the conſent of the Duke of *Bourbon*: and other particularities were debated by the deputies of both parts, the Emperour inſiſting obſtinately to haue the Duchie of *Burgondie* reſtored, as appertaining to him: but the *French* men conſented not, vnleſſe he would either accept it for dowrie, or referre it to the ſentence of the law, to decide to whom it belonged. They could eaſily haue agreed to the reſt, but becauſe they were ſo farre different in regard of *Burgondie*, the Ladie *Alenſon* returned at laſt into *France*, without hauing gotten any other thing then leaue to ſee the King her brother; who growing more and more into diſtruſt of his deliuerie, deſired her (as they ſay) at her departure, to admoniſh his mother and all the Councell from him, to looke carefully to the profite of the Crowne of *France*, without hauing any conſideration of him, as if he liued not: and yet for the departing of the Ladie *Alenſon*, the ſolicitations for the Kings deliuerie were not altogether layed aſide, for that the Preſident of *Paris* and the Biſhops of *Ambrun* and *Tarbe* remained behind, who had followed the matter till then, but with very litle hope, for that the Emperour would not hearken to any condition, if *Burgondie* were not firſt rendred, which the King would not conſent to giue him, but in a laſt neceſſitie. At this time the Cardinall *Saluiati* the Popes Legate arriued at the Court, where being receiued of the Emperour with great honour, he debated vpon his commiſſions, which principally contained the ratification of the articles promiſed by the Viceroy, and that for the common ſafetie of *Italy*, the inueſtiture might be giuen to the Duke of *Millan*. But the ſame Viceroy diſſwaded the reſtitution of *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, by the counſel and hopes of whom the Duke of *Ferrara*, who deſired to ſolicite his owne cauſe before the Emperour, when the Pope had promiſed him not to execute any enterpriſe vpon his Eſtate for ſixe moneths, tooke his way to the frontier of the Realme of *France*, with intention to paſſe further; but the Ladie Regent refuſing to giue him ſafeconduct, he returned backe againe to *Ferrara*. There was debated alſo betweene the Pope and the Emperour, touching a diſpenſation to take to wife the King of *Portugals* ſiſter, a mariage which the Emperour was determined to contract, notwithſtanding he had alreadie promiſed the King of *England* by oath, that he would take no other wife then his daughter. But the Pope ſtood long to accord to this diſpenſation, for that many perſwaded him, that the deſire to obtaine ſuch a grace, would make the Emperour more tractable to his deſires touching the matters in negociation: and that at leaſt in caſe he would make warre vpon him, it ſhould be very vnwiſely done, to giue him meanes to heape together ſo great a maſſe of money as would grow to him by that mariage, for that the King of *Portugal* offered him for a dowrie nine hundred thouſand duckats; of which, deducting ſo much as was ſet downe to defray the debts contracted betweene them, it was thought there would come to his hands

The Ladie Alenſon treateth with the Emperour for the kings deliuery.

Cardinall Saluiati the Popes Legate in the Court of the Emperour.

hands at leaſt a ſumme of fiue hundred thouſand duckats; beſides the foure hundred thouſand which his ſubiects of *Spaine* offered to giue him, vnder the title of a benevolence or ſeruice, which taking beginning in time paſt of the proper wils of the people to relieue the neceſſities of their Kings, was reduced into an ordinarie Subſidie: and beſides, they offered alſo to giue him foure hundred thouſand duckats, if he went through with the mariage. On the other ſide, the Pope could not reſiſt the importunities of the Duke of *Seſſa* the Emperours Embaſſadour, for that there was almoſt alwayes in him great repugnancie betweene that he purpoſed and that which he executed: for being by nature much eſtranged from granting any grace that was demanded of him, he could not vſe difficulties, nor conſtantly make deniall, but oftentimes he ſuffered his will to be ouerruled by the importunitie of ſuch as ſued to him; and that in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed many times that he accorded to things more through feare then by grace, wherein he proceeded neither with that conſtancie nor maieſtie, which the greatneſſe of his dignitie and the importance of the affaires that were negociated did require. And thus it hapned in the diſpenſation which the Emperour required, that his proper profite ſtriuing in him on the one ſide, and on the other his facilitie, he layed vpon the backe of another (as he often vſed to do) that which it is not well knowne whether he had the boldneſſe or courage to ſuſtaine. He diſpatched by a Briefe the diſpenſation in the ſame forme the Emperour demanded it, and ſent it to the Cardinall *Saluiati*, with commiſſion, that if he had made a reſolution of his affaires with the Emperour, according to the hope he had giuen him, as ſoone as the ſaid Cardinall ſhould come to the Court, he ſhould deliuer the Briefe, but otherwiſe to retaine it; which was a commiſſion wherein the ſeruant (as ſhall be ſaid in his place) ſhewed himſelfe neither more firme nor more conſtant, then the maiſter had bene.

Deſcription of the nature of Pope Clement.

But whileſt the Cardinall debated the Popes commiſſions with the Emperour, and was alwayes entertained with hope to haue the expedition he deſired, there fell out in *Lombardie* very diuers effects. For the Duke of *Millan* being ſo well recouered of his ſickneſſe, that it was holden for certaine, that he was out of danger of ſudden death, the Marquis of *Peſquiero* hauing receiued by the ſame *Caſtaldo* commiſſion from the Emperour to prouide for thoſe dangers as he thought good, determined to enter vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, vnder this colour, that the Duke by reaſon of the conſpiracies and practiſes holden by *Moron*, was fallen from the rights of inueſtiture, and the freehold reuerted to the Emperour as ſupreme Lord. Therefore the Marquis, who was at *Nouaro*, although very ſicke, and had beſtowed part of the armie within *Pauie*, and lodged the Lanceknights neare *Loda*, which two Cities he had cauſed to be fortified, he reuoked to *Nouaro* (when there was leaſt doubt, and vnder colour to diſpoſe the armie through all the Eſtate of *Millan*) the reſidue of the bands diſperſed in *Piedmont* and the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa*, which the Imperiall Captaines had occupied almoſt immediatly after the victorie. He called alſo *Ierome Moron* to *Nouaro*, in whoſe perſon the importance of all things might be ſaid to reſt, for as much as it was certaine that *Moron* being made priſoner, the Duke of *Millan*, depriued of men and counſell, could make no reſiſtance, whereas remaining at libertie, the Marquis might feare that he might trouble him much, with his wit, experience, and reputation, and giue many impediments to his deſignes. Beſides, it was neceſſarie for the Emperour to haue the perſon of *Moron* in his power and poſſeſſion, who had bene the author and inſtrument of all the conſpiracies, to the end to proue by his confeſſion, that wherewith the Duke of *Millan* was to be charged. There is nothing more hard to auoide then iuſtice, neither can any remedie auaile againſt the euils that muſt fall vpon vs. *Moron* might now diſcerne that the practiſe entertained with the Marquis was vaine, that he was much hated of all the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers, amongſt whom ranne alreadie many rumours of his infidelitie; and he knew that *Anthony de Leua* gaue out publike threats that he would kill him: it is very likely that he conſidered not the importance of his perſon, and that he diſcerned not to what eſtate the Duke of *Millan* was reduced, being then vnprofitable, and as it were dead: all things were in ſuſpence and full of ſuſpition betweene them many dayes before: euery one counſelled him not to go thither: himſelfe was full of doubt: and yet either for that his mind was troubled with the faire ſemblances of the Marquis, or ſetting vp his reſt vpon the great amitie that ſeemed to be betweene them, or repoſing confidence in his faith, which afterwards he aſſured he had receiued by a letter ſubſigned with his hand, or laſtly being puſhed on by that fatall neceſſitie which draweth on men that will not be led, he reſolued to go as it were to a manifeſt priſon; a matter ſo much the more wonderfull

derfull vnto me, by how much I haue often heard *Moron* say in the armie in the time of Pope *Leo*, that in all *Italy* there was not a more impious and disloyall man then the Marquis of *Pesquiero*. The Marquis receiued him graciously, and they spake together alone of the former conspiracies, in a chamber apart, both how to kill the *Spaniards*, and to murder *Anthonie de Leua*, whom the Marquis had secretly caused to be hidden behind a peece of Tapestrie, to heare all that should be spoken: but as soone as he was gone from the Marquis (which was the foureteenth day of October) *Anthonie de Leua* apprehended him prisoner, and sent him to the Castle of *Pauie*, whither the Marquis himselfe went to examine him vpon the matters they had debated together, and *Moron* confessed from point to point the whole conspiracie, charging the Duke of *Millan* both as guiltie and consenting to all that had passed, which was the matter that principally was sought. *Ierome Moron* being prisoner, the Marquis who had in his hands already *Loda* and *Pauie*, required of the Duke that for the suretie of the Emperours Estate he should deliuer vp to him *Cremona* and the Castles of *Trezzo*, *Lecquo*, and *Pisqueton*, places supposed to be the keyes of the Duchie of *Millan*, for that they haue their situation vpon the passage of *Adda*, promising when he had them to introduce no more innouation. The Duke finding himselfe depriued of all things, and abandoned of counsell and hope, caused them to be presently deliuered. When he had them, he proceeded further, and demanded that he might be admitted and receiued into *Millan* to speake with him, as he alledged; which was granted him with the same facilitie: and when he was entred into *Millan*, he sent vnto him to make instance, that he would cause the Castle of *Cremona* to be deliuered vnto him; and that he would not demand the Castle of *Millan*, as being a request not reasonable, for that his person was lodged within it, but that he would require, for the suretie of the Emperours armie, that he would consent that the Castle might be enuironed with trenches. He required of him also to haue deliuered into his hands *Iohn Angeo Riccio*, his Secretarie, and *Politian* Secretarie to *Moron*, to the end they might be examined of that wherewith they were charged to haue conspired against the Emperour. To which demands the Duke answered: That he held the Castles of *Millan* and *Cremona* in the name and at the instance of the Emperour, to whom he had alwayes bene a most faithfull vassall, and that he would not deliuer them vp to any, vntill he first vnderstood his pleasure; for the better knowledge whereof, he would forthwith send an expresse messenger vnto him, so that the Marquis would giue him suretie of passage: and that he held it not conuenient to consent to be inclosed in the meane while in the Castle, from which violence he would defend himselfe with all his power: That he could not depart with *Iohn Angeo*, who was instructed in all his affaires of importance, and at that time the onely man about him: That he had greater need also of the Secretarie of *Moron*, to the end to present him before the Emperour, and by that meanes to proue, that whilest he was sicke, his maister had dispatched in his name, and without his priuitie many expeditions, wherewith he might be charged, if by that meanes he iustified not his innocencie, and shewed that the practises of *Moron* were farre different and separate from his practises. But the effect was, that after many replies and protestations past by writing, as well by the one as the other partie, the Marquis compelled the people of *Millan* to passe an oath of fidelitie to the Emperour, placed officers euery where in the name of the Emperour, to the great discontent of all men: and began with trenches to incompasse the Castles of *Cremona* and *Millan*, in the which the Duke was resolued to remaine with eight hundred choise footmen which he had there, and with such store of victuals as in so short time he could prouide: and that because of the great comforts and hopes of succours which were giuen him by the Pope and the *Venetians*, not failing to hinder with the artilleries as much as he could the working of the trenches which were made without, and of more distance from the Castle then those which *Prosper Colonno* had made. All *Italy* was much astonished, and that with good reason, for the vsurpation of the Dukedome of *Millan*, knowing well that it would fall into manifest seruitude, whensoeuer an Emperour should be Lord ouer *Millan* and *Naples*. But aboue all others the Pope was maruellously afflicted, perceiuing those practises to be disclosed, wherewith he had intended not onely to assure *Millan*, but also to destroy the Emperours armie, and to take from him the kingdome of *Naples*. Touching the Marquis of *Pesquiero*, it may be he wonne great fauour with the Emperour, but with all others he purchased perpetuall infamie, not onely for the opinion that most men conceiued of him that in the beginning he had an intention to play false with the Emperor, and to bandie against him, but also for that although he had alwayes bene faithfull vnto him, yet

Ierome Moron prisoner.

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all men esteemed it a matter full of great infamie, to haue encouraged men, and with so great deceit and double dealing, to haue allured them to make conspiracies with him, to get occasion to discouer them, and make himselfe great by the transgressions of others, solicited with feigned words and subtilties. This alteration made difficult the hope of accord that was negociated with the Senate of *Venice* by the Pronotary *Caracciol*. The Pronotary hoped (for the termes wherein things stood) that the Senate would speedily draw to a conclusion to renew the former confederation with the same conditions: and that he should pay to the Emperour foure-score thousand duckats, in recompence for that in times past he had withdrawne his aide, leauing off wholly all demands to contribute hereafter with money: but the accident of *Millan* which happened, filled the Senate with great perplexitie. For on the one side it grieued them much to be the onely people in *Italy* against the Emperour with danger, seeing the Marquis of *Pesquiero* threatned them to cause the warre to be transported vpon their Estate, whereof they discerned already certaine preparations: and on the other side, they were not ignorant that in case the accord went through, the Emperour should with greater facilitie make himselfe absolute Lord of that Duchie, which being ioyned to so many Estates, and so many other oportunities, was a degree to subdue them, together with all the residue of *Italy*; a matter which was continually declared to them by the Bishop of *Bayeux*, whom the Ladie Regent had sent to debate of her vnion with the *Italians* against the Emperor: and in so great a doubt and so dangerous a straight, they made many assemblies, but without any resolution, by reason of the diuersitie of opinions. And albeit to accept the accord was a thing more conformable to their custome, for as much as that put them out of present dangers, so that they might haue hope in the length of time, and the occasions which follow Commonweales, which in comparison of Princes are immortall; yet it seemed to them a matter of too great importance, that the Emperour should confirme himselfe in the estate of *Millan*, and that the *French* should be excluded from all hope to haue any alliance in *Italy*. Therefore after they had at last resolued to be bound to nothing, they made this answer to the Pronotarie *Caracciol*: That their actions past made knowne to all the world, and he himselfe being present at the conclusion of the confederation, could well testifie, how much they had alwayes desired the amitie of the Emperour, with whom they had contracted a confederation at such a time, as if they had hearkned to the *French*, it had bene (as all the world knew) a matter of right great consequence; and that they had alwayes perseuered and would continue now more then euer in the same disposition, but by necessitie they were held in suspence, for that they saw in *Lombardie* changes and innouations of so great importance; and specially for the remembrance that their confederation with the Emperour, together with so many stirres happened that yeare in *Italy*, had bene to no other end, then to transferre to *Francis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*, as the principall foundation of the libertie and suretie of *Italy*; and therefore they besought his Maiestie, that herein maintaining himselfe and his goodnesse, he would remoue this innouation, and establish the tranquillitie of *Italy*, as it was in his power to do, for as much as he should find them alwayes very ready, both with their authoritie and their forces, to follow so holy an inclination; and would neuer giue him cause to desire of them any kind of dutie, as well in respect of the vniuersall good, as of his particular interests. Which answer being without any hope of conclusion, bred not for all that any ouerture of warre: for that both the sickenesse of the Marquis of *Pesquiero*, who was dayly worse and worse, and the desire to impatronize himselfe first of the whole Estate of *Millan*, and to establish and assure that conquest, together with the desire of the Emperour to put an end to so many other affaires which he had in hand, would not suffer him to giue beginning to an enterprise of so great consequence.

The Duke of Bourbon in Spaine.

About this time the Duke of *Bourbon* passed into *Spaine*, who arriued at the Emperors Court the fifteenth day of Nouember; touching whom we must not forget to write, that albeit the Emperour receiued him with all ſ demonstrations and honors that could be, and that he entertained him as his brother in law, yet all the Lords of the Court, who are accustomed in all other things ordinarily to follow the example of their Prince, abhorred him as a person infamous, stiling him traitor to his owne King: and which more is, one of them being required in the Emperours name to lend his pallace to lodge him in, answered in the stout courage of a *Spaniard*, that he could not denie the Emperour whatsoeuer he would demand of him, but that he should well vnderstand, that as soone as *Bourbon* was gone out of it, he would burne it, as a pallace in-

fected with the infamie of *Bourbon*, and vnworthy to be inhabited by men of honour. But the honors done by the Emperour to the Duke of *Bourbon*, increaſed the diſtruſt of the *French* men, who (both for this, and more for the returne of the Ladie *Alenſon* without effect, hauing litle hope in the accord, notwithſtanding it was continually negociated by men expreſſe which they had about the Emperour) laboured as much as they could to aduance the league with the Pope: wherein did concurre the perſwaſions and authoritie of the King of *England*, and the redoubled and vehement inſtances of the *Venetians*; whereunto was added an oportunitie, without doubt of great conſequence, that about that time (which was the beginning of December) the Marquis of *Peſquiero* died, haply by the iuſt iudgement of God, who would not ſuffer him to enioy the fruite of that ſeed which he had ſowne with ſo great malignitie. He was of the houſe of *Aualos*, originally of *Catelano*, whoſe predeceſſors came into *Italy* with *Alphonſo* King of *Aragon*, who was the firſt of that houſe which made conqueſt of the kingdome of *Naples*: and beginning at the battell of *Rauenna*, where, being very yong he was taken priſoner, he was preſent in all the wars which the *Spaniards* had in *Italy*: in ſo much as though he had not paſſed the age of ſixe and thirtie yeares, yet he was old in experience, ingenious, reſolute, very carefull, circumſpect and aduiſed, and much eſteemed and loued of the Infanterie of *Spaine*, ouer whom he had long bene Colonell: ſo that the victorie of *Pauie*, and all other memorable actions executed by that armie ſince certaine yeares, had principally ſucceeded by his counſell and vertue. He was aſſuredly a Captaine of great valour, but one who with art and faire ſhewes knew how to grace his doings, being herewithall proud, deceitfull, malignant, without any ſinceritie, and worthy, as oftentimes he deſired, to haue *Spaine* for his countrey rather then *Italy*. His death therefore put the whole armie into great confuſion, with whom he was in ſuch fauour and reputation; and gaue hope to others the more eaſily to oppreſſe it, ſince they had loſt a Captaine of ſo great authoritie and valour: and therefore the inſtances of ſuch as deſired that the league might be accompliſhed, were more vehement and importunate with the Pope: but the doubts which detained him were nothing leſſe, and that for iuſt cauſe, ſince on all ſides verie ſtrong reaſons troubled his mind, and ſuch as might hold confuſed and in ſuſpence any man right actiue and reſolute, and not Pope *Clement* alone, who proceeded alwayes in his affaires ſlowly and with much doubt. There was no further expectation from the Emperour of any deliberation which might aſſure *Italy*, and he was diſcerned vehemently to ſolicite the taking of the Caſtle of *Millan*; which being taken, all others, and chiefly the Pope, whoſe Eſtate was weake, and ſituate betweene *Lombardie* and the Realme of *Naples*, remained a manifeſt prey vnto him: and preſuppoſing that it were in the power of the Emperour to oppreſſe the Pope, it was much to be doubted leſt he would do it, either for ambition, which is almoſt naturall in the Emperours againſt the Popes, or for his owne ſuretie, or to reuenge himſelfe, being full of diſdaine and diſtruſt, as it was thought, for the conſpiracies which he entertained with the Marquis of *Peſquiero*: and if the neceſſitie to prouide for this danger was great, the foundations and hopes to do it ſeemed not light, but ſuch, as if the remedie could not ſucceed by the meanes of ſo mightie a league and vnion, it was vtterly to be deſpaired of. The Regent of *France* promiſed fiue hundred Lances, and to contribute for euery moneth ſo long as the warre ſhould endure, fortie thouſand duckats, with the which it was intended to wage ten thouſand *Swiſſers*. The Pope and the *Venetians* together, were to leuie eighteene hundred men at armes, twentie thouſand footmen, and two thouſand light horſemen. The *French* men and the *Venetians* were to take the ſea with a great nauie to aſſaile *Genes* or the Realme of *Naples*. The Ladie Regent promiſed to begin warre immediatly vpon the frontiers of *Spaine* with a ſtrong armie, to the end to hinder the Emperour for ſending of men and money for the warre in *Italy*. The armie that remained in *Lombardie* was not great, and had not Captaines of ſuch authoritie as was accuſtomed, the Marquis being dead, and the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Viceroy of *Naples* in *Spaine*: they were without meanes to recouer money, and had no plentie of victuals: the inhabitants were great enemies to them, for the deſire of their Duke, and for the intollerable exactions made by the ſouldiers in the Citie of *Millan* and elſewhere: the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona* were holden for the Duke: and the *Venetians* gaue hope that the Duke of *Ferrara* would alſo enter into this confederation, if the Pope would be content to yeeld him *Reggia*, which by one meanes or other he had alwayes poſſeſſed. But on the other ſide, that which made the matter more difficult, was the ſubtiltie and vertue of the enemies, who vſed (when need required) to maintaine them-

The death of the Marquis of Peſquiero.

Deuices of Princes againſt the power of the Emperour.

themſelues a long time with litle money, and to endure many neceſſities and diſcommodities: the towns which they held being wel fortified, and the facilitie no leſſe to reduce them to better ſtrength with rampiers, and other ſort of fortifications, for that they were townes ſituate in the plaine countrey: wherein they were able to entertaine themſelues vntill there came vnto them out of *Germanie* a ſufficient ſuccour to reduce all the warre to the fortune of a battell: and alſo the ſouldiers of the league could be no other but new and vntrained men, in compariſon of that armie reſolute and nouriſhed in ſo many victories: and beſides they wanted a Captaine generall, for that the Marquis of *Mantua* who was then Captaine of the Church, was not able to ſuſtaine ſo great a charge; neither could they with any ſuretie commit themſelues to the fidelitie of the Duke of *Ferrara* nor the Duke of *Vrbin*, whom they had ſo much offended, and who could not be well pleaſed with the greatneſſe of the Pope: and alſo the armes and weapons of the Church had but dull edges, and not much better thoſe of the *Venetians*: and, if either of them apart were bad, how much worſe being conioyned together? conſidering withall, that in the armies of leagues, prouiſions are ſeldome ſeene to arriue at conuenient times; and among ſuch diuerſitie of minds, where there are diuers intereſts and ſundrie ends, diſorders, diſdaines, diſcontentments and diſtruſts do eaſily happen, and neuer any readineſſe reſolutely to follow the fauour of fortune when ſhe ſhewes her ſelfe benigne, nor a diſpoſition to reſiſt her conſtantly when ſhe is aduerſe. But that which in this deliberation cauſed moſt feare and difficultie, was a ſuſpition leſt the *French* men, whenſoeuer the Emperor ſeeing himſelf conſtrained, ſhould offer them to deliuer their King, would not onely abandon the league, but alſo aide the Emperour againſt the Confederates: and albeit the King of *England* gaue his faith for them, that they ſhould not accord thereunto, and that it was negociated that they ſhould giue aſſurance in *Rome*, *Florence*, or *Venice* for three moneths pay, yet there was no meanes found to aſſure this ſuſpition. For the *French* men hauing no other end then to recouer their King, and it being manifeſt that they had no inclination to the warre vntill they ſaw no hope to effect the accord, it was a thing very likely, that whenſoeuer the Emperour ſhould conſent, they would preferre the accord with him afore all other regards and intereſts. And likewiſe it was well knowne, that by how much were great the preparations and forces of the league, by ſo much more would the Emperour be inclined to compound with the *French* King: and therefore it ſeemed a very dangerous matter to enter into confederation to make a warre in the which the ſtrong prouiſions of the Confederates might as well hurt as helpe. With theſe reaſons did the Embaſſadours and Agents of the Princes labour the Pope on all ſides, and no leſſe his owne ſeruants, for that his Court and thoſe of his Councell were deuided, each of whom fauoured euery one his owne inclination, with ſo much the leſſe regard, by how much the greater they eſteemed their authoritie to be with him, who till that time was accuſtomed to ſuffer himſelfe to be caried for the moſt part by the will of ſuch as in reaſon ought to haue obeyed the twinkling of his eye, and to be nothing elſe but miniſters and executers of the will and commandements of their Lord: for the better knowledge whereof, and of many other occurrences, it is neceſſary to declare the matter more at large.

Leo who brought the ſoueraigne Eccleſiaſtical dignitie into the houſe of the *Medices*, & being Cardinall, did ſo well ſupport both himſelfe and that family, which was fallen from a high degree into much declination, that they might expect the returne of a proſperous fortune, was a man very liberall, if this name be fit for ſuch an exceſſiue expence as is without all meaſure. In this man at ſuch time as he was choſen Pope, there was ſeene ſuch magnificence and maieſtie, and courage indeed royall, as might ſeeme wonderfull euen in one that by long ſucceſſion had deſcended of Kings and Emperours: and he was not onely prodigall of money, but alſo of all the fauours that are in the power of a Pope, the which he granted ſo vnmeaſurably, that he made the ſpirituall authoritie vile, diſordered the courſe of the Court, and by his too great expences, brought himſelfe into neceſſitie to ſeeke mony always by extraordinary meanes. This great facilitie was accompanied with a moſt deepe diſſimulation, with the which he beguiled all the world in the beginning of his Pontificacie: and that which made him ſeeme a good Prince (I ſpeake not of Apoſtolike goodneſſe, for that in thoſe corrupted times, the goodneſſe of the Pope is praiſed, when it exceeds not the malignitie of other men) was the opinion that was conceiued of his clemencie, and that he deſired to do good to all men, without doing harme to any man. Amongſt his other felicities which were very great, it was no litle happineſſe to him

The qualities of Pope Leo and Clement.

to haue about him *Iulio de Medicis* his couſin, whom (notwithſtanding he was not borne in lawfull mariage) he made Cardinall, being before a Knight of the Order of *Rhodes*. For *Iulio* being by nature graue, diligent, laborious in affaires, not giuen to his pleaſure, but ordered and regular in all things, and hauing vnder his hands by the will of Pope *Leo* the adminiſtration of all the affaires of importance of the Popedome, did beare out and moderate many diſorders which proceeded of his bountie and facilitie: and which more is, not following the cuſtome of all the other couſins and brethren of the Pope, he preferred the honour and greatneſſe of *Leo*, afore all the means he might vſe for his own good after the Popes death, & was very faithful & obedient vnto him, ſo that he ſeemed to be indeed a ſecond himſelfe: by reaſon whereof he was dayly more aduãced by the Pope, who put him continually more in truſt with his affaires; which being in the hands of two natures ſo different, did ſhew how well the mixture of two contraries doth oftentimes agree together, the aſſiduitie, diligence, order, grauitie of manners of the one, with the facilitie, prodigalitie, pleaſures and merrineſſe of the other: which things made many beleeue, that *Leo* was gouerned by *Iulio*, and that of himſelfe he was not able to rule ſo great a charge, nor to hurt any one, but rather deſirous to enioy the commodities of the Popedome: and on the contrary, that *Iulio* was of a ſpirit ambitious, ſtirring, and addicted to innouations: ſo that it was deemed, that all the rigours, all the ſtirres and enterpriſes of *Leos* time, proceeded from the inſtigation of *Iulio*, who was reputed a man malicious, but of great ſpirit: which opinion of his valour was confirmed and increaſed after the death of *Leo*, for that amidſt infinite contradictions and difficulties which befell him, he ſupported his affaires with ſuch a dignitie, that he ſeemed almoſt a Pope, and ſo conſerued his authoritie with the Cardinals, that making his entrie into two Conclaues abſolute commander of ſixteene voices, he was at laſt after the death of *Adrian* made Pope, within two yeares after the death of Pope *Leo*, notwithſtanding the infinite contradictions of the moſt part, and chiefly of the more ancient of the Colledge: and he entred into his Popedome with ſuch an expectation, that it was thought he would become the greateſt Pope, and do greater things then euer did any that till that day had ſate in that ſeate. But it was found out afterwards how farre men were deceiued in their iudgements as well of *Leo* as of him, for that *Clement* had many conditions much differing from that which [illegible]en beleeued of him before: ſeeing there was not in him either that deſire of innouation, or that greatneſſe of courage and inclination of mind to noble and high enterpriſes, which was ſuppoſed before; and that he had rather bene about *Leo* an executer of his deſignes, then a director and introducer of his owne counſels and deſires. And albeit he had a very capable wit, and a deepe inſight in all the affaires of the world, yet when he muſt come to reſolution and execution, he was not correſpondent to himſelfe, for that he was not onely hindered by a timiditie of mind which was not litle in him, and by a deſire of ſparing, but alſo by a certaine irreſolution and perplexitie, which was naturall in him: ſo that he ſtood in ſuſpence and doubt, when he was vpon the point to eſtabliſh things which he had aforetime with great foreſight conſidered and almoſt reſolued: whereby it happened, that as well in his deliberations, as in the execution of his proiects, euery ſmall reſpect newly happening, and euery light impediment that he met withall, ſeemed ſufficient to cauſe him to returne into the ſame confuſion wherein he was afore he determined, being alwayes perſwaded that after he had conſulted, that counſell was the beſt which he had reiected. For then, calling to mind thoſe reaſons onely whereof he had made no reckoning, he reuoked not into his minde the arguments which had moued him to make the election, the which being debated and compared with the contraries, would haue weakened their force; and was not careful not to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſurmounted by feare, by experience of himſelfe, who ought to remember, that he had often bene fearefull in vaine, and without any occaſion: in which confuſed nature, and diſorderly maner of proceeding, ſuffering himſelfe oftentimes to be tranſported by his ſeruants, he ſeemed rather to be led then counſelled by them. Of theſe, *Nicholas Scõberg* a *German*, & *Iohn Mathew Gibert* a *Genoway*, were of great authoritie with him: for *Scomberg* was reuerenced and almoſt feared of the Pope, and *Gibert* much loued and fauoured: *Scomberg* who was a diſciple of *Ierome Sauonarola*, became a preaching Frier whileſt he ſtudied the lawes, but afterwards leauing his religion and profeſſion, and retaining onely the habite and the name, he became a follower of State matters: *Gibert* had bene beſtowed very yong in the function of religion, but afterwards he left that vocation by the conſent of his father, notwithſtanding he was not borne in lawfull mariage, and diſclaimed as well the habite as the

name

name of his profeſſion. They agreed well together whileſt he was Cardinall, and alſo in the beginning and entrie to his Popedome, ſo that they cauſed him to do whatſoeuer they would: but beginning afterwards to diſagree, either through ambition, or by the diuerſitie of their natures, they vndid him, and brought him into great confuſion. For, Frier *Nicholas* either becauſe he was a *Germane*, or for ſome other regard, being much affected to the name of the Emperour, and naturally obſtinate and reſolute in his opinions, which oftentimes were different from the iudgment of others, the Pope entred many times into doubt of him, as if he loued more the profit of others then his owne. And touching the other, he affected no man but the Pope, nor acknowledged any other Lord, and naturally tooke his affaires to heart. And albeit in the time of *Leo* he had bene a great enemie to the *French*, and had fauored the affaires of the Emperour, yet after the death of *Leo* he was quite altered. Thus theſe two officers of the Pope, who were in great credite with him, being at manifeſt diſcord betweene themſelues, proceeded not diſcreetly, nor with any reſpect to the honour of the Pope; and being the cauſe that all men knew how irreſolute and weake the Pope was, they made him contemptible and almoſt ridiculous to moſt men: and thus he being alreadie by nature irreſolute, knew not which way to turne himſelfe in a deliberation ſo ſlipperie and difficult, ſeeing thoſe who ought to aide him to reſolue himſelfe, were the men that put him into greater confuſion. Neuertheleſſe at the laſt, more by neceſſitie to deliberate ſomething, then by reſolution or firme iudgement, and chiefly for that he found himſelfe in ſuch termes, that to deliberate nothing, was a kind of deliberation, he inclined to go through with the League, and in companie of the reſidue to begin the warre againſt the Emperour. They fell to accord, and drew the articles, and there wanted nothing but to giue the full perfection, at ſuch time as he receiued newes that the Commander *Errera* whō the Emperor had ſent to him, was arriued at *Genes*, and that he was coming with diligence with a gracious and good diſpatch; in which reſpect he determined to attend his coming, whereof the Embaſſadours, whom he had aſſured to paſſe the confederation the ſame day, complained much. The cauſe of his coming was, that the Emperour after he had ſent ſuch a commiſſion to the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, that at leaſt it was in his power to ſeize vpon the Eſtate of *Millan*, fearing leſt by that occaſion new ſtirres would be raiſed in *Italy*, he began to debate more ſtraitly of the accord with the Legate *Saluiati*, ſo that there paſſed betweene them a capitulation, reſeruing neuertheleſſe the condition of the ratification by the Pope, wherein he was ſatisfied touching the reſtitution of *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, and alſo the defence and conſeruation of the Duke of *Millan* was comprehended therein; matters which the Pope did principally deſire. And it was expreſly ſet downe, that if the Duke ſhould die, the Emperour ſhould not retaine that Dukedome, nor giue it to the Archduke his brother, but that he ſhould inueſt the Duke of *Bourbon*, which the Pope himſelfe very vndiſcreetly, and by the perſwaſion of the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, had propounded vnto them, together with *George* of *Auſtria* baſtard brother to the Emperour *Maximilian*, at ſuch time as the life of *Francis Sforce* was holden almoſt deſperate. Which capitulation being made, the Legate without tarrying till Pope *Clement* had giuen it perfection, either could not, or would not refuſe to preſent the Emperour with the writ of diſpenſation ſo much deſired: ỹ which for that it was made before, onely with mention of impediment to the ſecond degree without naming the King of *Portugals* daughter, the leſſe to offend the King of *England*, or becauſe there was betweene them a double bond of affinitie, mention being made of the mightier bond onely: it was neceſſarie to make another, which with expreſſe mention of the perſons, contained all the impediments. The Commander *Errera* departed from the Emperours Court with the diſpatch of this confederation, a day or two after the Emperor was aduertiſed of the impriſoning of *Moron*: and being come to the Popes Court the ſixt day of December, and brought into his preſence (after he had made many offers to his Holineſſe, and well informed him of the good will of the Emperour) he deliuered him the capitulations, wherein albeit the articles touching the ſalt, and matters of Beneſices in the Realme of *Naples*, were contrary to that which had bene ſolicited and reſolued vpon with the Viceroy, yet (for that his principall end was to be aſſured of ſuſpitions) he had accepted them, if he had ſeene and knowne that there had bene ſincere proceeding touching the Duchie of *Millan*. But ſeeing that in the article concerning *Francis Sforce*, there was no mention made of the imputation made againſt him, nor any promiſe to render vnto him the Eſtate that was taken from him, nor to pardon his faults if he had committed any, but the Emperour in the

Pope Clement the vij. makes a league againſt the Emperour.

concluſion made with the Legate, and in the inſtructions giuen to his Agent, had made no ſhew to take any knowledge of ſuch things, their art and ſubtilties were eaſily diſcerned. For the confederation and promiſe made to defend and preſerue *Francis Sforce* in the Dukedome of *Millan*, depriued not the Emperour of power to proceed againſt him as againſt his vaſſall, and to declare the freehold to be confisked for that wherewith he was charged, that is, to haue conſpired againſt his Maieſtie: and *Monſieur de Bourbon* appointed to be Duke in caſe of his death, was alſo to ſucceed in caſe of his priuation, for the lawes do conſider the death natural and the death ciuill, by the which they iudge him to die, who is condemned for ſuch a crime. For this cauſe the Pope anſwered with very graue ſpeeches, that he had no particular matter of diſcord with the Emperor elect, yea touching all differences & contentions that might happen betweene them, he wold neuer chuſe other Iudge then himſelf; but alſo that it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſo good an order for the publike affaires, as *Italy* might remained aſſured, which could not be done vnleſſe he reſtored to *Francis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*. And he layed afore him reaſons, proouing that ſo generall an article was not ſufficient; concluding that it would be no ſmall griefe to him to be driuen to a neceſſitie to enter into new deliberations, and to eſtrange himſelfe from the Emperour elect, with whom he had alwayes bene moſt firmely conioyned. The Duke of *Seſſa* replied, that the Emperour had without doubt a ſincere and vpright intention, and that he was content, that notwithſtanding whatſoeuer had happened, the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould remaine to *Francis Sforce*, but that by inconſideration that article had not bene ſet downe in more ample forme, and that the Pope ſhould reforme it as he thought good, promiſing to preſent to him within two moneths the ratification, ſo farre forth alſo as he would giue his word not to conclude the League which was negociated with the gouernment of *France* and the *Venetians* during that time. It was clearely diſcerned, that this offer had no other foundation then a deſire to gaine the time of two moneths, to the end the Emperour might haue the more leiſure the better to aduiſe himſelf, and to prouide remedies againſt ſo great a League: and yet after many diſputes, and to the great diſcontentment of the Embaſſadours, the Pope conſented to that demand, as well for a deſire to enter as ſlowly as he could into expences and troubles, as for that he ſuppoſed that ſo long as the *French* King continued priſoner, all contracts and confederations made with the Regent of *France* would be very dangerous, for that it was in the Emperours power to diſſolue it whenſoeuer he would: and alſo that by this reſpite, it might be (although he had no great hope thereof) that he might obtaine his deſire; which delay if haply it wrought concord betweene the two Kings, he conſidered very wiſely (though many iudged otherwiſe) that it were better to be done in a time when the Emperour ſtood in leaſt neceſſitie, for that by how much his affaires were aduanced or ſtood in good traine, by ſo much the more heauie conditions would he lay vpon the *French* King, which being ſo ſeuere and rigorous, he ſuppoſed the King would not obſerue them when he was at libertie. There was alſo added to this treatie, that during the ſaid time, there ſhould be no new enterpriſe embraced, nor any action executed againſt the Caſtle of *Millan*, if *Francis Sforce* would be bound not to moleſt or offend thoſe without, which condition he would not accept.

1526. The yeare of the natiuitie of the Sonne of God 1525, being paſſed in theſe actions more diſpoſed to warre then to peace, there begun the yeare 1526, which was full of great accidents and wonderfull troubles: in the beginning whereof the Commander *Errera* returned to the Emperour with letters written with the Popes owne hand, by the which he denied not abſolutely, nor confeſſed the conſpiracies practiſed againſt him, but laying the fault vpon the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, he laboured to excuſe *Francis Sforce*, ſeduced (if he had committed any fault) by the counſels of *Ierome Moron*, and beſought him moſt affectionately, that for the benefite and quiet of all Chriſtendome, it would pleaſe him to pardon him. At which time the Emperour expecting the anſwer of the Pope, held in ſuſpence the practiſes of all others; and albeit he made much of the Duke of *Bourbon*, promiſing with ſpeed to aduance the accompliſhment of the mariage betwixt his ſiſter and him, yet when *Bourbon* vrged the finiſhing thereof, and would haue conſummated the mariage, he was alwayes put off till another time, & was told for excuſe, that the Emperour would firſt giue perfection to his owne mariage with the infant of *Portugal*, who was expected from day to day: but to the end it might be alwayes in the power of the Emperour (notwithſtanding his promiſe to the Duke of *Bourbon*) to giue her to wife to the *French* King

King if the accord went on: following herein the cuſtome of Princes, who are led rather by profite, then by honeſtie. Now after the Emperours mariage was conſummated at *Seuile* in *Spaine*, the Commander *Errera* arriued at the Court, with the breuiat of the article concerning *Francis Sforce*, which article the Pope had deduced at large in his fauour: ſo that the Emperour being well aſſured that the Legate *Saluiati* had no commiſſion to conclude any thing but according to that article, and all his Councell thinking it neceſſarie to hinder the league that was in hand, and dangerous to haue to do at one time with ſo great a number of enemies, he ſaw himſelfe reduced to ſuch termes, that he muſt either content the Pope and the *Venetians* by reſtoring *Francis Sforce* to the Duchie of *Millan*, or compound with the *French* King, who in the end, after long arguing and diſputation for the countrey of *Burgondie*, and being out of hope to recouer his libertie by any other meanes, he offered to render it to the Emperour, with all the appertenances and dependances, and to renounce all his rights to the kingdome of *Naples* and the Duchie of *Millan*, and to deliuer two of his ſonnes in hoſtage for the aſſurance of his promiſes. The diſputations were great vpon the election of the one or the other way, and the Viceroy who brought the Moſt Chriſtian King into *Spaine*, and had giuen him ſo many hopes, and ſo ardently procured his deliuerie, made greater inſtance then euer to that end, whoſe authoritie was great with the Emperour, for the reputation he had to loue his profite, and to be faithfull vnto him: but on the contrarie, *Mercurie Gattinaro* the great Chancellor, a man of baſe parentage in the countrey of *Piedmont*, who was of ſo great credite and experience, that he had managed of long time all the affaires of the Court of moſt importance, rather exclamed then diſputed. Theſe two being entred one day into the Councell, the Emperour being preſent, to reſolue at laſt all the matters that had bene diſcourſed ſo many moneths, the great Chancellor ſpake thus:

The Emperour maried to the daughter of Portugal.

The Oration of the Chancellor.

I haue alwayes feared (inuincible Emperour) leſt our too great couetouſneſſe, and that we haue propoſed vnto our ſelues immoderate ends, wold be the cauſe that of ſo ſingular and great a victorie, we ſhould reape in the end neither glorie nor profite: but yet I could neuer beleeue, » that the victorie could bring your reputation and eſtate into danger, as I ſee now manifeſtly it » will, ſince there is queſtion of an accord, by the which all *Italy* will become deſperate, and the » *French* King ſet at libertie, but vnder ſo vnequall conditions, that if not willingly, yet by ne- » ceſſitie, he will continue a greater enemie to you then before. For my part, I could alſo wiſh, and » with as great affection as others, that at one and the ſame time the Duchie of *Burgondie* might » be recouered, and ỹ foundations of your imperie in *Italy* eſtabliſhed: but this I know, that who- » ſoeuer will ſo ſuddenly embrace ſo much, puts himſelfe in danger to effect nothing: and that » there is no reaſon for which it may be ſaid, that the *French* King being deliuered, will obſerue ar- » ticles of ſo great importance. Knoweth he not, that in rendring *Burgondie*, he openeth you a way » into *France*, and that it will be alwayes in your power to runne vp euen to *Paris*? and that when » you haue the meanes to vexe *France* in ſo many places, it will be vnpoſſible for him to reſiſt you? » Doth not he know, and all the world ſee, that if he conſent that you go to *Rome* with an ar- » mie, you will become a bridle to all *Italy*, and diſpoſe at your pleaſure of the Eſtate ſpiri- » tuall and temporall of the Church, and by that meanes your puiſſance being redoubled, you » ſhall alwayes after neuer want money nor forces to offend him? and that he ſhall be conſtrained » to accept all ſuch lawes as you will impoſe vpon him? Can any man beleeue then, that he will » obſerue an accord, by the which he is made your ſlaue, and you his Lord? The lamentations » and exclamations of all the Realme of *France*, will they faile him, together with the perſwaſions » of the King of *England*, and the incitations of all *Italy*? It may be the amitie that is betweene you » two, may cauſe him to truſt you, or willingly to ſee your great power: but was there euer two » Princes, betweene whom there was greater cauſe of hatred and contention? There is not onely » betweene you a reciprocall iealouſie of greatneſſe, a matter apt to ſtirre vp one brother againſt » another; but alſo ancient and great hatreds, begun in the times of your fathers and great » grandfathers, ſo many and ſo great warres betweene theſe two houſes, ſo many peaces and ac- » cords not obſerued, ſo many iniuries and offences done and receiued. May we not beleeue » that he burneth with diſdaine, when he remembreth how many moneths he hath bene your pri- » ſoner? that he hath bene alwayes kept vnder very ſtrait guard, and neuer had ſo much fauour » ſhewed him as to ſee you or ſpeake with you? and that in this priſon he hath had ſo many per- » perplexities and incommodities, as he had almoſt died therewith? and that now he is not deli- »

" uered through magnanimitie, or any loue that is borne him, but for feare of ſo great a confe-
" deration conſpired againſt you? Shall we beleeue that an alliance made by neceſſitie, will be
" more mightie then ſo many incitations? and who knoweth not, how much Princes eſteeme of
" ſuch bonds? and who can be a better witneſſe then our ſelues, of the eſtimation that is had of
" parentages? But to ſome it may haply ſeeme, that we ſhall be greatly aſſured by the faith he will
" giue to returne againe into priſon. But what foundations can be more inconſiderate, and what
" hopes more vnwiſe then theſe? The great griefe which I haue found (inuincible Emperour)
" that there is a diſpoſition to take a courſe ſo hurtfull and dangerous, conſtraines me to ſpeake
" in this ſort. We all know well, what reckoning men make of their faith, when there is queſtion
" of intereſts of Eſtate; and of what force are the promiſes of the *French* men, who, though free
" and open in all other things, yet in this regard are maiſters and moſt perfect in deceiuing; and
" that this King is naturally ſo much the more hard and ſparing in effects, by how much he is plen-
" tifull and prodigall in words. Therefore I conclude, that neither the good will betweene two
" Princes, who haue for a very ancient inheritance iniuries and offences; nor the memorie of be-
" nefites, which are none; nor faith or promiſes, which in matters of eſtate import litle with ma-
" ny, but nothing with the *French* men, will induce him to follow an accord which raiſeth his ene-
" mie to heauen, and throweth himſelfe and his kingdome into manifeſt ſubiection. I know well
" it will be anſwered, that for feare of theſe things, and for better aſſurance, two of his children
" ſhall be demanded, and among others the eldeſt, whoſe loue he will eſteeme more then the price
" of *Burgondie*: but for my part I am of opinion, that the loue of his children will rather cauſe
" the contrary, when the memorie of them ſhall come to his mind, and the conſideration that to
" obſerue the accord, would be the beginning to make them your ſlaues. I know not whether ſuch
" a pawne would be ſufficient, if he ſhould be altogether deſperate to recouer it in other ſort: for
" that it is a matter of too great importance to put his Realme in danger, which being once
" loſt would hardly be recouered: but he may well hope to redeeme his children in time, either
" by accord, or ſome other occaſion; and in reſpect of their tender age, the expectation will not be
" grieuous vnto him: but when he may haue almoſt all the Princes of Chriſtendome ioyned in
" league againſt you, who doubteth but he will confederate with them? and that he will ſeeke to
" moderate this accord by the way of warre? and that the gaine and profit which we ſhall reape by
" this victorie, will be nothing elſe but a very ſtrong and dangerous warre, ſtirred vp by the ha-
" tred, neceſſitie and deſpaire of the *French* King, the King of *England*, and all *Italy*? againſt all
" whom we may defend our ſelues, if God be not wearie with working dayly ſuch miracles for vs
" as he hath ſo often done, euen till this time; and if Fortune for our ſakes change her nature;
" and her inconſtancie and mutabilitie become vnto vs, contrary to all examples paſt, a mirrour
" of conſtancie and ſtabilitie. It is now many moneths ſince we haue concluded in all our coun-
" ſels, to vſe all poſſible meanes to let the *Italians* for vniting with the houſe of *France*: and now
" we throw our ſelues raſhly into a deliberation which takes away all difficulties that till this houre
" haue kept them in ſuſpence, which multiplieth our dangers, and increaſeth the forces of our
" enemies. For who knoweth not, that that league will be more mightie which ſhall haue for
" chiefe the *French* King, free and in his owne kingdome, then that which ſhall be made with the
" gouernment of *France*, the King remaining your priſoner? Who knoweth not, that nothing elſe
" hath detained the Pope till this day from entring confederation againſt you, then a feare leſt
" you ſhould ſeparate the *French* men from them, in offering them their King? But they will haue
" leſſe feare of ſuch a matter, when you ſhal haue ỹ children & not him: and ſo the medicine which
" we would vſe to preuent danger, will be that which without all compariſon will increaſe it,
" and in ſtead of breaking this vnion, we ſhall be the meanes whereby it will become both more
" firme and more puiſſant. But ſome may aske me, What is your aduice then? do you thinke it fit
" to make no profite of ſo great a victorie? ſhall we alwayes dwell in theſe doubts and perplexi-
" ties? I confirme that which I haue many times ſpoken, that it is a matter too hurtfull to receiue
" ſo much meate at one time, as the ſtomacke cannot beare: and that it is neceſſarie, either by
" returning into amitie with *Italy*, which demands nothing of vs but to be aſſured, to ſeeke to get
" *Burgondie* of the *French* king, and as much elſe as we can: or to make a compoſition with him,
" whereby *Italy* may remain at our diſcretion, but ſo eaſie in reſpect of his intereſts, ỹ he may haue
" cauſe to obſerue the conditions of it: and in the election of one of theſe two wayes, it is meet
" (moſt mightie Emperor) that your wiſedome & goodnes preferre that which is ſtable and more
iuſt,

iuſt, afore that which at the firſt ſhew may haply ſeeme more great and profitable. I confeſſe the Duchie of *Millan* is an Eſtate more rich and commodious for many regards then *Burgondy*, and that there can no amitie paſſe with *Italy*, vnleſſe *Millan* be transferred either to *Francis Sforce* or to ſome other to the Popes liking: and yet I rather like this, then to accord with the *French* men, for that *Burgondie* appertaineth to you more iuſtly then *Millan*, and is more eaſie to be maintained, then a countrey where no man deſireth you. To ſeeke to get *Burgondie* your ancient inheritance, is an action of great praiſe: but to aſpire to *Millan*, either for your ſelfe, or for any that dependeth wholly vpon you, cannot be without note of ambition. The firſt requireth of you ỹ memory of ſo many of your glorious predeceſſors, whoſe bones lying buried in captiuitie, do crie for nothing elſe, but that you deliuer and recouer them; and their ſo iuſt, ſo deuout, and holy deſires, may haply moue God to be more fauourable vnto you. It is a more diſcreete and eaſie counſell, to ſeeke to eſtabliſh an amitie with him that vnwillingly becomes your enemie, then with one who in no time can be your friend. For in the *French* king there wil always be a perpetual hate and deſire to oppoſe againſt your doings: but the Pope and the other *Italians*, once freed of ſuſpition by the reuoking of your armie that is in *Lombardie*, will haue no occaſion of controuerſie with you, either through iealouſie or feare, and remaining your friends, you ſhall draw from them both now and alwayes, great commoditie and profite. Therefore let honour, profite and ſuretie, make you the more inclined to this amitie, and no leſſe neceſſitie, if I be not deceiued. For, albeit you come to accord with the King, and bind him to no other thing then to aide you in the enterpriſes of *Italy*, yet me thinkes it is not likely he will obſerue it, for that he will be of opinion, that leauing you *Italy* in prey, he ſhould put his owne Realme in danger: and on the other ſide, the hopes and oportunities will be very great, that by the meanes of ſo mightie an vnion he ſuppoſeth he hath to trouble you, and to reduce you to accord vnder eaſie conditions: ſo that of a King priſoner, we ſhall make him free and our enemie, and giue a head to the Realme of *France*, ſo that ioyning with the reſidue, he may raiſe warre againſt vs with greater forces and more profite. How much better were it to confederate with the *Italians*? to make a good and true alliance with the Pope, who hath continually deſired it? and take from the *French* all hope to ioyne with the *Italians*? ſeeing that in that caſe neither neceſſitie nor feare of new leagues, but your owne will and the qualitie of the conditions, will draw you to accord with the *French*? Then ſhall you ſee that neceſſitie and deſpaire will conſtraine them not onely to deliuer *Burgondie* into your hands, and to grant you greater things, but alſo to deliuer you ſuch hoſtages, that you ſhall not neede to feare the obſeruation? For to ſpeake the truth, children are not ſufficient, ſo long as they may hope to effect ſo great an vnion: and ſcarcely *Bayon*, *Narbon*, and the armie by ſea, would ſuffice if they were put into your hands. Thus may you draw of this victorie a fruite great and honourable, iuſt and ſure: otherwiſe, either I vnderſtand nothing, or by this accord you ſhall embarke your eſtate into ſo great dangers, that I ſee no way to deliuer you therefrom, if haply it happen not that the indiſcretion of the *French* King become greater then ours. The Chancellor with this accurate and vehement ſpeech, and with the reputation of his wiſedome, had moued the minds of a great part of the Councell, when the Viceroy, principall and author of the contrarie opinion, ſpake, as they ſay, in this ſort:

The Oration of the Viceroy.

Certainly (moſt glorious Emperour) he is not to be praiſed, that by an appetite to haue much, embraceth more then he is able to hold; and he is no leſſe to be blamed, who by too much doubt and diſtruſt, doth willingly depriue himſelfe of great occaſions, gotten with ſo many difficulties and dangers: but both theſe faults being very great, that which proceedeth of feare and abiection of mind, is more to be reprehended and condemned in a great Prince, then that which proceedeth of generoſitie and greatneſſe of courage: and it is more laudable to ſeeke to winne much with danger, then for the auoiding of perill to ſuffer the occaſions to be loſt or interrupted, which very rarely happen to mortall men. Now this is that which indeed the Lord Chancellor doth counſell you, who doubting that by this accord *Burgondie* and *Millan* may not be obtained (for we muſt not thinke he is puſhed on either by the loue of *Italy* which is his countrey, or by the good that he wiſheth to the Duke of *Millan*) hath reſolued of a way, by the which, as he ſaith, we ſhall get *Burgondie* and loſe *Millan*, an Eſtate without compariſon of greater importance. But my opinion is, that we ſhould loſe *Millan*, and not winne *Burgondie*, and in ſtead that this victorie hath moſt glorioufly opened a way to the Imperie of all Chriſtendome,

« dome, there will remaine no other fruite of it, if you follow his counſell, then domage and in-
« famie. And certainly I cannot diſcerne any ſuretie in his counſell, but very great danger, and
« verie ſmall profit, and that eaſie to ſlide out of our hands, which would be a matter ful of ſhame
« and indgnitie: but on the contrarie, in compounding with the *French* King, me thinks there is
« great glorie, great profit, & ſufficient aſſurance. For I ask you, my Lord Chancellor, what reaſon
« haue you, what ſuretie, what faith, that the *Italians*, after we haue left them the Duchie of *Mil-*
« *lan*, will obſerue the accord, and not intermeddle in the affaires that ſhall paſſe betweene
« the *French* King and vs? and not rather when they haue embaſed our reputation, when they haue
« cauſed the armie to be diſſolued that doth reſtraine and bridle their malignitie, and when they
« ſhall be aſſured that no new companies of Lanceknights can come into *Italy*, becauſe there is
« no place in *Lombardie* to receiue them, nor where they may lodge; what ſuretie, I ſay, haue
« you, that the *Italians* will not then continue their practiſes, and will not by threatning the king-
« dome of *Naples* which will remaine almoſt at their diſcretion, force vs to deliuer the *French*
« King? Do you thinke, my Lord Chancellor, that *Francis Sforce* will acknowledge the fauours
« that haue bene done vnto him? ſeeing he hath recompenced ſo many benefites receiued of the
« Emperour with ſuch a trecherous part and wicked treaſon? What will he do now, when he
« knoweth there is a purpoſe to puniſh ſo vile an act by the ſentence of law? when he feareth pu-
« niſhment, and expecteth his ſafetie and deliuerance from your enemies? Will you truſt the *Ve-*
« *netians*, who are naturall enemies to the Empire and the houſe of *Auſtria*? and who tremble
« when they remember that almoſt yeſterday *Maximilian* your grandfather tooke from them ſo
« many of thoſe townes which they now poſſeſſe? Haue you any confidence in the goodneſſe of
« the Pope, or in his inclination towards the Emperour? with whom the firſt alliance that Pope
« *Leo* made, was (after he had attempted many things againſt vs) for a deſire either to be reuen-
« ged, or to be aſſured againſt the *French* men, and for ambition to occupie *Ferrara*? and after him
« the Pope now reigning who was hated of the one moitie of the world, continued by neceſſitie
« (after the death of *Leo*) in your amitie; but when he was become Pope, he returned immediatly
« to the nature of Popes, which is to feare and hate the Emperours, ſo that he had nothing more
« in horror then the name of the Emperour. All this haply may be excuſed, & it may be anſwered,
« that their cõplots and enterpriſes proceeded not of hatred or ambition, but only of the iealouſie
« of your greatneſſe, the which being ceaſſed, all practiſes will take end. But either this is not
« true, or if at the beginning it was true, it muſt of neceſſitie haue taken other rootes, and be-
« come another humor, for that it is a thing naturall, that hatred followeth ſuſpition, and offences
« and vexations come after hatred, and after offences men draw to alliance and amitie with the e-
« nemies of him whom they haue offended, labouring to raiſe practiſes, not onely for their proper
« ſuretie, but alſo to make their profit of the ruine of him whom they haue offended: and further,
« the remembrance of wrongs is far greater and more ſtirring in the mind of him that doth them,
« then in him that receiueth them. Wherefore although at the firſt they were moued onely with
« ſuſpition, the ſame was the cauſe that moued them to become your enemies, & incited them to
« turne as wel their minds as their hopes to the *French* part, and afterwards to begin to deuide a-
« mong themſelues the Realme of *Naples*, as they haue done in all contracts paſt: now let vs giue
« them what ſuretie, and make what accord you will with them, hatred and feare will ſtill burne in
« their breaſts; not truſting to that which ſeemeth to them to be done by neceſſitie; and
« ſuppoſing they haue no more meanes to range you to their wils, fearing leſt in the
« end there be made betweene the *French* King and vs a new appointment, ſemblable to that
« which was made at *Cambray*, and deſiring (to vſe their owne words) to deliuer *Italy* of ſtrangers;
« they will preſume to giue you lawes, and to demand of you the deliuerie of the *French* King;
« the which if you refuſe (moſt noble Emperour) how can you defend againſt them the king-
« dome of *Naples*? and if you grant it them, you loſe all the fruits of the victorie, and remaine
« the moſt diſhonored and deſpiſed Prince that euer was. But let vs put the caſe that *Italy* will ob-
« ſerue the accord, and that neceſſitie conſtraine you either to leaue *Millan* or not to reco-
« uer *Burgondie*, what compariſon is there betweene theſe two? *Burgondie* is a countrey of litle
« circuite, of ſmall reuenue, and not ſo commodious as many perſwade themſelues. The Duchie
« of *Millan*, both for the riches and beautie of ſo many Cities, for the number and nobleneſſe of
« the ſubiects, for the great reuenues, and for that it is ſufficient to nouriſh all the armies of the
« world, is more to be eſteemed then many kingdomes: and beſides the amplitude and puiſſance

of

of it, there is more reckoning to be made of the commodities that may reuert to you by the conqueſt thereof, then of the value of the thing it ſelfe. For *Millan* and *Naples* being at your deuotion, it will follow by neceſſitie that the Popes, as anciently they were wont, muſt depend vpon the Emperours: That all *Tuſcane*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, ſhall be your ſubiects: and the *Venetians* being enuironed by *Lombardie* and *Germanie*, will be conſtrained to accept lawes at your hand: and thus, I ſay, not with force and armes diſplayed, but with the reputation of your name, with one onely Herald, with the enſignes of the Empire, you ſhall command all *Italy*. And who knoweth not what *Italy* is? A Prouince by good right eſteemed the Queene of all others, for the oportunitie of her ſituation, for the temperature of the aire and Climate, for the multitude & excellencie of wits moſt apt for all honorable enterpriſes, for the fertilitie of all things neceſſarie to the life of man, for the greatneſſe and beautie of ſo many noble Cities, for her riches, for the ſeate of Religion, for the ancient glorie of the Empire, and for infinite other regards, the which if you command, you ſhal be always redoubted of all other Princes. It belongeth more to your greatneſſe and glorie, to looke after this, and is more agreeable to the bones of your elders (ſith theſe alſo are brought into conſideration) who both for their goodneſſe and pietie, we are not to beleeue do deſire any other thing then what is moſt conuenient, and moſt glorious for your name. So that, by following the counſell of the Lord Chancellor, we ſhall loſe a very great matter for a thing right ſmall, that litle alſo being very vncertaine, as we may well know by that which was like to haue happened certaine moneths paſt. Do we not remember how much we were troubled when the *French* King lay in ſo great danger of death? and that the ſame proceeded of no other thing then of the knowledge, that by his death we ſhould loſe all the fruite hoped for by the victorie? And who can aſſure vs that the verie ſame may not now happen? but more eaſily, for as much as the relikes of his maladie do yet hang vpon him, and for that the hope which till now hath ſupported him, being taken away, greater diſcontentments, the onely cauſe of his ſickneſſe, will returne vpon him: eſpecially ſeeing (by reaſon there is debating of new conditions and aſſurances, which cannot eaſily be agreed vnto) the negociation of new practiſes will be long and tedious, which will be ſubiect to this accident, and haply to others more great and more dangerous. Do we not well know, that nothing hath ſo long retained the Gouernment and Counſel of *France*, as the opinion they haue of his ſpeedie deliuerie? by meanes whereof the Nobles and Chieftaines of that Realme haue remained peaceable and obedient to the Ladie Regent: but as ſoone as they ſhall find this hope to faile, it may eaſily happen thereby that the Realme being moued therewith, will alter the gouerment: That if the great ones of the kingdome get once the bridle in their hand, they will take no care for the deliuerie of their King, but to maintaine themſelues in libertie and to be maiſters, they will be glad of his captiuitie: and ſo in ſtead of getting *Burgondie* and ſo many other great things, we can no more hope for any thing by his deliuerie. But I aske you further, my Lord Chancellor, whether the Emperour in this reſolution ought to haue any regard to his dignitie and Maieſtie? and what greater infamie he can receiue, and what greater diminution of his honour, then to be conſtrained to pardon *Francis Sforce*? and that a man halfe dead, a rebell, and ſingular example of ingratitude, not in humbling himſelfe; and imploring your mercie, but caſting himſelfe into the armes of your enemies, ſhould force you to yeeld vp & render vnto him the Eſtate which ſo iuſtly hath bene taken from him, and to receiue lawes of him? It were better (moſt inuincible Emperour) and more agreeable to the dignitie of the Empire and your greatneſſe, to expoſe your ſelfe againe to fortune, & to put all things again in danger, then forgetting the degree which you hold, and hauing no regard to the authoritie of the ſoueraigne Prince ouer all Princes, & to the name of the Emperor, hauing ſo often vanquiſhed ſo mightie a King, to accept & receiue at the hands of Prieſts and Merchants, ſuch conditions, as if you had bene ouerthrowne, there could not haue bene offered to you either more vniuſt or more vnworthy. Therefore all theſe reaſons conſidered; and how ſmall the profit wil be which may come to you by the accord with the *Italians*; and by how many accidents it may eaſily ſlip out of your hands; how vnſure it is to truſt them; and how vnworthy a thing it is to leaue the Eſtate of *Millan*; and alſo that it is neceſſarie to reſolue our ſelues, and once to conſider the end, and that the impriſonment of the King profiteth vs not, but in regard of the fruites that may be drawne of his deliuerie: I haue counſelled, and do counſell againe, that we compound rather with the King then with the *Italians*; which is a matter

ter that cannot be denied to be more glorious, more reaſonable, and more profitable, ſo farre forth as we may be aſſured of the obſeruation, wherein I make ſome foundation, both of his thankefulneſſe for the benefite he ſhall receiue of you, of the bond of affinitie, and of the vertue of your ſiſter, a fit inſtrument to maintaine this amitie; but much more of his two ſons, and among theſe of the eldeſt, which is ſuch a pawne, as I know not whether any more great or more importãt can be receiued. And ſeeing our neceſſity drieth vs to determine ſomething, we ought rather repoſe confidence in a *French* king vnder ſuch hoſtages, then in the *Italians* without any gage: and rather to truſt the word and faith of ſo great a King, then the immoderate couetouſnes of Prieſts, and the ſuſpitious niggardlineſſe of Merchants: and with more facilitie may we haue amitie for a time with the *French* (as our elders haue often had) then with the *Italians* our naturall and perpetuall enemies. And in this way I do not onely diſcerne greater hope that faith will be kept with vs, but alſo leſſe danger in caſe of promiſe breaking. For if the King refuſe to render vs *Burgondie*, at leaſt he will not dare (his children remaining hoſtages) to offend you againe, but will labour by ſolicitation and ſuite to moderate the accord: and beſides, being as it were but yeſterday vanquiſhed by you, and newly come out of priſon, he will ſtand in feare of you, and will not haue the courage to make a new proofe of your fortune. And if he take not armes againſt you, it is certaine that all others will be quiet enough: ſo that you may conquer the Caſtle of *Millan*, and ſo eſtabliſh your ſelfe in that Eſtate, that hereafter you ſhall not need to feare the malice of any man. But if you accord now with the *Italians*, and they will breake their promiſe, there remaineth no bridle to reſtraine them: and their power increaſing to offend you, their deſire will likewiſe augment and be more free therein. Therefore in my iudgement it would be verie great both timorouſneſſe and imprudencie, for too great ſuſpition to loſe an accord ſo full of glorie, and ſo honorable, and wherein there is ſufficient ſuretie, to take in place thereof a reſolution (if I be not deceiued) very dangerous and domageable.

When the Viceroy had ſpoken, the opinions of the reſidue of the Councell were diuerſe: all ſuch as were of vpright iudgement ſuppoſing that to accord with the *French* King according to the maner propounded, would be a deliberation very dangerous: and yet the deſire to get *Burgondie* was ſo great in the *Flemings*, as being the ancient patrimonie and title of their Princes, that it ſuffered them not to diſcerne the truth: and likewiſe the bruite went, that the gifts and great promiſes made by the *French* men, wrought much with many: but the Emperour aboue all the reſidue (either for that ſuch was his firſt inclination, or for that the authoritie of the Viceroy could do much with him, chiefly hauing the Count *Naſſau* concurrant with him, or haply becauſe he held it too great an indignitie to be conſtrained to pardon *Francis Sforce*,) hearkened willingly to ſuch as counſelled him to compound with the *French* King: ſo that when he had cauſed the Legate *Saluiati* to be ſounded againe, to know if he would conſent that the Eſtate of *Millan* ſhould be giuen to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and that he was certified that the Legate had no commiſſion to accept of that condition (in which caſe he would haue preferred the amitie of the Pope,) he determined to accord with the *French* king, with whom (matters hauing bene alreadie debated, and in a maner concluded) he came to concluſion in a very few days, the Popes Legate not medling with any thing: & the Emperor had alreadie obtained the conſent of the Duke of *Bourbon* to giue in mariage to the *French* King his ſiſter, whom he had promiſed to him; wherunto he conſented after he had bene much intreated, not ſo much for the deſire he had to get the Duchie of *Millan*, which was promiſed to him againſt the will of the great Chancellour and the Viceroy, although with condition to be bound to pay a great ſumme of money, as for that his affaires being reduced to ſuch termes that they neither depended nor could depend vpon any other then the Emperour, he was conſtrained to accommodate himſelfe to his will: and as ſoone as he had giuen his conſent, he departed forthwith by the Emperours direction, to the end not to be preſent at the Court at ſo inconuenient a time, taking his way towards *Barſelonia*, whither neceſſarie prouiſions to paſſe into *Italy* were to be ſent vnto him, the which for want of veſſels (for at that time there were but three galleys in *Spaine*) and for lacke of money, ſtayed verie long.

The treatie of Madril touching the deliuerie of the French king.

The ſolicitation of the peace which was reſolued the fourteenth day of February in the yeare 1526, contained: That betweene the Emperour and the *French* King ſhould be a peace perpetuall, in the which ſhould be comprehended all ſuch as ſhould be named by their common conſent:

ſent: That the *French* King by the ſixt day of the next moneth of March, ſhould be ſet at libertie, vpon the marches in the coaſt of *Fontarabie*; and that within ſixe weekes after he ſhould conſigne to the Emperour the Duchie of *Burgondie*, the Countie of *Charrolois*, the iuriſdiction of *Noyers*, the Caſtle *Chinon* dependances of the ſaid Duchie, the Viſcountie of *Auſſone*, the iuriſdiction of *S. Laurence de la Roche* a dependant of *Franch* Countie, together with all the appertenances as well of the ſaid Duchie as Countie of *Burgondie*, which hereafter ſhould be ſeparate and exempted from the ſoueraigntie of the Realme of *France*: That at the very houre and inſtant that the King ſhould be deliuered, there ſhould be put into the Emperours hands the *Daulphin* of *France*, and with him either the Duke of *Orleans* the Kings ſecond ſon, or twelue of the principall Lords of *France*, whom the Emperour ſhould name, leauing it in the election of the Ladie Regent, either to deliuer the Kings ſecond ſonne or the twelue Barons, who ſhould remaine as hoſtages vntill reſtitution were made of the lands and places aforeſaid, and the peace ſworne and ratified, together with all the articles, by the general Eſtates of *France*, and enregiſtred (which they call abſolute approbation) in all the Courts of Parliament of that kingdome, with neceſſarie ſolemnities: for the performance whereof, there was ſet downe a terme of foure moneths; at which time returning the hoſtages, there ſhould be put into the Emperours hands, the Duke of *Angouleſme* the Kings third ſonne, to the end he might be trained vp with the Emperour, the better to entertaine and aſſure the peace: That the *French* King ſhould renounce and giue vp to the Emperour all his rights to the Realme of *Naples*, and chiefly thoſe which were to come to him by the inueſtiture of the Church: and that he ſhould do the like touching his intereſts in the Eſtates of *Millan*, *Genes*, *Aſt*, and likewiſe of *Arras*, *Tourney*, *de l'Iſle*, and of *Doway*: That he ſhould render vp alſo the Towne and Caſtle of *Hedin* as a member of the Countie of *Artois*, with all the munitions, artilleries, and moueables that were in it when it was laſt taken: That he ſhould renounce the ſoueraigntie of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and all other places which the Emperour poſſeſſed. And on the other ſide, that the Emperour ſhould reſigne to him all the title and quarell which he pretended to any place poſſeſſed by the *French* men, and ſpecially the townes and Caſtlewikes of *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, *Roye*, the Counties of *Bulleine* and *Poitiers*, with other townes ſtanding vpon the ſhores of the riuer of *Somme*: That there ſhould be betweene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defence of their Eſtates, with obligation to aide one another when need required, with fiue hundred men at armes and ten thouſand footmen: That the Emperour ſhould promiſe to giue in mariage to the Moſt Chriſtian King the Ladie *Eleoner* his ſiſter, whom as ſoone as the diſpenſation ſhould be obtained from the Pope he ſhould contract, with words binding for the preſent, and afterwards ſhe ſhould be led into *France* to conſummate the mariage at the ſame time that according to the capitulations the hoſtages were to be deliuered: That ſhe ſhould haue for her portion two hundred thouſand crownes, with Iewels according to her eſtate, the one moitie of the money to be payed within ſixteene moneths, and the other halfe one yeare after: That a mariage ſhould be made betweene the *Daulphin* and the daughter of the King of *Portugal*, daughter to the Ladie *Eleoner*, as ſoone as their age would ſuffer: That the *French* King ſhould do all that he could to induce the ancient King of *Nauarre* to giue vp to the Emperour the rights of that kingdome; and in caſe he would not do it, that the King ſhould giue him no ſuccours: That the King ſhould likewiſe cauſe the Duke of *Gueldres* and the Count of *Zutphen*, and the principall townes of their eſtates, to promiſe with ſufficient ſecuritie, to giue themſelues to the Emperour, after their death: That the King ſhould giue no ſuccours to the Duke of *Wittenberg*, nor likewiſe to *Robert de la March*: That he ſhould furniſh and rigge for the Emperour, when he ſhould paſſe into *Italy*, and two moneths after he ſhall be ſo required, twelue galleys, foure ſhips, and foure gallions, all well munitioned and appointed at his owne coſt, except the men of warre; and that the ſaid veſſels ſhould be rendred three moneths after, accounting from the day of his embarking: That in ſtead of the armie by land which the King offered for *Italy*, he ſhould pay two hundred thouſand crownes in money, the one halfe within ſixteene moneths, and the other halfe within a yeare after: And that at the time when the hoſtages ſhould be deliuered, he ſhould be bound to giue bils of exchange for the pay of ſixe thouſand footmen for ſixe moneths immediatly after the Emperours arriuall in *Italy*: That he ſhould alſo furniſh for his ſeruice fiue hundred Lances payed, with a band of artillerie: That he ſhould ſaue harmeleſſe the Emperour of his promiſe made to the King

of *England* for the penſions which the *French* King owed him, the arrerages whereof amounted to fiue hundred thouſand crownes, or elſe to deliuer ſo much readie money to the Emperour: That they ſhould both ioyne to intreate the Pope to call a generall Councell as ſoone as poſſibly might be, to the end to conſult of peace among Chriſtians, of an enterpriſe againſt the Infidels and heretickes, and to grant to all men the Croiſado for three yeares: That within ſixe weekes the King ſhould reſtore the Duke of *Bourbon* in moſt ample forme, into all his Eſtates & goods, moueable and vnmoueable, with the fruits and reuenues receiued: and that he ſhould not moleſt him for any thing paſt, nor conſtraine him to dwell or go to the Realme of *France*: and that it ſhould be lawfull to the ſaid Duke of *Bourbon* to demand by the way of iuſtice, the Earledome of *Prouence*: That in like ſort all thoſe that had followed him ſhould reenter in ſafetie into their goods and eſtates, and namely the Biſhop of *Autun* and *Monſieur de Saint Valier*: That the priſoners taken in the warre ſhould be deliuered on both parts within fifteene dayes: That there ſhould be reſtitution made to the Ladie *Margaret* of *Auſtria* of all that ſhe poſſeſſed afore the warre: That the Prince of *Orange* ſhould be ſet at libertie, with reſtauration to the Principalitie of *Orange*, and all that he poſſeſſed by the death of his father, which had bene taken from him for following the faction of the Emperour: and that the like ſhould be done to ſome other Barons: That the Marquis of *Saluſſa* ſhould haue his Eſtate reſtored vnto him: That the King, as ſoone as he arriued in the firſt towne of his Realme, ſhould ratifie this capitulation, and be bound to procure the *Daulphin* to ratifie it when he ſhould come to the age of foureteene yeares. Many were named by common conſent, and among them the *Swiſſers*: but not one of the Potentates of *Italy*, except the Pope, whom they named as conſeruator of this accord, and that more for manners ſake and ceremonie, then in effect and true meaning. Laſtly, it was expreſſed in the ſaid capitulation, that in caſe the King for any occaſion ſhould not accompliſh the things promiſed, he ſhould returne voluntarily into priſon. All Chriſtendome maruelled much at this accord. For when it was vnderſtood that the firſt execution thereof conſiſted in the deliuerie of the King, the vniuerſall opinion was, that being deliuered, he would not giue vp *Burgondie*, as being a member of too great importance for the Realme of *France*: and beſides thoſe few who had counſelled the Emperour to it, all his Court had the ſame iudgement, and aboue all the great Chancellor reproued and deteſted the matter with ſo great vehemencie, that notwithſtanding he was commanded to ſigne the capitulation according to the office of chiefe Chancellor, he refuſed to do it, alledging that in matters dangerous and hurtfull, as that was, he ought not to vſe the authoritie that was giuen him: neither could he euer be altered from this opinion, notwithſtanding the Emperour was angrie with him: who ſeeing him ſo reſolute in his opinion, ſigned it himſelfe, and within few dayes after went to *Madril* to confirme the alliance and make a foundation of amitie and good-will with the King, by entertaining him with familiar and priuate conference. Great were the ceremonies and demonſtrations of amitie betweene them: oftentimes they ſhewed themſelues together in publike places; they had oftentimes alone in ſecret very long diſcourſes: they went together in one coach to a Caſtle halfe a dayes iourney from thence, where was Queene *Eleoner* whom the King contracted: and yet notwithſtanding all theſe great ſignes of peace and amitie, he was no leſſe ſtraitly guarded then before, without hauing any more libertie: ſo that at one and the ſame time he was embraced as a brother and guarded as a priſoner; which made manifeſt to the world, that it was an accord full of diſcord, an alliance without amitie, and that vpon euery occaſion their ancient iealouſies and paſſions would be ſtronger in them then the regard of things done more by force then otherwiſe. Now when many dayes were ſpent in theſe actions, and that the ratification of the Ladie Regent was come, together with the declaration, that with the *Daulphin* of *France* they would rather giue in hoſtage the Kings ſecond ſonne then the twelue Barons, the King departed from *Madril* to go to the frontier of his Realme, where his perſon was to be exchanged for his ſonnes, who were verie yong: and there was ſent to accompanie him the Viceroy the author of his deliuerie, to whom the Emperour had giuen the Citie of *Aſt* and other Eſtates in *Flanders* and in the kingdome of *Naples*.

The Frēch king contracteth the Emperours ſiſter.

At this time the Emperour wrote to the Pope a letter of Court, wherein he certified him, that for the deſire of peace, and the common good of Chriſtendome, ſo many iniuries and enmities forgotten, he had reſtored the *French* King to libertie, and had giuen him his ſiſter in mariage,

The Emperour writeth to the Pope touching the French kings deliuery.

mariage, and that he had choſen him for the preſeruer of peace, and would alwayes continue his moſt obedient ſon: and not many dayes after he wrote to him another letter of his owne hand, which he ſent by the ſame Commander *Errera*, who had brought with him the letter written vnto him with the Popes owne hand, anſwering it partly with gracious and partly with rigorous words, concluding, that if *Francis Sforce* were not found guiltie of that whereof he was accuſed, he would reſtore to him the Duchie of *Millan*; and that he would haue the matter tried by the courſe of iuſtice, by ſuch Iudges as ſhould be deputed by himſelfe, as his ſuperiour: but in caſe it were found that he were guiltie, he could do no leſſe then inueſt in that Eſtate the Duke of *Bourbon*, to whom himſelfe was the cauſe that he had promiſed it, aduiſing him thereunto whileſt *Francis Sforce* lay ſicke; and as well to ſatisfie him, as to aſſure all *Italy*, he purpoſed not either to retaine that Dukedome for himſelfe, or to giue it to his owne brother, affirming vpon his faith, that ſuch was his ſimple intention, the which he earneſtly deſired him to approue, offering him alwayes his authoritie and forces, as an obedient ſonne to the Sea Apoſtolike. The ſame *Errera* alſo brought the anſwer to the draught of the article which had bene ſet downe at large by the Pope in fauour of *Francis Sforce*, which article the Emperour continuing in his firſt reſolution, would not allow: but ſent by the ſaid *Errera* to the Duke of *Seſſa* the forme of the accord as he was determined finally to paſſe it, with authoritie and power to contract if the Pope would accept it. The contents whereof were: That *Francis Sforce* ſhould be comprehended in the confederation, ſo farre forth as he were not found guiltie in the crime of treaſon: but in caſe of his death or depriuation, the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould ſucceed in the confederation, and receiue of him the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*: The obligation was confirmed which the Viceroy had made for the reſtitution of the townes holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, but with condition that the Pope ſhould be bound to paſſe to him the inueſtiture of *Ferrara*, and forgiue him the penaltie of contrauention; matters contrary to the Popes drifts, who had determined to exact a paine of an hundred thouſand duckats, to pay the hundred thouſand which he had promiſed to the Emperour in caſe of that reſtitution: He would not admit that the eſtate of *Millan* ſhould take Salt of the Church, nor referre himſelfe touching the collation of benefices in the Realme of *Naples* to the tenour of the inueſtitures, but to the cuſtome of the former Kings, who in many caſes had contemned the rights and authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolike. And becauſe a treatie had bene made with the Legate, that to remoue the armie out of *Lombardie* which was a great charge to all *Italy*, the Pope, and he as King of *Naples*, and the other Potentates of *Italy*, ſhould pay an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats, and the ſaid armie to retire into *Naples*, or into ſome ſuch place out of *Italy* as ſhould ſeeme good to the Emperour, who ſaid he would tranſport it into *Barbarie*: and it was added, that becauſe there was more due to the armie then was owing them at that time, there ſhould be leuied a pay of two hundred thouſand duckats. A copie of theſe articles was preſented to the Pope by the Duke of *Seſſa* and the Commander *Errera*, with proteſtation that it was not in their power to alter or change one ſyllable: and yet all other difficulties had eaſily taken forme, if the Duchie of *Millan* had bene ſo diſpoſed of as the Pope with the reſidue had had no cauſe to enter into ſuſpition. But they conſidered that the Duke of *Bourbon* was ſo implacable an enemie to the *French* King, that either for his ſuretie, or for a deſire to enter into *France*, he would be alwayes very ſubiect to the Emperour, and that it could neuer be hoped that he would be diſcontented with his exceſſiue greatneſſe: and that the article to remoue the armie out of *Lombardie*, a matter ſo greatly deſired of all, and for which they would not haue thought ſtrange to haue giuen any ſumme of money, would be to litle purpoſe, ſo long as there remained at *Millan* a Duke, who euen at the leaſt becke of the Emperour, would not onely admit him, but haply for his owne intereſt would wiſh and deſire him. Therefore the Pope, who (for that in the accord which the Emperour had made with the *French* King, there was no particular mention of him, nor of the ſuretie of the Eſtates of *Italy*) was confirmed in his former opinion, that the greatneſſe of the Emperour would be his ſeruitude, determined not to accept the accord in the maner it was offered him, but to keepe himſelfe free vntill he were aſſured what courſe the *French* would take touching the obſeruation of the peace: in which reſolution he remained the more willingly, for as much as beſides that which ſeemed likely vnto him, he had heard by the relation of certaine ſpeeches deliuered by the King afore his libertie, and ſpread abroad by ſome that were familiar in counſell with him, that the King would neuer obſerue the

things he had promiſed the Emperour: and to confirme the King in that deliberation (for his owne ſuretie depended thereupon) he ſent in poſt into *France*, *Paul Vettori* a *Florentine*, Captaine of his Galleys, to the end to be at the Court at the ſame time the King ſhould arriue, vſing that diligence not onely to know his intention as ſoone as might be, but alſo to the end that the King hauing a readie hope to be able to draw into league the Pope and the *Venetians* againſt the Emperour, might take occaſion to reſolue the ſooner. Therfore *Paul* had in charge, to congratulate in the Popes name the Kings deliuerie, and to declare vnto him what he had done to that end, and how much the practiſes of confederation that were entertained with the Ladie Regent, had induced the Emperour to deliuer him: and further, that he ſhould impart vnto him the Popes vehement deſire to haue an vniuerſall peace in Chriſtendome, and that the Emperour and he ſhould make warre together againſt the *Turke*, who was reported to make mightie preparations to inuade that yeare the Realme of *Hungarie*. Theſe were his Commiſſions apparent and knowne; but the moſt important and ſecret was, that aboue all things he ſhould endeuour dexterouſly to ſound throughly the Kings inclination, and if he found him enclined to obſerue the treatie of *Madril*, then to paſſe no further, for feare of making his affaires with the Emperour worſe then before; but if he found him otherwiſe diſpoſed, or at leaſt in doubt, that he ſhould labour to confirme him in that diſpoſition; and ſeruing his turne of all occaſions, he ſhould counſell him to take that courſe, giuing him knowledge of the Popes deſire to ioyne with him for the common benefite. He diſpatched in like ſort into *England* the Pronotarie *Gambaro*, to vſe the like office with that King, to the ſame end: and at his perſwaſion the *Venetians* ſent into *France* their Secretarie *Andrew Roſſe*, with the like commiſſions: and for as much as *Paul* as ſoone as he came to *Florence* fell ſicke and died, the Pope ſent in his place *Capin* of *Mantua*, although he tooke it for an ill ſigne, that now the ſecond time the miniſters which he had ſent into *France* to aduance theſe practiſes, were dead by the way. In the meane while both he and the *Venetians* did all they could to encourage the Duke of *Millan*, and entertained him with hopes, leſt the peace of *Madril* might cauſe him vnaduiſedly to make ſome accord with the Emperour.

The manner of the deliuerie of the French King.

By this time the *French* King was come to *Fontaraby*, a towne appertaining to the Emperor, ſtanding neare the Ocean ſea, vpon the frontiers of *Biſcay* and the Duchie of *Guyen*: and on the other ſide, the Ladie Regent was arriued with the children of *France* at *Bayon*, which is not farre from *Fontaraby*: and ſhe had lingred ſome time longer then the day appointed for the permutation, by reaſon the gout tooke her by the way. Then the eighteenth day of March, the *French* King accompanied with the Viceroy and Captaine *Alarcon*, with fiftie horſe, came to the ſhore of the riuer that deuideth the Realme of *France* from the kingdome of *Spaine*: at the ſame time *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the Kings children and the like number of horſe preſenting themſelues on the other ſide. There was in the midſt of the riuer a great barke made faſt with ankers, in which was no perſon. The King approched to this barke in a litle boate, wherein he was accompanied with the Viceroy, Captaine *Alarcon*, and eight others, all armed with ſhort weapons: and on the other ſide of the Barke were likewiſe brought in a litle boate *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the hoſtages, and eight others armed in the ſame maner. After this the Viceroy went into the Barke with all his companie, and the King with them: and preſently after *Monſieur de Lautrech* with his eight that accompanied him, ſo that within the Barke there was a like number of both parts, *Alarcon* and his eight being with the Viceroy, and *Monſieur de Lautrech* and the others with the perſon of the King: who when they were all thus within the Barke, *Monſieur de Lautrech* fetched out of the boate into the Barke, the *Daulphin*, who being giuen to the Viceroy, and by him committed to Captaine *Alarcon*, was forthwith beſtowed in their boate, and after him followed the litle Duke of *Orleans*, who was no ſooner entred the Barke, then the *French* King leaped out of the Barke into his boate, with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that this permutation was thought to be done at one ſelfe inſtant: and then the King being brought to the ſhore, mounted ſuddenly (as though he had feared ſome ambuſh) vpon a *Turkiſh* horſe of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe, which was prepared for the purpoſe, and ranne without ſtay to *Saint Iohn de Lus*, a towne of his obedience foure leagues from thence; and being there readily relieued with a freſh horſe, he ranne with the ſame ſwiftneſſe to *Bayon*, where he was receiued with incredible ioy of all the Court, from whence he diſpatched with great diligence a Gentleman to the King of *England*, with letters of his owne hand, whereby he ſignified in what ſort he was deliuered, and

with

with charge to tell him, that he acknowledged the effect of his libertie to be wrought wholly by him, offering to remaine to him a perpetuall and assured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counsell: and soone after he sent vnto him other Embassadours, solemnely to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him when he was prisoner: for that he made great account of the amitie of that King.

The end of the sixteenth Booke.

THE XVII. BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGVMENT.

THe Pope and the French king, the Venetians and the Duke of Millan, draw into league against the Emperour. The Duke of Bourbon comes to Millan. The armie of the League breakes vp from before Millan. The Castle of Millan rendred to the Imperials. Many enterprises are dressed against the Pope. The Confederates send their armies by sea to Genes. Rome is surprised by the Colonnois. The Pope makes truce with the Imperials, which hurteth the deuices of Lombardy. The Duke of Ferrara confederates with the Emperour.

NOtwithstanding the pledges of the two children of *France* (of whom the eldest being heire apparent to so great a succession, was one) was added to the oath and faith that passed betweene the Emperour and the *French* King, for the confirmation of the accord solemnely made at *Madril*, and withall the King had contracted the Emperours sister: yet by his deliuerie all the Princes of Christendome were brought into no small expectation, and the eyes of all men which before were fixed onely vpon the Emperour, began now to be turned towards the King, for that sundry and great effects depended vpon his deliberation either to obserue or not to obserue the capitulations of *Madril*. For if he obserued them, they saw that *Italy*, vnable to defend it selfe, would fall, without any remedie, into seruitude; and that the authoritie and greatnesse of the Emperour would be maruellously increased: and if he obserued them not, the Emperour would be constrained by the inobseruancie of the *French* King to forget the conspiracies and enterprises dressed against him by the Duke of *Millan*, and to restore him to that Duchie, to the end the Pope and the *Venetians* might not haue cause to ioyne with the King; and that by this meanes he should lose the great profits he hoped to reape by his victorie: or else (his indignation against the Duke of *Millan* being more powerfull in him, together with his desires to haue no impediment of the *French* in *Italy*) to assure the accord made with the King, conuerting the obligation to restore *Burgondie* into the paiment of money: or else yeelding to neither of these, to haue against so many enemies a warre, which (almost by his owne confession) was very difficult; since to auoid it, he was reduced to this strait, to deliuer the *French* King with so great danger. But the world stood not long in doubt of the will & intention of the *French* king: for that as soone as he was arriued at *Bayon*, being required by a Gentleman of the Viceroys to ratifie the accord, as he had promised to do as soone as he was come into a free place, he deferred it from day to day with many excuses: wherewith to the end to hold the Emperour in hope, he sent vnto him a man expresse, to signifie vnto him, that he had not presently accomplished the ratification, for that it was necessarie before he proceeded to such an act, to reappease and moderate the minds of his subiects, who were discontented with obligations that tended to the diminution of the Crowne of *France*: but notwithstanding all difficulties, he would vndoubtedly obserue all that he had promised. By this dealing, his in-

tentions being easily apprehended, shortly after the messengers that were sent to him by the Pope and the *Venetians* arriued, who needed not labour much to be well informed of his inclination. For, after he had receiued them very courteously, in the first discourses that he held seuerally and apart with each of them, he complained much of the inhumanitie of the Emperour towards him whilest he was his prisoner, not vsing him like a Prince as he was, nor with that affection which a Prince ought to shew being touched with commiseration for the calamities of another Prince, or with the consideration, that that which had befallen him, might also happen to himselfe: and he alledged the example of *Edward* King of *England*, (who was called *Edward Long-shankes*) to whom when *John* King of the *French* men was presented, being taken by the Prince of *Wales* his sonne in the battell of *Poytiers*, he did not onely receiue him with great courtesie, but also left him vnder a free guard all the time of his imprisonment within the Realme of *England*, during which time he had dayly familiar conuersation with him, tooke him oftentimes to accompanie him on hunting, and made him eate at his table: and yet for all that, he lost not his prisoner, nor obtained thereby an accord lesse fauourable for him; but thereby it came to passe, that there grew betweene them such familiaritie and confidence, that King *John*, euen after he was deliuered, and had continued many yeares in *France*, returned voluntarily into *England* for a desire he had to visite his host: That there was remembrance onely of two Kings of *France* that had bene taken prisoners in battell, King *John* and himselfe: but the diuersitie of the examples was no lesse notable: for that in the one might be seene mildnesse and courtesie, and in the other the seueritie and rigor of a conqueror: That he had not found him of a more milde and peaceable disposition towards others, but perceiued plainly by his speeches vsed at *Madril*, that being full of ambition, he thought vpon nothing more, then how to bring the Church, *Italy*, and all the other Princes into seruitude: and therefore he wished the Pope and the *Venetians* to be carefull to prouide for their proper safetie, which if they did, he would shew how desirous he was to concurre with them for the common safetie, and to make league with them to take armes against the Emperour; not that he intended to recouer for himselfe the Estate of *Millan*, or otherwise to increase his puissance, but onely that by the meanes of warre he might recouer his children, and reassure the libertie of *Italy*, seeing the too great couetousnesse of the Emperour had left him no colour to bind him in such sort that he should be constrained to obserue the capitulation: seeing that both at the first whilest he was in the Castle of *Pisqueton*, and afterwards in *Spaine* in the Castle of *Madril*, he had oftentimes protested to the Emperour by reason of the inequalitie of his demands, that if through necessitie he were driuen to compound vnder conditions vniust, or such as were not in his power to performe, that not onely he would not obserue them, but also reputing himselfe iniuried by him, in that he had constrained him to make promises vnreasonable and vnpossible, he would be reuenged if euer occasion were offered: and that he had not forborne oftentimes to tell him, that which of themselues they might know, and which he beleeued was obserued likewise in other Realmes, that it was not in the power of a King of *France*, to bind himselfe to the alienation of any thing depending vpon the Crowne, without the consent of the generall Estates of the Realme: and that the lawes of Christians did not permit, that he who was taken in warre should be detained in perpetuall prison, as being a punishment proper for malefactors, and not ordained to punish such as had bene beaten with the crueltie of fortune: That all men knew, that obligations made by constraint in prison, were of no value; and that the capitulation being of no force, the faith likewise which was but accessorie and the confirmation of the same, could not be bound: That the oathes which he had made at *Rhemes*, where the Kings of *France* are consecrated with so great ceremonie and with the heauenly oyle, were more ancient, by the which he was bound, according to the custome of all the other Kings of *France*, not to alienate the patrimonie of the Crowne: That for these reasons he was no lesse free then readie to moderate the pride of the Emperour. The Kings mother seemed to haue the same desire, and likewise his sister, who for that she had in vaine taken a long iourney into *Spaine*, complained much of the rigor of the Emperour; and likewise all the chiefe of his Court, who were of his most secret counsell, concluding that if Mandates came from the Pope and the *Venetians*, the league should presently be accomplished, which they said were best to be negociated in *France*, to the end to draw into it with more facilitie the King of *England*, whereof they shewed great hope. These were the discourses which the King held with them, which were much assured as well by himself

The French king complaineth vpon the Emperour.

as by thoſe about him: but in ſecret, his thoughts were farre otherwiſe. For howſoeuer he was reſolued not to deliuer vp *Burgondie* to the Emperour, yet his mind was far eſtranged from moouing warre againſt him, vnleſſe he were compelled by great neceſſitie ſo to do. But he hoped, that in debating to confederate himſelfe with the *Italians*, the Emperour (to auoide ſo great a gulfe of difficulties) would be induced to conuert into obligation of money, the article of the reſtitution of *Burgondie*: in which caſe, no regard touching the matters of *Italy* ſhould ſtay him from couenanting with him, for the deſire he had to bring home his children.

But when the Agents of the Pope and the *Venetians* had receiued from him ſo great hope, they made preſent relation of the anſwer they had, at a time when the neceſſitie and occaſion to confederate againſt the Emperour increaſed in *Italy*: the neceſſitie, for that the Duke of *Millan* (who at the beginning, partly by the fault of his officers, and partly for ỹ ſhortnes of the time he had to make prouiſion, had beſtowed within the Caſtle ſmall ſtore of victuals, and that litle was not diſpoſed in ſuch meaſure, as men reduced to ſo hard termes are wont to vſe) gaue notice oftentimes (for though he was beſieged in the Caſtle, he had always meanes to write) that he had want of victuals, and that being able to hold out no longer then the next moneth of Iune, he ſhould be conſtrained to giue himſelfe vp to the diſcretion of the Emperour if other prouiſion were not made. And albeit it was beleeued, that the Duke (according to the cuſtome of ſuch as are beſieged) propounded greater want then indeed there was, yet there were many reaſons to thinke that he had but ſmall ſtore of victuals: and to ſuffer the Caſtle to fall into the hands of the Emperour, beſides the increaſe of his reputation, it was a matter that made the recouerie of that State more hard. But the occaſion increaſed no leſſe then the neceſſitie, ſeeing the people were reduced to the laſt deſpaire. For the Emperour ſending no money to his armie, to whom many payes were due, and hauing no meanes to leuie any elſewhere, the Captaines had diſtributed the regiments of the men at armes and light horſemen in ſeuerall places of the countrey, charging this towne to contribute to one companie, and that to another, who were compelled to compound for money with the Captaines and the ſouldiers; a matter practiſed ſo exceſſiuely, that the bruite then ranne, which was aſſured to be true by many that vnderſtood the affaires of that State, that the Duchie of *Millan* payed euery day to the Emperors ſoldiers, fiue thouſand duckats; and it was ſaid, that *Anthonie de Leua* drew to himſelfe thirtie duckats a day. The footmen alſo that were lodged in *Millan* & the other townes, would not onely be furniſhed by the owners of the houſes where they lay, of all things neceſſary for their maintenance, but alſo many of them often getting into one houſe, the good man of that houſe was conſtrained to make prouiſion for them all: and ſuch houſes as had not means to feed them, were compelled to compound with them for money: and ſometimes one onely footman had to himſelfe many houſes, who taxed them all to giue him money, except him who prouided his diet. This miſerable condition exerciſed with ſo great crueltie, had brought all the inhabitants of that Duchie into deſpaire, and chiefly the townesmen of the Citie of *Millan*, who had not bene accuſtomed, before the entrie of the Marquis of *Peſquiero* into the Citie, to be charged either with victuals or contribution for the lodging of ſoldiers: and this people being puiſſant in numbers and arms, though not ſo much as before the plague, could not endure ſo great inſolencie and moſt grieuous exactions: and therefore to free themſelues thereof, or at leaſt somewhat to moderate them, the towne of *Millan* ſent Embaſſadours to the Emperour, who brought from him no other expedition then generall words, and without any remedie to their afflictions. Furthermore, the towne of *Millan* according to her proportion was charged with a greater number of ſouldiers then the other townes, and yet was taxed to pay money for publicke expences, to wit, ſuch as were to be made by the appointment of the Captaines for the conſeruation of the Emperors affaires: and thoſe moneys being hardly raiſed, the officers appointed for the exacting thereof vſed great crueltie. By reaſon of which things, the people being reduced to a laſt deſpaire, determined to reſiſt with weapon in hand thoſe exactions, and that whoſoeuer was grieued by the exactors, ſhould call his neighbours to defend him; who, together with all the reſidue that ſhould be called, ſhould runne at the commandement of the Captaines aſſigned in many parts of the Citie to reſiſt thoſe that gathered the exactions, and the ſouldiers that would fauour them. When they had taken this order, it happened that a Ioyner of the Citie, when the exactors came to him and troubled him, raiſed his neighbours for his defence,

The inhabitants of Millan riſe vp againſt the Imperials.

who being followed by a great part of the people, the whole towne was in a great tumult: for the appeasing whereof *Anthonie de Leua* and the Marquis of *Guast* running thither with some of the principall Gentlemen of *Millan*, at last the tumult was appeased: but it was after § Captaines had promised the people to rest contented with the publike reuenues, and to lay vpon them no other impositions, nor bring into the towne other bands of souldiers. This accord endured but till the next day, for that aduertisement being come that new regiments of souldiers approched the towne, the people tooke armes againe, but with greater tumult, better gouerned, and with greater affluence of people then the day before: and the Captaines who began to feare they should not be able to resist so great a furie, were vpon the point (as some affirme) to go out of the towne with their bands, which also it was thought they would haue done, if the people with a setled resolution had marched on to be reuenged of them and their souldiers: but they went inconsiderately to sacke the old Court, where lay the Captaine of criminall iustice with certaine bands of footmen, executing that first which should haue bene the last; by which error the Imperials hauing resumed courage, began to fortifie the wayes, and hauing called the most part of the footmen that kept the Castle enuironed, they assembled all into one strength, to resist and make head against the people, if they offered to assaile them. By this occasion the besieged issued out of the Castle to assaile the ramparts that were made within the towne: but they retired quickly to the Castle when they saw the people came not to their succours, who partly for that they were vnexperienced in actions of warre, and partly for that they were busied in carying away of the pillage they had made at the old Court, did not onely omit to do that which appertained, but also began to separate themselues: by which occasion the Captaines by the aide of certaine Gentlemen of the towne, reappeased againe this tumult, but with promise to leade out of the towne and countrey of *Millan* all the souldiers, except the Lanceknights which held the Castle besieged. Thus the men of warre, by their subtiltie easily auoided a great danger, scorning the disorders and ignorance of the people to manage armes; errors which familiarly do follow a communaltie drawne into mutinie, hauing no Leaders of experience and valour. But by these appeasements the conspiracies being not broken, nor the weapons of the people laid downe, a disposition to greater emotions dayly appearing, great occasion seemed to be giuen to such as would take vpon them to trouble the affaires of the Emperour, considering principally the small forces, and other difficulties which the Imperials had, together with the remembrance that in the last warres, the wonderfull valour of the people of *Millan* and of other townes expressed in their fauour, had bene a great foundation for the defence of that estate.

In this estate were the affaires of *Italy* at such time as information came out of *France* of the readie disposition and offers of the King, together with his request for the sending of Commissions: and at the same time the Embassadours of the King of *England* resident with the Pope, laboured to induce him to thinke vpon some meanes whereby the greatnesse of the Emperour might be abated, and to encourage the *French* King not to obserue the capitulation. By reason of which inducements, not onely the *Venetians*, who at all times, and in farre lesser occasions, had giuen counsell to take armes, but also the Pope, notwithstanding his hard disposition to enter into that trauell, iudged that of necessitie he must call his wits together, and deferre no longer to take some deliberation. Now the reasons which in the moneths before had made him inclined to the warre, were not onely the same, but also more mightie, and of greater consideration. For the Emperour, both by how much the practises had bene holden out in longnesse, was the better able to discouer what intentions the Pope bare against his greatnesse: and the Pope by the accord which the Emperour had made with the *French* King, was entred into a suspition not to be able to obtaine of him any reasonable conditions, and that he had a purpose to oppresse the residue of *Italy*: and the danger was daily more apparent, for that the Castle of *Millan* being not able to hold out long, stood almost vpon the point of rendring. He was prouoked by the iniuries renewed by the Imperiall Captaines, who since the capitulation of *Madril*, had sent certaine Ensignes of *Italian* footmen to lodge vpon the territories of *Plaisance* and *Parma*, where they did infinite domages; and when the Pope complained thereof, they made him answer, that they were gone thither of their owne authoritie, for that they were not payed. He was likewise incensed by matters haply more light, but taken, as it hapneth in suspitions and quarrels, in the worse part: for that the Emperour hauing

uing publiſhed in *Spaine* certaine edicts againſt the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolike, by vertue whereof his ſubiects were forbidden to debate the cauſes of the benefices of thoſe Realmes in the Court of *Rome*, a *Spaniſh* Notarie tooke the boldneſſe in the Chamber of audience, to command certaine men in the Emperours name, to deſiſt to pleade any more in that Court. And not onely that knot which had held all men in doubt, ſeemed to be broken by the deliuerie of the *French* King, to wit, leſt the *French* men hauing recouered their King, would not ſticke to abandon the league: and it was well diſcerned, that the companie of the King was of farre greater importance for the enterpriſe then the fellowſhip of his mother and the Gouernment: but alſo there were ſeene other greater occaſions. For the riſing of the people of *Millan* ſeemed to be a matter of great conſequence: and by reaſon of the want of victuals that was in that Eſtate, it was thought it would be a great aduantage to ſet vpon the Imperials, before (by the meanes of harueſt) they had the oportunitie to reuictuall their ſtrong places; before the Caſtle of *Millan* were loſt, and before the Emperour had time to ſend into *Italy* new ſupplies of men, or prouiſion of money. Moreouer, there came into conſideration, that the *French* King, who for the memorie of things paſt, in all likelihood diſtruſted the Pope, not finding in him a zeale and forwardneſſe to make warre, would reſolue to obſerue the accord made at *Madril*, or elſe reconfirme it of new: and it was not doubted, ſo great forces both by ſea and land being conioyned in one, with ſufficient meanes to continue for a long time the expences, although very great, that the conditions of the Emperour, ſtanding both abandoned of all others, and made naked of money, would be farre inferiour in the warre. Onely there was one ſcruple to the contrary, cauſed by a feare, that the *French* King to redeeme his children, would forſake the other Confederates, as it was doubted the Gouernment of *France* would haue done at ſuch time as the King was priſoner: and yet it was thought there was great difference, for that taking armes againſt the Emperour with ſo many occaſions, there was great hope to recouer them by force: and it ſeemed that this would ſucceed with ſo great a reputation to the King, that he would haue no cauſe to hearken to any particular accord, which would not onely bring infamie to him, but alſo preiudice, if not preſent, yet afterwards: ſeeing it was a thing which in the end would be moſt dangerous for the Realme of *France*, to ſuffer the Emperour to diſpoſe of *Italy* according to his owne mind: whereupon it will follow, that he will make ſharpe warre, for as much as this ſeemed to be a poore counſell to confederate againſt the Emperour, depriuing himſelfe of the meanes to recouer his children by the obſeruation of the accord: and yet on the other ſide, to lay apart thoſe things by the which he might hope to redeeme them gloriouſly by armes. Such as diſcourſed in this ſort, looked haply more into that which reaſonably he ought to do, then they conſidered what is the nature and prudence of the *French* men; a fault whereinto men do oftentimes fall in the deliberations & iudgements that are made of the diſpoſition and will of others. Perhaps alſo they did not ſufficiently conſider, how much Princes, culpable for the moſt part of their owne inclination, which is, to preferre vtilitie afore fidelitie, do eaſily perſwade themſelues the like of other Princes: and that therefore the *French* King ſuſpecting leſt the Pope and the *Venetians* would become negligent and careleſſe of his intereſts, when by the conqueſt of the Duchie of *Millan* they ſhould ſtand aſſured of the power of the Emperour, would iudge that the longneſſe of the warre would be more profitable to him then the victorie, as a meanes more eaſie to induce the Emperour, wearied with troubles and expences, to reſtore his children vpon ſome new compoſition. But the precedent reaſons mouing the Pope, and much more the diſcontent to haue idlely expected the iſſue of the battel of *Pauie*, and for that he was reproched and reprehended by euery one of timorouſneſſe, together with the common murmure of all his Court, and of all *Italy*, who caſt in his teeth, that the Sea Apoſtolike and all *Italy* was reduced into ſo great danger by his fault; he determined in the end, not onely to enter confederation with the *French* King and the reſidue againſt the Emperour, but alſo to haſten the concluſion thereof: both for other regards, and principally for this, that prouiſions might be readie in time to ſuccour the Caſtle of *Millan*, before the extremitie of famine compelled them to yeeld to the enemies; which neceſſitie was the cauſe of all the aduerſities which followed: for that otherwiſe the Pope proceeding more ſlowly (vpon whoſe authoritie the *Venetians* depended much in this action) had expected, whether the Emperour being moued with the inobſeruation of the *French* King, would propound for the common ſuretie, thoſe conditions which had bene ſet downe before, if he ſhould be conſtrained to take

armes:

armes: and for that not being compelled to make knowne to the *French* king ſo great a neceſſitie, he had eaſily obtained of him, as well for himſelfe as for the *Venetians*, better conditions: and without doubt the articles of the confederation had bene better ſet downe and particulated, and there had bene more aſſurance of the obſeruation, and finally the warre had not begun vntill the *Swiſſers* had ſtirred, and all the prouiſions neceſſarie had bene readie: and haply the King of *England* had entred into the confederation, with whom for the diſtance of places, there was no leiſure to negociate. But when the Pope and the *Venetians* ſaw, that (for the danger of the Caſtle) celeritie was of great importance, they diſpatched with ſpeed (but very ſecretly) commiſſions to their Agents, to go through with the confederation, wherein they were enioyned to follow almoſt all thoſe articles which had bene debated before with the Ladie Regent, the more to haſten the expedition. But new aduertiſements coming dayly of the neceſſitie of the Caſtle, the Pope entred into conſideration, that whereas it was neceſſary (for that the right way from *Rome* to the Court of *France* was ſtopped) that the poſts muſt make a long circuite through *Swiſſerland*, and that in the capitulation there might eaſily fall out ſome difficultie, & conſequently tract of time, it might happen that they might ſtand ſo long vpon the concluſion of the confederation, that if they ſhould deferre to begin to make prouiſions to reſcue the Caſtle vntill after the concluſion, there were danger leſt the ſuccours would come too late: and therefore when he had conſulted of this danger with the *Venetians*, and likewiſe at the perſwaſion of the Agents of the Duke of *Millan* reſident at *Rome* and at *Venice*, and of many others of his faction who propounded many conditions, they reſolued to prepare forces ſufficient to reſcue the Caſtle, to the end to employ them as ſoone as the concluſion of the league was come out of *France*, and in the meane while to giue hope to the people of *Millan*, and to nouriſh many practiſes, which were propounded vnto them in the townes of that State. They concluded therefore with one conſent, that the *Venetians* ſhould ſend the Duke of *Vrbin* to their frontiers towards the riuer of *Adda*, with their companies of men at armes, and ſixe thouſand footmen *Italians*, and the Pope to ſend to *Plaiſance* the Count *Guido Rangon* with ſixe thouſand footmen: and for that it was thought neceſſary to haue a good number of *Swiſſers*, of which nation the Duke of *Vrbin* counſelled the *Venetians* to leuie twelue thouſand for the aſſured obtaining of the victorie, and that the Pope and the *Venetians*, to the end not to diſcloſe themſelues ſo much againſt the Emperour, ſo long as they were not aſſured that the league was made, ſhould not ſend their Agents to leuie ſuch a number of *Swiſſers*, they gaue eare to *Iohn Iaques de Medicis* of *Millan*, who of a Captain of the Rocke of *Mus*, for the knowledge he had of the ſituation of the place, and by the fauour of the times then running, had made himſelfe Lord thereof. This *Iohn Iaques* told them, that many moneths before he had wrought many of the *Swiſſer*-Captaines to that effect, and offered to cauſe ſixe thouſand *Swiſſers* to deſcend as ſoone as they ſhould ſend vnto him ſixe thouſand duckats, which *Swiſſers* ſhould not be leuied by the decree of the Cantons, but particularly, and that as ſoone as they were deſcended into the Duchie of *Millan*, they ſhould proceed to furniſh their pay. Now, as it often happeneth in enterpriſes which of the one ſide are eſteemed eaſie, and on the other ſide are preſſed with the ſhortneſſe of time, the offer of this man was accepted by the Pope and the *Venetians*, being alſo approued by the Agents of the Duke of *Millan*, and by *Ennia* Biſhop of *Verula*, in whom the Pope repoſed wholly for matters of the *Swiſſers*, for that he had a long time followed the ſolicitation of thoſe affaires in the name of the Church, and to that end had lyen many moneths at *Breſſia* by his direction, and was at that time with the Agent of the *Venetians*, where he treated continually with many of that nation. In like ſort they hearkened at *Venice* to *Octauian Sforce* Biſhop of *Loda*, who offering to make an eaſie leuie of a great number of them, was immediatly ſent by them into *Swiſſerland* (without communicating with the Pope) to wage ſixe thouſand more, in the ſame ſort, and at the ſame rate of payes: of which deuices, ill digeſted and worſe vnderſtood, was bred (as ſhall be ſhewed hereafter) a great beginning to bring to confuſion the enterpriſe which was dreſſed with ſo great hope.

Whileſt theſe things were in hand in *Italy*, the Emperour beginning to enter into ſuſpition for the delayes interpoſed to the ratification, ſent the Viceroy of *Naples* (who together with the hoſtages and Queene *Eleoner* ſtayed in the Citie of *Victoria*, to bring them to the King as ſoone as he had accompliſhed the contents of the capitulation) and with him Captaine *Alarcon*, into *France*, to be fully certified of the Kings intention, who was gone from *Bayon* to *Congnac*.

nac. And albeit the Viceroy was receiued with very great honour and kind vſage, as ſeruant to the Emperour, and as he by whom the King acknowledged a great part of his deliuerie, yet he found him wholly eſtranged from leauing of *Burgondie*, ſometimes excuſing himſelfe that he could neuer obtaine the conſent of the States of the Realme; and ſometimes alledging that he had neuer willingly conſented to a promiſe, which being very preiudicial to ỹ Crown of *France*, was impoſſible for him to obſerue: but that deſiring as much as he could to entertaine himſelfe in the amitie begun with the Emperour, and to giue perfection to the mariage, he would be contented (obſeruing all other couenants betweene them) to pay vnto him two millions of crownes, in ſtead of the reſignation of *Burgondie*: and he declared, that no other thing induced him to confirme with this moderation the accord made at *Madril*, then the great deſire he had to continue in good intelligence with the Emperour, for that he wanted not offers and prouocations from the Pope, the King of *England*, & the *Venetians*, to incenſe him to renew the warre. Which anſwer, comprehending his laſt reſolution, the Viceroy ſignified to the Emperour, and the King ſent one of his Secretaries to certifie the ſame vnto him. Hereupon it happened, notwithſtanding the commiſſions from the Pope and the *Venetians*, ſo much deſired before, were now come to the Court, that the King who was more inclined to haue agreement with the Emperour, and in that regard had determined to expect his anſwer vpon the new offer, whereof the Viceroy had giuen him ſome hope, began openly to deferre the concluſion of the confederation; not altogether diſſembling (for it was impoſſible to hide it) that he ſolicited a new accord with the Emperour, which being propounded to him by the Viceroy, was a matter no way hurtfull to be vnderſtood: and he affirmed for certaine (notwithſtanding he had other intentions) that he would neuer make any concluſion which ſhould not containe the reſtoring of his children, the releaſe of the Duchie of *Millan*, and the ſafetie of all *Italy*: a matter ſufficient to qualifie the Pope, if for the ſuſpition and feare that was fixed in his mind, he had not iudged that the onely remedie for his affaires, was to confederate himſelfe with the *French* King. But it is not to be imagined how much the Emperour was troubled in his mind when he had receiued the aduertiſement of the Viceroy, & vnderſtood the charge of the Secretarie of the *French* King: for it was not a litle grieuous vnto him to loſe his hope to recouer *Burgondie*, which he vehemently deſired, as well for the augmentation of his glorie, as for the oportunitie of that Prouince for greater things. He was very angrie that the *French* King departing from his promiſes and faith giuen, declared manifeſtly to all the world, that he deſpiſed him: but the thing that troubled his mind yet more, was a certaine ſhame, for that (contrary to the counſell of almoſt all his Nobles, againſt the vniuerſall iudgement of all his Court, and contrarie to that, which after it was knowne the accord was made, had bin foretold of *Flanders* by the Ladie *Margaret* his Aunt, and by all his officers in *Italy*) he perſwaded himſelfe, meaſuring ill the importance and condition of affaires, that the *French* King would obſerue the accord. And amid theſe thoughts, when he had diligently conſidered that which concerned his owne dignitie, and in what dangers and difficulties his affaires at all aſſayes would ſtand, he determined to alter no iote of that article which ſpake of the reſtoring of *Burgondie*, and to accord rather with the Pope, and to conſent to the reintegration of *Francis Sforce*, as a thing more comely for him to pardon a Prince leſſe then himſelfe, then by yeelding to the will of a puiſſant Prince, and one that enuied his greatneſſe, to make as it were a confeſſion of feare: and rather to haue a moſt dangerous warre with euery one, then to remit the iniury receiued of the *French* King. For he feared leſt the Pope ſeeing his amitie to haue bene contemned, were wholly eſtranged in mind from him: and his ſuſpition was augmented by the knowledge he had, that the Pope beſides ỹ he had ſent a man into *France* to congratulate the King, had alſo ſent thither publikely an Embaſſador: but much more, for that he had newly taken into his pay (vnder colour to aſſure againſt the *Moores* the ſea coaſts of the Church) *Andrew Dore* with eight Galleys vnder the pay of thirtie thouſand duckats, and a yearely penſion: a matter which both for the qualitie of the man, and for that neuer heretofore the Pope had any thought to make himſelfe ſtrong vpon the ſea, and alſo becauſe *Andrew Dore* had bene many yeares in the pay of the *French* King; made him enter into ſuſpition leſt it were done with intention to trouble the Eſtate of *Genes*. For theſe reaſons preparing himſelfe for all accidents, and making at one & the ſame time many prouiſions, he ſolicited the paſſing of the Duke of *Bourbon* into *Italy*, who before made but ſlow preparation, and gaue order to that end, that ſeuen of his Galleys which lay at *Monaco*

The Emperour diſcontented.

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in *Italy*, ſhould come to *Barcelona* to be ioyned with the reſidue, and that there ſhould be ſent into *Italy* an hundred thouſand duckats, for that otherwiſe the going of the Duke of *Bourbon* would be to no purpoſe. He diſpatched to the Pope *Don Hugo de Moncada*, with commiſſion (as he ſaid) to ſatisfie him: but he directed him firſt to go to the Court of *France*, to the end that when he had learned of the Viceroy whether there were any hope that the King would obſerue, either he ſhould paſſe no further, or if he did, that he ſhould change his inſtructions and commiſſions according to the eſtate and neceſſitie of affaires. But to euery good counſell of the Pope, was oppoſed the danger leſt the Caſtle of *Millan* where the victuals were almoſt quite ſpent, would render to the enemie: the feare leſt by ſome meanes there would be contracted a new accord betweene the *French* king and the Emperour: the vncertaintie of that which might be wrought by the coming of *Don Hugo de Moncada*, who was much ſuſpected, for that he muſt firſt paſſe by the Court of *France*: and the diſſimulations and cunnings that would be vſed when he ſhould come into *Italy*.

Therefore the Pope, together with the *Venetians*, ſoliciting the concluſion of the confederation, the King at laſt when he vnderſtood by the coming of *Don Hugo de Moncada*, that the Emperour would alter nothing of the articles of the capitulation, fearing if he ſhould defer any longer to confederate, he ſhould induce the Pope to new counſels; and iudging that by this confederation his affaires ſhould ſtand in better eſtate of reputation with the Emperour, and that feare might haply moderate the rigour of his mind: and being alſo incited thereunto by the King of *England*, who more with perſwaſions then effects fauoured that concluſion, he began to hearken better to the treatie of the league: the which was concluded the tenth day of May, in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and ſixe, at *Congnac*, betweene the Kings Councell, deputies for the King, on the one part, and the Agents of the Pope and the *Venetians* on the other part: That betweene the Pope, the *French* King, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Millan* (for whom the Pope and the *Venetians* aſſured the ratification) ſhould be a league and confederation perpetuall, to the end to repoſſeſſe *Francis Sforce* freely of the Duchie of *Millan*, and reſtore to libertie the *French* Kings children: That the league ſhould be ſignified to the Emperour, to whom was granted power to enter into it within three moneths, vpon condition to redeliuer the Kings children, receiuing a competent ranſome, ſuch as ſhould be arbitrated by the King of *England*: and with condition alſo to leaue wholly the Duchie of *Millan* to *Francis Sforce*, and the other Eſtates of *Italy* as they were afore the laſt warre began: That for the deliuerie of *Francis Sforce*, beſieged within the Caſtle of *Millan*, and for the recouerie of that eſtate, a preſent warre ſhould be made with eight hundred men at armes, ſeuen hundred light horſemen, and eight thouſand footmen for the Popes part: and for the *Venetians*, with eight hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and eight thouſand footmen: and for the Duke of *Millan* foure hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, as ſoone as he ſhould be able, and in the meane time the Pope and the *Venetians* ſhould furniſh them for him: That the *French* king ſhould preſently ſend into *Italy* fiue hundred Lances, and pay (ſo long as the warre ſhould endure) fortie thouſand crownes a moneth to the Pope and to the *Venetians*, with which money bands of *Swiſſers* were to be entertained: That the *French* king ſhould immediatly open the warre againſt the Emperour beyond the Mounts on what ſide he ſhould thinke beſt, with an armie at leaſt of two thouſand Lances, and ten thouſand footmen, and with ſufficient ſtore of artilleries: That the *French* king ſhould arme twelue light Galleys, and the *Venetians* thirteen, at their owne coſt: That the Pope ſhould ioyne to theſe Galleys thoſe wherewith he had entertained *Andrew Dore* into his pay: That the charges ſhould be common for ſhips neceſſarie for the ſaid armie by ſea, with the which they ſhould addreſſe their courſe to *Genes*: and afterwards the Emperours armie in *Lombardie* being either vanquiſhed or weakened, they ſhould mightily inuade the kingdome of *Naples* as well by ſea as by land, which being once conquered, the inueſtiture thereof ſhould be transferred to whomſoeuer it pleaſed the Pope: and yet in an article ſeparate it was ſet downe, that he might not diſpoſe thereof without the conſent of the Confederates, but that the tributes which anciently were vſed to be payed to the Sea Apoſtolike ſhould be reſerued for him, and an eſtate of fortie thouſand duckats of reuenue for whom he thought good: That to the end the *French* King might be certaine, that by the victory to be obtained in *Italy* and the conqueſt of *Naples*, the deliuery of his children might be made eaſie, in which caſe, if the Emperour would within

The Pope, the French King, and Venetians make league together.

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foure moneths after the losse of that kingdome enter into the confederation vnder the condi-ons aforesaid, it should be restored to him; but if he would not accept that power to enter into the league, then the *French* king should take and enioy the yearely and perpetuall rent of that Realme: That the *French* king should not at any time, nor for any cause molest *Francis Sforce* in the Duchie of *Millan*, but should be bound, together with the others, to defend him against all men, and to do what he could to introduce betweene him and the *Swissers* a new confederation; but that he should receiue of him yearely a perpetuall tribute, such as should be set downe by the Pope and the *Venetians*, the which notwithstanding by their arbitrage should not be lesse then fiftie thousand duckats: That *Francis Sforce* should take to wife such a Ladie of the bloud of *France*, as it should please the King to prouide for him, and should be bound to entertaine his brother *Maximilian* decently, in stead of the yearely pension which he receiued of the King: That the King should reenter into the Earledome of *Ast*: and if *Genes* were recouered, that he should haue the same superioritie there which he was wont to haue in times past: and that *Anthoniot Adorney*, who then was Duke there, if he would accord to the league, should be receiued, acknowledging the *French* king for superiour, in the same sort and maner as *Octauian Fregosa* had done a few yeares before: That all the Confederates should demand of the Emperour the deliuerie of the children of *France*, and if he should refuse so to do, that it should be denounced to him in the name of them all, that the League would do all that they could to haue them againe: That as soone as the warres of *Italy* were finished, or at least the Realme of *Naples* taken, and the Emperours armie so weakened as there was no feare of it, the Confederates should be bound to aide the *French* king against the Emperour beyond the Mounts with a thousand men at armes, fifteene hundred light horsemen, and ten thousand footmen, or else to giue him money in stead of men, at the Kings choise: That not one of the Confederates without the consent of the residue, might contract with the Emperour, to whom it should be permitted, in case he entred into the confederation, to go to *Rome* to take the Imperiall Crowne, with such a traine of men as were not to be feared, the same to be rated by the Pope and the *Venetians*: That though any one of the Confederates were taken away by death, yet the League should stand good: That the King of *England* should be protector and defender thereof, to whom was left power to enter into it: and in case he would enter, there should be giuen to him in the Realme of *Naples* an estate of fiue and thirtie thousand duckats of reuenue, and another of ten thousand to the Cardinall of *Yorke*, either in the same Realme, or in some other part of *Italy*. The Pope would not suffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to be comprehended in this confederation, notwithstanding the *French* king and the *Venetians* solicited it: and which more is, he procured that it should be set downe in the confederation (though vnder generall words) that the Confederates should be bound to aide him to recouer those places for which the Duke was in contention with the Church. Touching the *Florentines*, there was no doubt made but they were effectually comprehended in the confederation, for that the Pope made his reckoning not onely to serue his turne with their men at armes and all their forces, but also to cause them to concurre with him, yea euen to make them sustaine the greatest burthen of the expences of the warre: but to the end not to hinder the traffike and commerce which that nation had with the subiects of the Emperour, as also not to put in danger their Merchants and factors, they were not named as Confederates: onely it was set downe that for the Popes sake they should enioy all the exemptions, priuiledges and benefites of the confederation, as if they had bene expresly comprehended, the Pope promising for them that they should be in no sort against the league. It was not prouided who should be Captaine generall of the armie and of the warre, for that the shortnesse of time gaue no leisure to bring into counsell vpon whose shoulders (both for his authoritie and qualitie, and for the confidence that euery one was to haue in him) they should lay so great a burthen: and certainly it was not easie to find out a man, in whose person were concurrant such conditions.

When the League was contracted, the King, not hauing as yet altogether withdrawne his mind from the practises with the Viceroy of *Naples*, deferred to ratifie it, to begin to cause his companies of men at armes to march, and to send the fortie thousand duckats for the first moneth, vntill such time as the ratification of the Pope and the *Venetians* was come: and albeit such an intermission troubled their minds, yet being pressed to prosecute their purpose by the necessities we haue declared, the ratification being dispatched, they determined

immediatly to giue beginning to the warre, vnder colour that they would reſcue the Caſtle of *Millan*. And therefore the Pope, who had ſent before to *Plaiſance*, *Guido Rangon* Generall of the Church armie, with his companies of men at armes, and fiue thouſand footmen, had ſent thither of new with other regiments of footmen and the men at armes of *Florence*, *Vitello Vitelli* who was Gouernour there, and *Iohn de Medicis* whom he made Colonell of the *Italian* footmen, and created *Francis Guicciardin*, at that time Preſident of *Romagna*, his Lieutenant generall ouer the armie, and ouer the whole iuriſdiction, enduing him with moſt ample and almoſt abſolute power. The *Venetians* alſo for their part increaſed their armie, which remained at *Chiara* in the countrey of *Breſſia*, whereof the Duke of *Vrbin* was Generall, and *Peter Peſero* Treaſurer, both the armies hauing direction to endomage the Imperials, & to inuade them, without any reſpect or delay. In this meane while *Don Hugo de Moncada* was arriued at *Millan*, who, albeit the League was ſtill kept from the knowledge of the Viceroy and him, yet diſtruſting by the Kings anſwers, that matters could not be reduced to the Emperours contentment, had followed his way into *Italy*; where taking with him into the Caſtle of *Millan* the Pronotarie *Caracciol*, when he had aſſured the Duke of the clemencie and benignitie of the Emperour, he laboured to perſwade him to referre himſelfe to his will. But the Duke made anſwer, that in regard of the iniuries which the Emperours Captaines had done him, he was driuen to haue recourſe to the Pope and the *Venetians*, without whoſe participation it was not fit that he ſhould diſpoſe of himſelfe. *Don Hugo* put him in hope, that the Emperours intention was, that the crimes wherewith he was charged ſhould be ſummarily looked into by the Pronotarie *Caracciol*, who was a Prelate in whom the Duke put great confidence; and gaue him to vnderſtand, that it was rather to reſtore vnto him his Eſtate with better conſeruation of the Emperours reputation, then for any other occaſion; and that when he had ſpoken with the Pope, he would giue perfection to theſe things: and yet he would not conſent that the ſiege might be firſt leuied, nor that promiſe ſhould be made to innouate nothing, according to the inſtance of the Duke. It was beleeued, and the bruite afterwards was ſuch, that the authoritie and power which the Emperour gaue to *Don Hugo* was very ample, and not onely to contract with the Pope agreeing to the reintegration of the Duke of *Millan*, but alſo with the Duke alone, taking aſſurance, that when he was reſtored to his Eſtate, he would do no act preiudiciall to the affaires of the Emperour: but that this commiſſion was with limitation, according to the traine of times and neceſſities; and that *Don Hugo* conſidering into what extremitie the Caſtle was reduced, and that to compound with the Duke would nothing profit the affaires of the Emperor, but ſo farre forth as it was a meanes to come to accord with the Pope and the *Venetians*, he iudged it would be a matter vnprofitable to contract with him alone. Afterwards *Don Hugo* and the Pronotarie cauſed *Moron* to be brought to *Monce*, who was kept priſoner within the Rocke of *Trezzo*: which they did, rather that the Pronotarie who was to be iudge of the cauſe, might take information of him, then for any other occaſion. After this, *Don Hugo* went from *Millan* to *Rome*, hauing firſt written to *Venice*, that they ſhould ſend ſufficient authoritie to their Embaſſadour at *Rome* to debate of the affaires occurrent: and when he was arriued at *Rome*, he preſented himſelfe before the Pope, together with the Duke of *Seſſa*, to whom he declared with braue words, that it was in his power to accept either peace or warre, for that the Emperour (although by his good intention he enclined more to peace) was neuertheleſſe both in courage and forces readie both for the one and the other. Whereunto the Pope anſwered generally, complaining notwithſtanding that the hard termes which the Emperours officers had vſed towards him, and the very late arriuall of *Don Hugo*, was the cauſe that whereas afore he was at his owne libertie, he ſtood now bound to others. They returned to him the next day, ſignifying that the Emperours intention was to leaue wholly the Duchie of *Millan* to *Francis Sforce*, ſo that the Caſtle might be deliuered into the hands of the Pronotarie *Caracciol*, vntill for the Emperours honour the cauſe were examined, not to the bottome, but in apparence and by way of ceremonie: and alſo that his intention was to put end to the quarels betweene him and the *Venetians* by ſome honeſt meanes, and to withdraw his armie out of *Lombardie*, with the payes which had bene treated vpon at other times: and that for all this he demanded no other thing of him, then that he would forbeare to interpoſe betweene him and the *French* king. To this propoſition the Pope anſwered, that he doubted not but it was well knowne to all the world, how much he had alwayes deſired to keepe amitie with the Emperour, and that he had neuer demanded greater things, then ſuch as the Emperour

perour himſelfe did willingly offer him, the which could not be more agreeable to his will, for that he deſired rather the common benefite then his owne profit: That now alſo he continued in the ſame inclination, though many occaſions were giuen him to fall from it: and yet he heard now with greater griefe of mind the accord that was offered him touching theſe matters, then he had heretofore heard the refuſall, for that it was no more in his power to accept them, as it was in time paſt: which proceeded not of his fault, but in that the Emperour deferred ſo long to reſolue: which was the cauſe, that no hope being euer brought him of the aſſurance of the common affaires of *Italy*, and ſeeing in the meane while the perill of the Caſtle of *Millan*, he had bene conſtrained for the ſafetie of himſelfe and others, to confederate with the *French* king, without whom (vnleſſe he would breake his faith) he had no power to determine any thing. In which anſwer the Pope perſeuering cõſtantly, notwithſtanding many things were replied to the contrary, *Don Hugo*, after he had in vaine talked often with him, departed from *Rome* much diſcontented, as likewiſe were the Imperiall Captaines, for that the hope of peace being cut off, things tended to manifeſt warre, which for the power of the League, and for their owne extremities and diſorders, they ſuppoſed it would be very hard for them to ſuſtaine.

About this time the Popes Lieutenant ſurpriſed a packet of letters, written by *Anthonie de Leua* to the Duke of *Seſſa*, by the which he aduertiſed him of the ill diſpoſition of the people of *Millan*, and that there was no other remedie for their affaires then the fauour of God: and other letters written from himſelf & the Marquis of *Guaſt* to *Don Hugo* after he was gone from *Millan*, wherein making earneſt ſolicitation to aduance the peace, they inſiſted greatly to know forthwith what would enſue thereof; not failing to put him in mind of the danger wherein they ſtood, together with the Emperours armie. But there was not ſo great aſſurance in the minds of thoſe that were to diſpoſe of the forces of the league, as the feare was great of the Imperiall captains. For the Duke of *Vrbin* (by whõ, for the title he had of Captain generall of the *Venetian* armie, and for his ſingularitie of eſtate, authoritie and reputation aboue the others, the abſolute gouernment of the whole armie was in effect to be managed) eſteeming haply more then was conuenient, the valour of the *Spaniards* and Lanceknights, and doubting much the *Italian* ſouldiers, had reſolued in his mind not to paſſe the riuer of *Adda*, if he had not in the army fiue thouſand *Swiſſers* at the leaſt: and fearing alſo leſt the Imperials would paſſe *Adda* and ſet vpon him, if he ſhould paſſe the riuer of *Oglia* onely with the companies of the *Venetians*, he made inſtance that the armie of the Church which was then at *Plaiſance*, paſſing ouer *Po* beneath *Cremona*, might come and ioyne with the *Venetians* neare the riuer of *Adda*, and afterwards in ſome place of ſtrength vpon the ſhores thereof, to attend the coming of the *Swiſſers*: who (beſides their owne nature) were hindered with many difficulties, the charge to leuie them being vndiſcreetly committed to Captaine *Mus* and the Biſhop of *Loda*. For the Biſhop, being a man full of vanitie, managed not that buſineſſe as appertained; and Captaine *Mus* ſought chiefly by fraud to get for himſelfe part of the money that was ſent vnto him to pay the *Swiſſers*: and neither of them both had ſuch authoritie with that nation, as was needfull to leuie ſo great a number, chiefly with ſo ſmall a ſumme of money, and with ſuch ſpeed as the neceſſitie of the ſeruice required; and that alſo was corrupted by the enuie that happened betweene them, being more carried with ambition and their particular intereſts, then any thing elſe. Moreouer, the *French* kings Agents that were in the countrey of *Swiſſerland* oppoſed ſome difficulties, for that they knew not what was the inclination of their King herein, nor whether it was a matter contrary or conformable to his intentions. For not by forgetfulneſſe, but expreſly, following thoſe counſels which oftentimes ſeeming very wiſe, are found in the end too ſubtill, they had failed to aduertiſe the King of that expedition: for that *Albert Pio* the Kings Embaſſadour reſident with the Pope, had ſignified, that if the King vnderſtood before the concluſion of the League of the direction giuen to make a leuie of *Swiſſers*, it was to be feared leſt he would deferre longer to conclude, for that it ſeemed to him euery way, that the warre againſt the Emperour had bene begun without him by the Pope and the *Venetians*. Thus for the long tarrying of the *Swiſſers*, was foreſlowed one of the moſt principall and mightie foundations layed for the reſcue of the Caſtle of *Millan*, notwithſtanding both the Biſhop and Captaine *Mus* gaue dayly certaine and almoſt preſent hope, that they would be ſpeedily at the campe.

But when the Imperiall Captaines ſaw that the warre was prepared openly, they determined,

to the end not to be trauelled at one time with enemies both within and without, to ſtand aſſured of the people of *Millan*, who becoming euery day more inſolent, did not onely denie them all thoſe prouiſions that they demanded, but alſo if any of the ſouldiers were found in the Citie ſeparate from the reſt, he was ſlaine by the people. The Imperiall Captaines therefore taking occaſion of the diſorders that were done in the towne, required that certaine Captaines of the people ſhould depart out of *Millan*: by reaſon whereof the people beginning to draw into tumult, certaine *Spaniards* were ſlaine going along the ſtreetes: and for this cauſe *Anthonie de Leua* and the Marquis of *Guaſt*, after they had ſecretly drawne their forces neare to *Millan*, and denounced to the people that they were no more bound to the accord made certaine dayes before, the ſeuenteenth day of Iune (to giue beginning to a tumult) they cauſed to be ſlaine in their preſence one of the cõmon people, who had done no reuerence to them in paſſing by, and three others after him: and then iſſuing out of their lodgings with a troupe of Lanceknights, they gaue occaſion to the Commons to ſound the alarme, who though at the firſt they had forced the old Court, and the great tower of the Biſhopricke guarded by *Italian* footmen, yet fighting in the end without order, and according to the maner of ignorant people, more with exclamations then with their weapons, and being much endomaged by certaine ſhot beſtowed in places of aduantage, which the *Spaniards* had ſeized vpon before, many of them were hurt and ſlaine: inſomuch as their diſorders and feares increaſing continually, and the Lanceknights hauing begun to put fire to the next houſes, the *Spaniſh* footmen, called by their Captaines, being now very neare the Citie, the people fearing the laſt harmes, agreed that their Leaders and many other perſons agreed vpon, ſhould go out of *Millan*, and that the popular multitude ſhould depoſe armes, and ſubmit themſelues to the obedience of the Captaines: who with theſe conditions, haſted to ceaſſe the tumult before the *Spaniſh* footmen entred the towne, fearing if they ſhould enter whileſt both the parties were in armes, leſt it would not be in their power to bridle the furie of the warre, or to reſtraine their ſouldiers from ſacking the towne; from which haning their minds eſtranged, as well for feare leſt the armie being made rich with ſo great a bootie would be much diminiſhed, as for the conſideration of the want of money and other difficulties which they might ſuffer in the warre, they iudged it more profitable to preſerue that Citie wherein they might long nouriſh the armie, then in one day to conſume all the ſtrength and ſpirit thereof. Thus it ſeemed that the affaires of the League proceeded not with that proſperitie which men had promiſed themſelues in the beginning, ſeeing there were ſo many difficulties found already in the deſcending of the *Swiſſers*, and that the hope of the people of *Millan* had failed them: but a new accident that happened, made their reputation and the facilitie to ouercome, much greater and more apparent then before. In ſo great a diſcontentment, or rather laſt deſpaire of the Duchie of *Millan*, there was entertained for certaine moneths by the working of many perſons, ſundrie practiſes of innouation almoſt in all the Cities of that State: but the reſidue ſeruing to no purpoſe, one ſucceeded to good effect, being managed by the Duke of *Vrbin* and the Treaſurer of *Venice* in the Citie of *Loda* with *Lodowike Viſtarin* a Gentleman of that Citie: who, puſhed on for that he had bene an ancient ſeruantto the houſe of the *Sforces*, or moued with compaſſion ouer the calamities of his country, being no leſſe rudely dealt withal by *Fabricio Maramo* Colonell of fifteene hundred footmen *Neapolitans*, then *Millan* was by the *Spaniards* and Lanceknights, he determined to bring in the *Venetian* regiments, notwithſtanding he was in the pay of the Imperials: but he aſſured, and the Duke of *Vrbin* confirmed it, that he had before both demanded and obtained leaue to go his way, making his excuſe that he could no longer without money entertaine the bands of ſouldiers which were committed to his charge. The matter was directed in this ſort: That vpon the foure and twentieth day of Iune in the night, *Malateſta Baillon* with three or foure thouſand footmen of the *Venetians*, ſhould approch in the beginning of the night neare the walls of the Citie, on that ſide where was a certaine baſtillion, to be let in by *Viſtarin*, who a litle before, with two others that accompanied him, being come neare the baſtillion, which ſixe footmen guarded, as it were to ouerlooke them, and being followed with ſome others, whom he had hidden in certaine houſes there by, he entred into the baſtillion, and began to fight with thoſe that guarded it. For albeit he had before pronounced the watchword, according to the cuſtome of warre, yet the ſouldiers being doubtfull of treaſon, were come to blowes with him, and foraſmuch as others ranne to them by reaſon of the bruite, the baſtillion was in danger to be recouered, for that they began to fight vigo-

Loda ſurpriſed by the Venetians.

rouſly,

rously, in which bickering *Lodowike* was hurt: but as he was now reduced to the last necessitie, *Malatesta* arriued with his bands, who being mounted vpon the same bastillion with ladders, they entred the towne, by reason whereof *Fabricio Maramus* who heard thereof by the bruite, and came to the walls with part of his souldiers, was constrained to retire into the Castle. The towne was taken, and the most part of the souldiers that were lodged in sundrie places of the Citie were stripped and made prisoners: and a litle after the Duke of *Vrbin* arriued there with part of his regiments, who to the end to be the nearer, was gone the day before to lodge at *Orago*, vpon the riuer of *Oglio*, which he passed the same night by a bridge made in haste, when he vnderstood that *Malatesta* was entred into *Loda*, and passed also vpon a like bridge the riuer of *Adda*: and when he had bestowed a greater garrison within *Loda*, for the better defence thereof in case succours should come by the Castle, he returned immediatly to the armie. But as soone as the tidings hereof was come to *Millan*, the Marquis of *Guast* with certaine troupes of light horsemen, and three thousand *Spanish* footmen, amongst whom was *John of Vrbin*, drew presently to *Loda*, and hauing without impediment bestowed his bands of footmen by the gate of succours within the Castle, situate in such sort, that they might enter with safetie by a way naturally couered, without danger to be annoyed with shot coming from the flankes of the Citie: he entred sodainly into the Citie by the Castle, and got to the market place, where the forces that *Malatesta* brought with him, and the succours that came afterwards, stood in battell ray, and put diuers houses vnder guard, together with the streete that led to the gate whereby they were entred, to the end they might be able to retire and issue with safetie, if it happened that the Imperials became maisters. The fight was valiantly performed at the beginning, and it was the opinion of many, that if the *Spaniards* had perseuered, they had recouered *Loda*, for that the *Venetian* souldiers were very weary and out of heart: but the Marquis distrusting, either for that he found there a greater number of souldiers then he esteemed in the beginning, or for that he had a conceit, that the *Venetian* armie approched, retired presently from the fight, and leauing a garrison in the Castle, he returned to *Millan*. A litle after the Duke of *Vrbin* hapned to come, who gloried, that without staying he had passed his armie ouer two great riuers by the benefit of bridges: and the better to assure the victorie, he resupplied the regiments that were within *Loda*, to the end to make the better resistance in case the enemies returned thither againe, and caused the artilleries to be planted round about the Castle. But those within, for that they expected no succours, and that they could hardly defend the Castle, which for the small circuite was not capable of many men, the night following, being receiued by certaine horsemen sent from *Millan* for that purpose, they abandoned the Castle.

The conquest of *Loda* happened very conueniently and gaue great reputation to the affaires of the League, for as much as the Citie was well fortified, and one of those which it was alwaies thought the Imperials would defend to the vttermost. From *Loda* they might go without any impediment, euen to the gates of *Millan* and *Pauie*, for that those Cities situate triangle-wise, are twentie miles one from another; and for this cause the Imperials dispatched with great expedition fifteene hundred Lanceknights to *Pauie*. Moreouer, the passage of *Adda*, which before was supposed to be very troublesome, was wonne: there was now nothing to hinder the vniting of the armies of the league: the enemies had no more meanes to succour *Cremona*, in which Citie Captaine *Conradin* lay in garrison with fifteene hundred Lanceknights: and they were depriued of a place very commodious to vexe the state of the Church, and that of the *Venetians*: in so much as the common voice was through the armie, that if they aduanced with diligence, the Imperials would be reduced into very great perplexitie and confusion. But the Duke of *Vrbin* was of another iudgement, being resolued that it would be a very dangerous enterprise to draw neare to *Millan* without a great band of *Swissers*: who for that he would not discouer to others that such was his secret intention, he determined in marching slowly, and reposing alwayes one day at the least in euery lodging, to giue time to the descending of the *Swissers*, in hope that within a few dayes they would be with the armie, and despised all that was propounded to be done in case they came not, although in respect of that which had passed till that day there was great doubt of their coming. Therefore the day after the conquest of *Loda*, the Church armie marching to Saint *Martin*, within three miles of *Loda*, it was resolued by common counsell, that when the Ecclesiastikes and the *Venetians* had soiourned yet one day in their tents, they should draw the next day towards old *Loda*, which is fiue miles from *Loda* (where it is said that

Pompey the Great builded *Loda*) and three miles from the high way that leadeth to *Pauie*, by taking which way, they threatned *Millan* and *Pauie*; to the end to hold the Imperiall Captaines the more in ſuſpence: and the ſame day the armies Eccleſiaſtike and *Venetian* ioyned together in the field as they marched, being almoſt equall in numbers of footmen, and containing in all few leſſe then twentie thouſand: but the *Venetians* had more men at armes and light horſemen (the Eccleſiaſtikes continually furniſhing themſelues,) and alſo greater prouiſion of artilleries, munitions, and all other neceſſary things. At old *Loda*, where they remained the day following, the Captaines tooke further aduice, and it was determined that hereafter the armies ſhould keepe along the high way, the better to auoide the incommodities of the countrey, which out of the high way is full of ditches and banks, for that it was thought it would be more eaſie to giue ſuccours to the Caſtle by the way that leadeth towards the gate of *Coma*, then by the way of *Landriano*, which turneth to the gate of *Vereeil*, whither they could hardly come by reaſon of the ſituation of the countrey; and for that going that way, there was a more ſafe recourſe for victuals, and more facilitie to receiue the *Swiſſers* who were alwayes to backe them. With this reſolution the armies being vnited, arriued the laſt day of Iune at *Marignan*, where conſulting what was to be done, the Duke of *Vrbin* perſwaded to abide the comming of the *Swiſſers*, whoſe deſcending was as much and haply more vncertaine then before: and he was of opinion, that without ſuch a ſtrength and firme backe, it could not but be dangerous to draw neare *Millan*, with new companies, leuied in haſte, notwithſtanding there was within the towne but a very ſlender ſtrength of horſemen, three thouſand Lanceknights, and but fiue or ſixe thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, who were without money, and had very litle prouiſion of victuals. But many of the other Captaines were not of his opinion, who iudged that marching in order, and always cauſing their camping places to be known the day before, they might approch to *Millan* without danger, ſeeing the countrey is euery way ſo ſtrong and defencible, that without difficulties they might alwayes incampe in very ſure places: and they thought it not likely, that the Imperials would iſſue out into the field to inuade them, for that it being neceſſary for them to leaue the Caſtle beſieged, & that for feare of the people they durſt not leade all their companies out of the Towne, there would remaine too ſmall a number to aſſaile ſo great an armie, wherein albeit it was lately leuied, there was a good number of old ſoldiers, and of the moſt renowmed Captaines of all *Italy*: and ſeeing they might approch *Millan* without danger, it was alſo not without hope of the victorie, for that the ſuburbes of *Millan* being not fortified, but by the negligence that had bene vſed in repairing them, left open in many parts, it ſeemed not credible that the Imperials would ſtand to defend ſo great a circuit of place: whereof there were diſcerned manifeſt tokens, in that vſing ſmall care to repaire the ſuburbes, they had all ſet themſelues to fortifie the towne: and abandoning the ſuburbes, where the armie may preſently lodge, it cannot be thought that the towne can long hold out: not onely for that the armie is without money, and ill ſtored of victuals, but alſo for that both *Proſper Colonno* and many other Captaines were alwayes of this opinion, that it was very hard to defend *Millan* againſt an armie that was Lord of the ſuburbes; as well for that the Citie is very weake in walls (the houſes of particular perſons ſeruing for walls in many places) as for that the ſuburbes haue a great aduantage of the Citie: whereunto was added, that they had the Caſtle at their deuotion. But not onely this deliberation, but alſo all others depended chiefly vpon the will of the Duke of *Vrbin*: for that albeit he was Captaine onely ouer the *Venetians*, the Eccleſiaſtikes to auoide contentions, and for that they could not do otherwiſe, had determined to referre themſelues to him as to their Generall. Neuertheleſſe though theſe reaſons incited him not to paſſe further, nor the vehement inſtances which (by order from their ſuperiours) the Popes Lieutenant and the Treaſurer of *Venice* vrged, many other Captaines alſo being of the ſame mind, yet in the end he conſidered that if he made any long abode in that place, without better certaintie of the comming of the *Swiſſers*, it would be to his great charge and infamie. Therefore when the armie had reſted two dayes at *Marignan*, he remoued it the third of Iuly to *S. Donato*, fiue miles from *Millan*, determining to paſſe further, more to ſatisfie the deſire and iudgement of others, then of his owne deliberation; but with intention to put alwayes one day betweene the remouing of the campe, to giue the more time to the coming of the *Swiſſers*, of whom a thouſand deſcending by *Bergama*, were arriued at the armie, and (according to their cuſtome) there came daily meſſages that the reſidue would not ſtay long.

Then

Then the fift day of Iuly, the armie paſſing from *S. Martin*, went and lodged within three miles of *Millan*, out of the way on the right hand, in a ſtrong and ſure place, where the ſame day was executed a light enterpriſe againſt certaine harquebuziers of the *Spaniards* who were fortified within a houſe; and the day following, the campe being at the ſame place, ſuch another; vpon which day there arriued at the campe fiue hundred *Swiſſers* led by *Ceſar Gallo*. In this place they conſulted againe of the maner to paſſe further; and albeit the firſt intention was to march directly to ſuccour the Caſtle of *Millan*, where the trenches that encloſed it about were not ſo ſtrong but that there was great hope to winne them: neuertheleſſe the Duke of *Vrbin* (whoſe aduice was at laſt approued of all the others, for that in the counſels, he propounded, and without attending the anſwers of others, declared his opinion, or at leaſt in propounding vſed ſuch words, that he was eaſily diſcouered, ſo that the other Captains durſt not contradict him) was of opinion that the armies ſhould take the way that leadeth directly to the ſuburbes of *Millan*, alledging, that the making plaine of the ways, which of neceſſitie muſt be done by reaſon of the ſtrength of the countrey, would be a labour long, and not without danger of ſome diſorder to leade the armie out of the high way to the reſcue of the Caſtle, for that they were to ſhew themſelues too neare in flanke to the enemies; and it would giue them meanes to make the greater reſiſtance, becauſe they would range all their forces on that ſide towards the Caſtle: whereas otherwiſe they ſhould be conſtrained to remaine deuided to reſiſt their enemies, and not abandon the guard of the Caſtle; and drawing to *Rome* gate, it would be alwayes in the power of the Captaines of the league to turne themſelues eaſily on what ſide they would, as occaſions were offered. According to which counſell it was reſolued, that the ſeuenth day the campe ſhould lodge at *Bufaletta* and *Pillaſtrella*, which are villages along the high way within cannon ſhot, with intention there to take ſuch courſe as occaſion and the proceeding of the enemies ſhould offer. Many were of opinion, that the enemies when they ſhould ſee the campe ſo neare them, would not (ſpecially in the night) vndertake to defend the ſuburbes, for that the ditches were filled vp in many places, and the rampiers made plaine, and on ſome ſides ſo open, that they could hardly be defended. But the night before the day wherein the armie was to aduance, the Duke of *Bourbon*, who was arriued a few dayes before at *Genes* with ſixe galleys, and with bils of exchange for an hundred thouſand duckats, entred with about eight hundred *Spaniſh* footmen whom he had brought with him, into *Millan*, being much ſolicited by the Marquis of *Guaſt* and *Anthonie de Leua*, by whoſe coming the ſouldiers were much encouraged: and thereby the affected negligence or rather cold diſpoſition of the *French* King to the warre might be perceiued. For the Pope hauing in the beginning when he entertained *Andrew Dore* into his pay, conſulted with him, with what forces and preparations the enterpriſe of *Genes* ſhould be aſſayed, he propoſed much facilitie, ſo that it were put to execution when the warre ſhould be begun in the Duchie of *Millan*, and ioyning the Kings galleys riding in the port of *Marſeilles* to his eight galleys, or at leaſt hindering the coming of the galleys of the Duke of *Bourbon*: for that remaining in that ſort Lord of the ſea with his eight galleys, *Genes* hauing the ſea ſhut vp, could not maintaine it ſelfe many dayes, both for the reſtraint of merchandize, and the impediment of commerce and victuals. And notwithſtanding the King promiſed to ſtop the coming of the Duke of *Bourbon*, yet theſe were but vaine words, for that his veſſels were not in order, and the Captaines of his galleys partly for want of money, partly through negligence, and haply of purpoſe, had receiued money too late, as the like happened afterwards with the men at armes.

But the arriuall of the Duke of *Bourbon* being vnknowne to thoſe without, the reſolution that had bene ſet downe to aduance, was peruerted by the Duke of *Vrbin*, either (as it was thought) by ſome aduertiſements which he had receiued from *Millan*, or by report of ſome ſpie: for, leauing off the diſtruſt which he had retained till that day, he aſſured the Popes Lieutenant in the preſence of the *Venetian* Treaſurer, that he made an aſſured reckoning, the day following would be a day of happie ſucceſſe: for as much as if the enemies iſſued out to fight (which he could not beleeue) they would vndoubtedly be ouerthrowne; but if they iſſued not, he was certaine that either they would abandon *Millan* the ſame day and retire into *Pauie*, or at leaſt abandoning the defence of the ſuburbes, they would gather themſelues into the Citie, which they could not well defend when the ſuburbes was loſt: and that any of theſe three things ſufficed to make them maiſters of the warre. Therefore the day following being the ſeuenth of Iuly, they

The armie of the league before Millan.

they left the lodging appointed the day before, hoping to win the ſuburbes without reſiſtance; and aſpiring to the glorie to haue them by aſſault, certaine ſouldiers in marching, ranne in their inſolencie to giue a charge vpon *Rome* gate and *Toſa*: where, notwithſtanding the aduertiſements they had the day before and the ſame day, that the *Spaniards* would breake vp and go away, yet they found that they preſented themſelues and made head, not (as it was ſaid) that they meant to make a continuall reſiſtance, but to retire into *Millan* rather as men of warre and after they had ſhewed their faces to the enemie, then to leaue the ſuburbes cowardly abandoned: and that by making ſuch reſiſtance, they might not onely preſerue the reputation of their armie, ſpecially for that it was in their power to retire always into the citie without diſorder, but might alſo get ſome occaſion to take heart and perſeuere in the defence of the ſuburbes; a matter of right great importance: ſeeing that to retire into the towne, was an election to be made rather by neceſſitie then of will, as well for many other reaſons, as for that by reſtraining themſelues into ſo ſtrait a circuit, it would be ſo much the more eaſie for the *Italians* to ſtop the entrie of victuals into *Millan*, without which they could not hold out long, for as much as the prouiſions of new corn were not yet come in. Thus the harquebuziers preſenting themſelues to the defence of the two gates, where the *Spaniards* beſides the defence they made, ceaſſed not to labour and fortifie continually; the Duke, who contrary to his opinion found reſiſtance, cauſed three cannons to be drawne within a crosbow ſhot of *Rome* gate, which being brauely planted, he began to batter the gate, and to aſſay to diſmount a Falconet; which being remoued, he cauſed many of his men at armes to deſcend to giue the aſſault, and gaue direction to bring on the ſcaling ladders: and yet not continuing in his purpoſe to giue the aſſault, the matter turned into light skirmiſhes of ſhot betweene thoſe that were without and thoſe that were vpon the rampiers, who hauing great aduantage, ſlue about fortie footmen of the Confederates, and hurt many. In this meane while the gate had bene beaten with many blowes of the cannon, though with very ſmall domage, for that the cannons were farre off: but the Duke alledging it would be very late to lodge the campe, the aſſault was not giuen, and the armie lodged in the ſame place, neuertheleſſe for the ſhortneſſe of the time with ſome confuſion. There was left a good guard for the three cannons, and the reſidue of the campe were beſtowed almoſt all vpon the right hand of the way, euery one hauing great hope of the victorie, for that by many aduertiſements, and by report of the priſoners taken by *Iohn de Nalda* who was in the pay of the *Venetians*, they had information that the Imperials truſſed baggage, and prepared rather to depart then otherwiſe: and in good time there came to the campe the ſame euening ſixe cannons of the *Venetians*. But not long after, not onely the hope changed, but alſo the whole eſtate of affaires, for that certaine bands of *Spaniſh* footmen iſſuing out almoſt in the beginning of the night to aſſaile the artillerie, were repulſed and beaten in by the *Italian* footmen that had the guard thereof, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Vrbin* ſaid, that they were driuen into diſorder: who, two or three houres of the night being now paſt, finding himſelfe beguiled in his hope, that there would be no reſiſtance made at the gates and rampiers of the ſuburbes, and the feare which he had had before of the footmen of the enemie coming to his conſideration, he determined raſhly to retire with the armie: and beginning with as great haſte to execute that which he had determined, he gaue order to the artilleries and munitions to march away, and commanded the regiments of the *Venetians* to prepare to depart, and ſent to ſignifie to the Treaſurer, to the Lieutenant, and to the Captaines of the Church, the reſolution he had ſet downe, perſwading them to do the like without deferring: with which propoſition being confuſed and almoſt aſtoniſhed, as of a matter not onely new, but contrary to the expectation of all the world, they went to him to know more particularly what had moued him, and to aſſay to induce him not to depart thence: who with words very plaine and reſolute, complained that contrary to his aduice, and onely to ſatisfie others, he was approched ſo neare *Millan*: and told them it were better and more wiſely done, to amend the fault paſt, then to perſeuere therein: That he knew that foraſmuch as the armie the day before, for the ſhortneſſe of the time, had bene lodged confuſedly, and for the cowardiſe that the *Italian* footmen had ſhewed the ſame euening when the artilleries were aſſailed, that if the campe ſhould lie there till the day following, it would be the deſtruction not onely of the enterpriſe, but of all the ſtate of the league: for he was ſo certaine that they would be there defeated and broken, that making no doubt thereof, he would not ſtand to diſpute with any man, ſeeing the Imperials the ſame euening

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had planted a Saker betweene *Rome* gate and the gate of *Tosa*, which beat in flanke vpon the moſt dangerous lodging of the *Venetian* footmen: and that the ſame night they would plant there other peeces of artilleries, and that when day was come, ſounding the alarme, and for that cauſe the armie being conſtrained to fall into order, they would beate them in flanke, by meanes whereof driuing them into diſorder, they would iſſue forth to aſſaile them, and very eaſily ouerthrow them: That he was ſorie that the ſhortneſſe of the time, and the impediments of the munitions and artilleries, which were farre greater in his armie then in the armie Eccleſiaſtike, had compelled him to begin to breake vp afore he had communicated the matter with them; but that in matters done by neceſſitie, it was a labour ſuperfluous to alledge excuſes: That he had aduentured a greater matter then euer any Captaine had done, offering in marching to giue an aſſault to *Millan*, and that now he muſt vſe diſcretion, and not deſpaire of the victorie of the enterpriſe for the retraite: That *Proſper Colonno*, haply with cauſes leſſe iuſt, leuied his ſiege from before *Parma* when it was halfe taken, and yet not long after he gloriouſly conquered the whole Dukhie of *Millan*: That he aduiſed the Eccleſiaſtikes to follow his counſell, and not to deferre their departure, for that he replied to them againe, that if the Sun found them in that lodging, they ſhould be ouerthrown without remedie, & therfore he willed them to returne to their lodging at *S. Martin*. The Lieutenant anſwered, Albeit there was none amongſt them who thought not that his reſolutions were made with great wiſedome, yet none of the Captaines ſaw any cauſe to conſtraine him to breake vp ſo ſodainly: and he put him in mind what the Duke of *Millan* would do ſeeing their retraite, and deſpairing to be ſuccoured; and how much that would diſcourage the Pope and the *Venetians*, together with the imaginations which are wont to moue in the minds of Princes when enterpriſes ſucceed ill, eſpecially in the beginning: That if the ill diſpoſing of their campe was the cauſe of ſo great a danger, it was eaſie, without depriuing of the armie of ſo great a reputation, to remedie it, by lodging it againe with better order, and retiring it in ſuch ſort, that the Sakers planted by the enemies ſhould haue no meanes to annoy it. The Duke confirmed againe his firſt concluſion, and that according to the reaſon of warre they could not take any other deliberation: That he would take the blame vpon himſelfe, and be well content that all the world ſhould know that he had bene the author thereof: and that it was not well done to conſume vainly any more time in words, for that it was neceſſarie to diſlodge before the end of the night. With this concluſion euery one returned to his lodging, and diſpatched to make his companies depart; of whom thoſe that lay before, brake vp with ſuch aſtoniſhment, that going away almoſt as if they were broken, many bands of footmen and horſemen of the *Venetians* disbanded themſelues, whereof there were ſome that ſtayed not till they came to *Lodi*: and the artilleries of the *Venetians* paſſed beyond *Marignan*, but being reuoked, they ſtayed there. The reſidue of the bands, and principally the areareguard, marched away in order: and *Iohn de Medicis*, who with the footmen of the Church was in the laſt part of the armie, would not ſtirre till it was high day, for that he thought it not fit, in ſtead of the victorie ſo much hoped for, to carry away the infamie of flying away by night; a matter which experience made manifeſt there was no need to do, for that none of the Imperials iſſued out of their rampiers to charge vpon the taile of the army, but perceiuing when it was day how tumultuouſly the campe was diſlodged, they maruelled much, not being able to imagine what might be the cauſe thereof. And that which increaſed yet more the infamy of this retrait, was, that notwithſtanding the Duke had ſaid that he would haue the campe to ſtay at Saint *Martins*, yet he appointed ſecretly that the campe-maiſters of the *Venetians* ſhould leade their men to *Marignan*, either for that he feared the enemies would iſſue out to aſſaile him in his lodging at Saint *Martins*, or at leaſt (as himſelfe confeſſed afterwards) for that he held for certaine, that the Caſtle of *Millan*, ſeeing the forces retire that were come to reſcue it (a matter that ſo terrifieth the beſieged as nothing more) would yeeld. In which caſe, becauſe he durſt not abide at Saint *Martins*, he iudged it leſſe diſhonorable to retire once for all, then to make two retraits in ſo litle time: and therefore the artilleries, the baggage, and the foremoſt regiment of the *Venetians* matched on to *Marignan* without ſtaying at Saint *Martins*: whereof when the Lieutenant demanded the cauſe, the Duke anſwered, that touching their ſuretie he put no difference betweene the one and the other place, for that he eſteemed Saint *Martins* as defenſible againſt the enemie as *Marignan*; but the cauſe was, for that the bands of ſouldiers being made weary with the actions of the dayes before, might more commodiouſly repoſe and refreſh themſelues,

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receiuing there no impediments or vexations of the enemies: and the Lieutenant replying touching the equall ſuretie of the one and the other, That if the campe retired to *Marignan*, the hope of ſuccours would be more withdrawne from thoſe that were beſieged in the Caſtle of *Millan*, then if the armies ſtayed at Saint *Martins*, he anſwered with vehement words, that ſo long as he caried in his hands the ſtaffe of commandement ouer the *Venetians*, he would not ſuffer any other to intermeddle with his authoritie, and that he would go lodge at *Marignan*: ſo that both the one and the other armie, with the great diſhonour, but not without the clamor of all the ſouldiers (who might ſay, contrary to the ſaying of *Caſar*, *Veni, vidi, fugi*, I came, I haue ſeene, and am fled) went to lodge at *Marignan*, the Duke determining to remaine there vntill the campe were poſſeſſed not onely of the number of fiue thouſand *Swiſſers*, whereunto were reſtrained the promiſes of Captaine *Mus* and the Biſhop of *Loda*, who at the ſame time that the campe brake vp came thither with fiue hundred, but alſo of ſo many more as would make vp the number of twelue thouſand: and that for an opinion he had, that becauſe there was no more hope of the Caſtle of *Millan*, it would be impoſſible to force the Towne, or to reduce it to a neceſſitie to yeeld for want of victuals and other neceſſaries, without two armies, and either of them ſo mightie of itſelfe, that it might ſuffice to make defence againſt all the forces of the enemies vnited together.

The armie of the league broken vp frō before Millan.

Thus the armies retired from the wals of *Millan* the eight day of Iuly, a matter of no ſmall aſtoniſhment to many men, and no leſſe the diſaſtrouſneſſe of the prediction; for that the ſame day, with the common conſent of the Confederates, the league was publiſhed at *Rome*, at *Venice*, and in *France*, with the accuſtomed ceremonies and ſolemnities: and in the iudgement of all men, there was ſo litle neceſſitie to take a courſe ſo infamous, that many doubted leſt the Duke of *Vrbin* were caried into that deliberation by the ſecret direction of the Senate of *Venice*, who for ſome end vnknowne to others, might deſire to haue the warre protracted: and others were of opinion, that the Duke, remembring the iniuries receiued of Pope *Leo*, together with thoſe which the Pope reigning had done to him when he was Cardinall, and fearing leſt his greatneſſe would put his Eſtate in danger, either for hatred or feare could not brook ſo ſudden a victory of the war: ſpecially ſeeing that which gaue him ſo iuſt cauſe to doubt and feare the Pope, was, that the *Florentines* held Saint *Leo* with all the countrey of *Montfeltro*, and that the onely daughter of *Laurence de Medicis* being as yet very yong, retained ſtill the name of Ducheſſe of *Vrbin*. Neuertheleſſe the Popes Lieutenant was aduertiſed by very ſpeciall meſſengers, that the *Venetians* were not a litle diſcontented with that maner of retiring, and that they had neuer ceaſſed to ſolicite that the armie might approch *Millan*, in hope that the towne might be eaſily carried: and ſeeing it was not likely that the Duke, if he had hoped to take *Millan*, would haue depriued himſelfe of a glorie, ſo much the more great then any other Generall in times paſt had had, by how much the reputation and renowne of the Imperiall armie was great aboue all other armies which had bene in *Italy* many yeares before, of which glorie would haue followed almoſt by neceſſitie, the ſuretie of his Eſtate, ſeeing the Pope, both to auoide ſo great an infamie, and not to offend ſo much the *Venetians*, would not dare to inuade him: and conſidering alſo diligently the progreſſion of all thoſe dayes, the Lieutenant iudged it very likely (and many others were concurrant with him in that opinion) that the Duke being fallen from the hope which two dayes before he had conceiued, that the Imperials at leaſt would abandon the ſuburbes, was returned ſo earneſtly to his firſt opinion, whereby he ſhewed himſelfe to be more fearefull of their forces, and to diſtruſt more the valour of the *Italian* footmen then any of the other Captaines did, which repreſenting vnto him greater feare then to others, he embraced raſhly that deliberation.

Katherine de Medicis.

The Pope in great aſtoniſhment.

This retrait did not a litle aſtoniſh the Pope and the *Venetians*, who were entred ſo farre into hope, that they expected from day to day to heare newes of the taking of *Millan*: but principally the Pope, who was not prepared either with money or conſtancie of mind to endure the protraction of the warre: and withall, as well at *Rome* as in other quarters of his Eſtate, many emotions and difficulties were diſcloſed. For three hundred footmen and certaine cornets of horſemen that lay in garriſon within *Carpy*, began to make incurſions and to do very hurtfull actions vpon all the confines of the Church, giuing by that meanes many impediments to the paſſage of poſts and money ſent to the armie from *Rome* and *Florence*; which could not be preuented but by putting of ſtrong garriſons into the townes: and the Pope, who was entred into

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the warre with very litle ſtore of money, and oppreſſed with great expences, could hardly, with his owne money, and that which was continually brought to him from *Florence* to furniſh the charges of the warre, make ſufficient prouiſions to ſtop them, being withall buſied in a new enterpriſe in *Tuſcane*, and conſtrained to ſtand vpon his guard about *Rome*. For, after *Don Hugo* and the Duke of *Seſſa* were departed from the Pope, and had left off their embaſſage, *Aſcanius* and *Veſpaſian Colonno* being gone into the ſmall boroughs of the *Colonnois*, which are neare to *Rome*, made many demonſtrations to ſtirre vp ſome emotion on that ſide, and many of their partakers had made themſelues ſtrong within *Alagna*, which is a Citie of *Campagnia*: and the Pope was forced to keepe a diligent eye vpon their doings, as well in regard of the *Gibelin* faction in *Rome*, as for that not many dayes before many ſignes of the ill diſpoſition of the Commons of *Rome* againſt him were diſcouered: for that when he tooke into his pay *Andrew Dore*, and for the better furniſhing of that charge, had raiſed and improued certaine impoſts, vnder colour to aſſure the ſeas of *Rome* againſt the foiſts of the *Mores*, by whom the abundance of victuals which was wont to haue acceſſe to that Citie was greatly hindered, the butchers who refuſed to pay them were aſſembled in maner of a tumult at the lodging of the Duke of *Seſſa* who was not as yet departed from *Rome*, and almoſt all the *Spaniards* that were within the towne ranne thither in armes; which tumult neuertheleſſe was eaſily appeaſed. At this time the Pope ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould enterpriſe to alter the ſtate of *Sienna*, for that the counſels of ſuch as were about him were diuers. For ſome repoſing confidence in the great number of the exiles, and the confuſion of the popular gouernment, perſwaded him by many reaſons, that it was very eaſie to alter it, and told him that it was a matter of great importance at ſuch a time to aſſure himſelfe of that State: for that in any misfortune that might happen, the entrie which the enemies might take there, might be very dangerous for the affaires of *Rome* and *Florence*. Others aſſured him that it were farre better for him to addreſſe all his forces into one place onely, then to intangle himſelfe with ſo many enterpriſes, with very litle, yea almoſt no diuerſion of principall effects, for that in the end ſuch as ſhould remaine maiſters in *Lombardie*, would become commanders in euery place: and that he ſhould not truſt ſo much and depend vpon the forces and traine of the exiles (whoſe hopes in the end would be found vaine) as to aſſay the mutation of that State without making of mightie prouiſions; which was hard for him to do, as well for the greatneſſe of the expences, as for that he had ſent all his principall Captaines to the warre of *Lombardie*. It may be theſe laſt perſwaſions had preuailed more with him, if thoſe that gouerned within *Sienna* had proceeded with that moderation which in affaires of ſmall importance the inferiours ought to vſe towards their ſuperiours, hauing more regard to neceſſitie then to a iuſt diſcontentment. But it happened, that a certaine *Sienois*, named *Iohn Baptiſta Palmier*, who was Captaine within *Sienna* of an hundred footmen for the Citie, hauing long before giuen hope to the Pope, that when his ſouldiers ſhould approch the towne, he would bring them in by a gutter that paſſed vnder the wall neare to a baſtillion, and that the Pope at his requeſt hauing ſent to him two footmen whom he truſted, to one of which *Iohn Baptiſta* gaue his Enſigne to beare, that the Magiſtrates of the Citie (with whoſe priuitie *Iohn Baptiſta* abuſing the Pope, entertained this practiſe) when they ſaw a fit time, apprehended the two footmen, againſt whom when they had proceeded by way of accuſation, and made publication of the conſpiracie, they put them to death publikely, to the end to diſcredite the Pope as much as they could. Moreouer they ſent certaine bands of their ſouldiers to beſiege *Iohn Martinozzi* one of the exiles, who dwelt in the countrey of *Sienna* in a farme of his at *Montelifre*. With all which things, as done in deſpite, the Pope being much incenſed, determined to aduenture to reſtore the exiles into *Sienna* with his owne forces and thoſe of the *Florentines*: but it was with prouiſions more weake then was needfull, and eſpecially of footmen: and likewiſe the valour and authoritie of the Captaines did not ſupply the weakneſſe of the armie, which was led by *Virginio Vrſin* Count of *Anguillaro*, *Lodowike* Count of *Petillano*, and *Iohn Franceſco* his ſonne, *Gentil Baillon*, and *Iohn Seſſatello*: who making their muſters at *Centina*, and drawing to *Tauernelle* vpon the riuer of *Arbia*, much renowmed for the worthy victory of the *Gibelins* againſt the *Guelfes* of *Florence*, they approched the walls of *Sienna* the ſeuenteenth day of Iuly, with nine peeces of artilleries, twelue hundred horſe, and more then eight thouſand footmen, but almoſt all leuied in the States of the Church and the *Florentines*, or elſe ſent without money to the exiles by their friends, from *Perouſa* and other places: and at the ſame time *Andrew*

Dore

Dore with his galleys & 1000 footmē ſent to him as an ouerplus, made inuaſiō vpō the hauen of the *Siennois*. But whē they approched the wals of *Sienna*, they within made no ſigne of tumult, as the exiles hoped they would, ſo that they were conſtrained to incamp and beſiege the towne, in which there was ſixe hundred horſemen and three hundred footmen forreiners. Wherefore being approched neare the gate of *Camollia*, they began to batter the wall on that ſide with their artilleries. But in the Citie, being ſtrong by ſituation, and well fortified with rampiers, and of ſo great a circuit that the armie enuironed but the leſſer part of it, the people were vnited, and reſolued to conſerue the preſent gouernment; and the hatred they bare to the Pope and the *Florentines* ſurmounted their affection to the exiles: and on the contrary, in the armie without, the ſouldiers that were not payed were vnprofitable, and the Captaines being of no reputation were at diſcord among themſelues, and ſo were the exiles alſo, not onely in the deliberations and dayly prouiſions, but alſo in regard of the forme of gouernment, ſeeking to impart and deuide, being without, the thing which could not be eſtabliſhed but by ſuch as were within. For which cauſes after they had made a vaine battery vpon the wall, without hauing the courage to go to the aſſault, they began already to haue a very ſlender hope of the victorie. At this time the difficulties of the Confederates increaſed in *Lombardie*: for, notwithſtanding the fiue thouſand *Swiſſers* leuied by Captaine *Mus* and the Biſhop of *Loda* were at laſt come to the armie, yet for that the Duke of *Vrbin* held them not a number ſufficient, they expected alſo thoſe which they had ſent to require of the Cantons in the name of the *French* king, in hope that if for no other cauſe, yet at leaſt to deface the ignominie receiued at the battell of *Pauie*, they would be very ready to grant them, and that for the ſame cauſe the footmen agreed vpon would go to the warre with great courage, ſpecially in ſo great a hope of the victorie. But in that nation, who not many yeares before, for their valour and authoritie they had wonne, had great oportunitie to get very large dominion, there was no more either the ſame deſire of glorie as before, or any care of the intereſts of the Commonweale: but on the contrary, being full of incredible couetouſneſſe, they propounded to themſelues, as the chiefeſt end of the exerciſe of warre, to returne to their houſes loden with money: and therefore the Cantons dealing in matters of warre after the maner of merchants, making vſe publikely of the neceſſities of others for their owne profit, or elſe hauing amongſt them men whoſe minds were vendible and corrupted, they did either accord or refuſe to depart with ſouldiers according to thoſe ends: and the Captaines which were ſought vnto to be entertained in pay, by how much they ſaw that men had need of them, by ſo much the more did they raiſe the higher, and made their demands ſo much the more ſhameleſſe and intollerable, to the end to make the better compoſition. In regard of theſe reaſons, the *French* King demanding of the Cantons that according to the articles of the contract, they ſhould aide him with men, who by common conſent were to be payed with the fortie thouſand duckats which the King deliuered out of his treaſury; the Cantons after many deliberations, made him anſwer according to their cuſtome, that they would not agree to any leuies of ſouldiers, vnleſſe the King would firſt pay them all that he owed them, in regard of the penſions which he was bound to pay them yearely: which ſummes being great, and hard to be ſatisfied in a ſhort time, the Kings Agents were conſtrained (whē they had, not without difficultie, obtained leaue of the Cantons) to entertaine Captaines particular: a courſe which beſides the long tract of time which was very dangerous for the preſent eſtate of affaires, ſucceeded not either with that effect and reputation, as it would haue done, if the conſent and authoritie of the Lords of the Cantons had concurred.

The inhabitāts of Millan ill handled by the Spaniards.

By this occaſion, the Imperials who in this meane while receiued no vexation of the enemies, who lay at *Marignan* without doing any thing, vſed all their diligence to fortifie *Millan*; not the Citie, as they did in the beginning of the warre, but the rampiers and baſtillions of the ſuburbs, diſtruſting no more to be able to defend them, for that they had taken heart, & the reputation of the enemies was diminiſhed: and for as much as they had diſarmed ỹ people of *Millan*, and thruſt out of the towne the perſons ſuſpected, not onely they had not now ſo great ſcruple and feare of, but alſo hauing reduced them to ſo great ſeruitude, they were altogether careleſſe of the payment of the ſouldiers, who being lodged in the houſes of the inhabitants, they did not onely compell the maiſters of the houſes from day to day to giue them victuals plentifully and to feed them delicately, but alſo to furniſh them with money for all other things, which either they had need of or deſired, not forgetting (to the end to haue no want) to exerciſe

all

all extreme rigor: which things being intollerable, the Citizens had no other remedie, then ſecretly to flie from Millan, for that they durſt not do it openly. But to aſſure themſelues of this, many ſouldiers, but eſpecially the *Spaniards* (for in the Lanceknights was more modeſty and humanitie) kept diuerſe of their hoaſts bound in their owne houſes with their wiues and little children, the moſt part of euery ſexe and age being alſo expoſed to their luſt: by reaſon whereof all the ſhops of *Millan* were ſhut in, and euery man had hidden in places vnder ground or in ſome other ſort his goods & Iewels of moſt value, as they had likewiſe done, with the riches & ornaments of Churches, which for all that were not altogether in ſurety: for that the ſouldiers vnder colour to ſearch for armour and weapons, tooke liberty to ranſacke all the corners of the towne, and withall forced the ſeruants to tell where their maiſters had hidden their goods, and when they found any thing, they left to the owners ſuch portions as they thought good: in ſuch ſort that the face of that Citie appeared very miſerable, and it was pitifull to behold men reduced into ſo great trouble and aſtoniſhment; a matter worthy of great commiſeration, and an incredible example of the mutation of fortune, to ſuch as had ſeene it a few yeares before repleniſhed with inhabitants, rich Citizens, and an infinite number of Merchants and Artificers, abounding with all things neceſſary for the life of man, proud in pompes, and very ſumptuous in ornaments for men and women, naturally addicted to feaſtings and pleaſure, not onely full of reioycing and ſolace, but alſo moſt flouriſhing and happy aboue all the other Cities of *Italy*: whereas now it was almoſt naked of inhabitants, by reaſon of the great domage the plague had done there, and for the continuall euaſions of ſuch as were fled, and continually did flie: men and women were there very poorely apparelled, and in ill order: there was no appearance of Merchandiſe or trades, by means whereof that Citie was wont to be much enriched: and the chearefulneſſe and courage of men was wholly conuerted into extreme dolor and feare. Neuertheleſſe the comming of the Duke of *Bourbon* did ſomewhat comfort them, perſwading themſelues, that ſeeing (as the bruite went) he had brought ſome prouiſion of money, & that for the retraite of the campe of the Confederates the neceſſities and dangers ſeemed ſomewhat diminiſhed, they ſhould no more be ſo much oppreſſed and cruelly handled; and they hoped further, that the Duke, to whom it was ſaid the Emperour had giuen the Duchie of *Millan*, would take order and prouide (for his owne profite, and the better to preſerue entire to himſelfe the reuenewes and eſtate of the City,) that they ſhould not thenceforth be ſo miſerably torne in peeces; which was the onely hope they had, for that they knew by the Embaſſadors whom they had ſent to the Emperour, that they could expect no remedie from him, either for that being ſo farre off he could not apply neceſſary prouiſions for their ſafety, or elſe (as experience had often ſhewed) the compaſſion of the oppreſſions and miſeries of the people was farre leſſe in him then the deſire (for the intereſts of his eſtate) to maintaine the armie: to the which payment being not made in due times, neither he nor his Captaines could cauſe them to abſtaine from inſolencies and iniuries: & that ſo much the rather, for that the Captaines, to win the hearts of the ſouldiers, and for that all thing being in prey, they likewiſe had profite thereby, were not much diſpleaſed with that military licence, ſeeing they had ſome excuſe to ſuffer it, for that they were not payed. Therefore all thoſe that held any degree within *Millan* aboue others, aſſembling themſelues in great number, and expreſſing in their face, in their attire, and in their countenances, the miſerable eſtate of their countrie, and of euery one of them, they went, with many teares and complaints, to preſent themſelues before the Duke of *Bourbon*, to whom one among them, to whom the reſidue had giuen the charge to vtter their griefe, ſpake (as I haue heard) in this ſort.

The inhabitants of Millan implore the compaſſion of the Duke of Bourbon.

If this Citie which for many iuſt cauſes hath alwaies deſired to haue a peculiar Prince, were not for the preſent oppreſſed with greater and more ſharpe calamities then euer was any Citie in the memory of man, certainly (moſt noble Duke) your coming had bene entertained with maruellous ioy. For what better hap could befall the Citie of *Millan* then to receiue from the Emperour, a Prince of moſt noble bloud, and of whoſe wiſedome, iuſtice, valour, clemency, and liberality, we our ſelues haue ſundrie times had experience? But our very il fortune conſtraineth vs (for we neither hope nor expect remedy thereof from any other then your ſelfe) to powre out afore you our extreme miſeries, greater without compariſon then thoſe which townes taken by aſſault do vſually endure by the couetouſnes, hatred, cruelty, luxurie, and other affections of the victors; which things, of themſelues intollerable, are yet made more grieuous by the con-

cc continuall reproches heaped againſt vs, that they are inflicted vpon vs for a puniſhment of the
cc infidelitie of the people of *Millan* to the Emperour: as though the late tumults had proceeded
cc by publike conſent, and not (as it is well knowne) by the incitation of certaine yong ſeditious
cc heads, who in their raſhneſſe drew the Commons into commotion, who by their pouerty were
cc aſſured to loſe nothing, and by their nature are alwaies deſirous of innouation; and being
cc eaſily filled with vaine errors and falſe perſwaſions, are moued at the appetite of any that will
cc prouoke them, as the waues of the ſea are caried with the blaſts of winde. To excuſe and exte-
cc nuate the matters wherewith we are preſently charged, we will not recount what the people of
cc *Millan* (from the higheſt to the loweſt) haue done for the ſeruice of the Emperour theſe yeares
cc paſt: when our Citie for her ancient deuotion to the name of the Emperour, roſe with great
cc readineſſe againſt the Gouernours and the armie of the *French* King; when afterwards with
cc ſo great conſtancie we ſuſtained two moſt tedious ſieges, ſubmitting willingly our victuals
cc and our houſes to the commoditie of the ſouldiers, and entertaining them very readily (for that
cc the Emperours pay failed them) with our owne money, and expoſing ſo chearefully our perſons
cc day and night in the companie of the ſouldiers to all watches, all dangers, and all actions of
cc warre: when at the battell of *Bicocque* the inhabitants of *Millan* defended ſo brauely the bridge,
cc which was the onely paſſage whereby the *French* hoped to pierce into the very tents of the Im-
cc periall armie: then was our faith magnified, and our conſtancie exalted to the heauens, by *Proſ-*
cc *per Colonno*, the Marquis of *Peſquiero* and the other Captaines, euen to the Emperour himſelfe.
cc Of which things who is a better and more certaine witneſſe then your ſelfe, who being preſent
cc in the warre which the Admirall *Bonniuet* made, ſaw, commended, yea ſometimes maruel-
cc led at, ſo great fidelitie, and ſo ardent a diſpoſition? But let vs vtterly lay aſide the memory of
cc theſe things, and not counterpoiſing merits with offences, let vs conſider the preſent actions.
cc If there be found in the people of *Millan* any ſigne of ill affection againſt the Emperour,
cc we will refuſe no puniſhment. Certainly the people of *Millan* loued *Francis Sforce* not a litle, as
cc a Prince giuen them by the Emperour, as one whoſe father, grandfather and brother had bene
cc our ſoueraigne Lords, & for the good opinion that was had of his vertue. For theſe reaſons we
cc are much grieued when we ſee our ſelues ſo ſuddenly ſpoyled, without knowing the cauſe there-
cc of, being not certified that he had conſpired any thing againſt the Emperour; but of the con-
cc trary, both he and others affirming, that this proceeded rather of the ambition of him that go-
cc uerned the armie, then of any commiſſion from the Emperour: and yet all the Citie paſſed an
cc oath of fidelitie to the Emperour, and ſubmitted themſelues to the obedience of his Captaines.
cc Such was the reſolution of the Citie of *Millan*, ſuch was the publike conſent, ſuch was the
cc counſell, and chiefly of the Nobilitie; whom to perſecute thus cruelly for faults particular, is
cc there either reaſon, iuſtice or example? And alſo did not our faith appeare in the very dayes of
cc the tumults? for when the Commons aroſe, was there any but our ſelues that interpoſed with our
cc authoritie and petitions to make them leaue armes? And in the laſt day of the tumult, were there
cc any others then we that induced the chieftaines and ſeditious yong men to go out of the Citie?
cc and perſwaded the Commons to ſubmit themſelues to the obedience of the Captaines? But
cc both the commemoration of our actions, and the iuſtification of the infamies which are put
cc vpon vs, might haply be neceſſary or conuenient, if there were any correſpondencie betweene
cc the puniſhments we endure and the faults wherewith we are accuſed, or at leaſt if they did not
cc farre exceed them. But there is difference betweene the one and the other. For we dare affirme
cc (moſt iuſt Prince) that if the ſinnes of euery one of vs were farre greater then the wickedneſſes
cc committed by any other Citie againſt their Prince, the puniſhment, yea the crueltie of the
cc chaſtiſements which we wrongfully endure, is greater without proportion then we haue de-
cc ſerued: and are bold to ſay, that all the calamities, all the cruelties, and inhumanities (without
cc ſpeaking, for our honour, of the luſt) which at any time within the memorie of men hath bene
cc endured by any Citie, people, or congregation of inhabitants, gathered together, are but
cc a litle part of thoſe miſeries which we do ſuffer, euery day, euery houre, and euery moment: ſee-
cc ing that in one inſtant we are ſpoyled of all our ſubſtance, and free men are tormented, impriſo-
cc ned in their houſes, and ſome chained by the ſouldiers, who will continually be prouided of vi-
cc ctuals, and vſed not as becometh ſouldiers, but as if they were Princes, and haue whatſoeuer
cc cometh in their fancie, and withall euery day more money, which when we cannot poſſibly fur-
cc niſh, they conſtraine vs with threats, iniuries, beatings, and all ſorts of outrages: ſo that there is

not

not one of vs which esteemeth it not a singular grace and felicitie, leauing all his goods in prey, to saue his person, if he may flie naked out of *Millan*, with condition to lose for euer his countrey and his goods. In the time of our ancestors *Federike Barberosso* made desolate this Citie, and vsed great cruelties against the inhabitants, against the buildings, and against the walls: and yet the miseries of that time are not to be compared to ours, not onely for that the tyrannie of an enemie is more easie to be endured, as being more iust, then the vniust crueltie of a friend, but also for that one day, two dayes, three dayes, do suffice to glut the wrath and inhumanitie of the victor, and the punishments of the vanquished take an end: but it is more then a moneth that we haue bene exercised with these cruell miseries, our torments increasing dayly; and as those that shall be damned in the other world, we suffer without hope to see an end of our woes, that which before we would haue thought it had bin impossible for the humane condition to endure. Onely we hope now, that your magnanimitie and clemencie will take order for such offences, and that you will not suffer a Citie lawfully made yours, and committed to your protection, to be wholly destroyed with so great crueltie: and winning vs to your selfe with that propertie of pietie, besides the perpetuall honour of your name, to be the onely patron and restorer of a Citie so renowmed through the world, you shall settle & establish your Principalitie more in one day with the good wil and deuotion of your subiects, then other new Princes do in many yeares with force of armes. In summe, all our petitions, all our humilities, all our oblations, and all our desires tend to this, that if (for any cause whatsoeuer) your will be estranged to deliuer vs frō this great cruelkie, or if any thing restraine you therefrom, we beseech you with all our hearts and affections, that you will turne against vs, and discharge vpon this people, vpon vs all, vpon euery one, euery sexe, and euery age, the furie, forces, swords and artilleries of your armie: for that it would be an incredible felicitie for vs, to die violently, and all at one blow, rather then to continue in our present torments and miseries: and your pietie shall be no lesse commended (if you haue no other meanes to succour vs) then their inhumanitie detested: and thus we shall be no lesse glad to finish in this sort our most wretched life, and such as loue vs will reioyce no lesse at our death, then fathers and kinsmen are wont to do at the birth of their deare children.

These pitifull words were followed with the weepings and lamentations of all the rest; to whom the Duke answered with very great affabilitie, that he was much agrieued with their infelicities, and no lesse touched with a desire to relieue them, and to do the best he could for the Citie, and for the whole Duchie of *Millan*: excusing that which had bene done, to be not only against the will of the Emperour, but also contrary to the intention of all the Captaines, and that for as much as there was no meanes to pay the souldiers, necessitie had induced them rather to consent to such a thing then to abandon *Millan*, and leaue the armie in danger, and all the estate which the Emperour had in *Italy* in manifest prey to the enemies: That he had brought with him some prouision of money, but not so much as might suffice to content the souldiers to whom many payes were due: neuertheless if the Citie of *Millan* would furnish him with thirtie thousand duckats for the pay of one moneth, he would cause the armie to issue out of *Millan*, and bestow them elsewhere, assuring them, though at other times they had bene abused in the like promises, that now it should not happen so vnto them, for that he would not go against his faith and word, vpon which they might assuredly repose themselues: and he added, that he prayed God, if he failed of his promise, that his head might be taken from his shoulders by the first shot of cannon from the enemies. And albeit such a summe was very hard to be found in the Citie so much wasted, yet the miseries they endured in lodging the souldiers being greater then all other degrees of calamities, they accepted the condition that was propounded vnto them, and began to make prouision thereof with as great diligence as they could. But although part of the souldiers by degrees as they were payed with the money that was receiued, were sent to lodge in the suburbes of *Rome* gate and the gate of *Tosa*, to guard the rampiers, and worke at the fortifications, and also to labour at the trench towards the garden where *Prosper Colonno* had made one before; yet they retained still, no lesse then the others that abode in the towne, the same lodgings they had, and continued to handle their hosts with the same rudenesse, the Duke of *Bourbon* making no reckoning of his promise, or at least (as was beleeued) not being able to resist the will and insolencie of the souldiers, being entertained and pushed on in that humour by certaine Captaines, who either by will, or through ambition,

or for hatred, gaue impediments to his counsels. Of which hope the people of *Millan* seeing themselues depriued, and hauing no further hope, nor whither to flie, they fell into such despaire, that it is very certaine that some of them, to put an end by dying to so many miseries and cruelties which they could not ouercome by liuing, threw themselues headlong from the top of their houses into the streets, and some wretchedly hanged themselues; the extreme greedinesse and inhumane crueltie of the souldiers being nothing appeased for all that. At this time the plaine countrey also was in poore estate, being marueilously ransackt by the souldiers of the Confederates, who being at first expected with great ioy, had by their rapines and extortions conuerted the first affection that was borne vnto them into very great hatred; the men of warre of our time being generally so corrupt, who taking example by the *Spaniards*, wasted and spoiled no lesse their friends then their enemies. For, although for many ages, the libertie of souldiers had bene great in *Italy*, yet the *Spanish* footmen had infinitely increased it, but for causes, if not iust, at least necessary, for that in all the wars of *Italy* they were very ill payed. But as by examples, notwithstanding at the beginning excusable, men alwayes proceede from ill to worse: the *Italian* souldiers although they had not the same necessitie, for that they were payed, yet following the example of the *Spaniards*, they began to be nothing inferiour to them in any of their enormities. So that to the great reproch of the men of warre of this age, the souldiers made no difference betweene their friends and their enemies, by meanes whereof both peoples and countries were no lesse spoiled and ruinated by such as were payed to defend them, then by such as were payed to inuade and spoile them.

At this time those that were besieged in the Castle of *Millan* were reduced to such streights for want of victuals, that they were at ỹ point to render the Castle: but because some of the chiefe in the Confederates armie entertained them with hopes to be succoured, to the end they might hold out as long as they could, they thrust out in the night before the seuenth day of Iuly at the Castle gate towards the trenches that enuironed it without, more then three hundred, as well footmen, as women, children, and vnprofitable mouthes: and albeit the guard of the enemies hearing the noise, gaue the alarme, yet no impediment being giuen, and the trenches being so straite that they might passe with the helpe of their pikes, they passed all in safetie. There were two trenches about two stones cast from the Castle, and between them both a rampier of foure fadome high, which rampier as it serued for a guard against the Castle, so also it couered such as issued out to assaile them. This troupe then went to *Marignan*, where the armie was, and giuing good testimonie of the extremitie wherein the besieged were, and of the weakenesse of the trenches, seeing they had passed them euen with women and litle children, they constrained the Captaines to returne and attempt to succour the Castle, and the Duke of *Vrbin* consented thereunto, to the end not to take vpon himselfe alone the burthen of the excuse, which was not so easie as before, for that hauing in his armie more then fiue thousand *Swissers*, the principall cause alledged by him, that it was dangerous to approch *Millan* without other footmen then the *Italians*, was remoued. Therefore it was set downe with a full consent of counsell, that the armie, no more by the other side, but directly, should approch the Castle, and seizing vpon the Churches of *S. Gregorie* and *S. Angelo* neare adioyning to the counterscarps, they should incampe below *Millan*. With which resolution the armie departed from *Marignan*, and marched in foure dayes by a troublesome way, for the impediment of banks and ditches, and incamped the two and twentieth day of Iuly betweene the Abbey of *Casaret* and the riuer of *Ambro*, in a place commonly called *Ambro*: in which place the Duke changing the first direction set downe in counsell, gaue order to dispose the lodgings of the armie in such sort, that the front of the campe might haue his prospect vpon the Abbey of *Casaret*, which is within a litle mile of *Millan*, and keeping the riuer of *Ambro* vpon his backe, it might stretch out on the right hand to *Nasilio*, and on the left to the bridge: so that the armie might be said to be lodged betweene the gate of *Renza* & the gate of *Tosa*, for that it held litle of the new gate, and was lodged in a strong place, as well for these regards, as for the nature of the countrey. The Duke alledged, that he had exchanged the lodging of the Monasteries for that place, both for that it was more neare the Castle, and also not so neare the walls, as they should be compelled thereby to put themselues in danger, and be depriued of power to turne which way he would, and for that threatning the enemies in many places, they should be constrained to bestow greater guards in seuerall quarters; which would much increase their difficulties, considering the smalnesse of their number.

Now

Now the armie being thus lodged, whereof a ſmall part being ſent the ſame day to beſiege the towne of *Monce* tooke it by compoſition, and the day following with the artilleries ſubdued the Caſtle wherein was a garriſon of an hundred footmen *Neapolitans*, the Captaines began to looke more ſtrictly how to put victuals into the Caſtle of *Millan*, which they were informed was reduced into an extreme neceſſitie, with intention to draw *Francis Sforce* from thence: and albeit many Captaines, either for that ſuch was their opinion ſimplie, or elſe to ſhew themſelues forward and valiant in thoſe things which were to be determined with greater danger of the honour and reputation to others then of themſelues, they counſelled to giue a charge vpon the trenches: neuertheleſſe the Duke of *Vrbin* iudging it a very dangerous matter, gainſayed it not openly, but propounding difficulties, and temporizing with delayes, he hindered that there was no concluſion made: in ſo much as the deliberation being referred ouer till the next day, the Captaines of the *Swiſſers* demanded to be admitted into the counſell, where they had not wont to be preſent: and Captaine *Mus*, who for that he had leauied the greateſt part of them retained among them the title of Colonell, ſpake for them to this effect: That the Captaines of the *Swiſſers* maruelled, the warre being begun for the reſcue of the Caſtle of *Millan*, and the neceſſities being ſo great, that where there was need of courage and reſolution, they trifled out the time, diſputing vainely whether they ſhould ſuccour it or not: That they could not beleeue that they would make any other deliberation then ſuch as was requiſite for the common ſafetie, the honour of ſo many Captaines and ſo great an armie: in which caſe they gaue them to vnderſtand, that they would take it for a great ſhame and iniurie, if at the approch to the Caſtle ſuch place were not giuen them, and that they might not beare ſuch part of the perill and danger, as the fidelity and honour of the nation of the *Swiſſers* deſerued: and that they would not faile to teſtifie vnto them, that in taking this deliberation they ſhould not haue cauſe ſo much to remēber ſuch as with infamie had loſt the enterpriſes begun, as therby to forget the glorie and fortune of thoſe that had vanquiſhed. Whileſt they ſpent the time in theſe deliberations, it being plainly diſcerned that the Duke of *Vrbin* was of opinion that the Caſtle could not be ſuccoured, newes came (though not very certaine) that thoſe in the Caſtle had compounded with the Imperials, or at leaſt were vpon the point to agree: to which aduertiſements the Duke giuing credit, ſaid in the preſence of all the Councel, that although the matter went ill for the Duke of *Millan*, yet it was agreeable and profitable for the League, ſeeing it freed them of the danger, leſt either the deſire or neceſſitie to relieue the Caſtle might induce the armie to attempt any thing raſhly, the follie of ſuch being great, who had euer perſwaded themſelues that it might be ſuccoured: & that now being deliuered of that danger, they were to begin againe to conſult and deliberate of the warre, in the ſame ſort as if it were the firſt day of the beginning thereof. Shortly after there came certaine newes of the accord. For the Duke of *Millan*, the Caſtle being reduced to ſuch an extremitie of victuals that it could ſcarcely hold out one day more, and altogether out of hope to be reſcued, for that he perceiued not the armie of the League to ſtirre at all, which two dayes before was lodged ſo neare, continuing the practiſes, which now for many dayes, to make himſelf readie in ſuch a caſe, he had holden with the Duke of *Burbon*, who after the retiring of the armie, had ſent to viſite him in the Caſtle, he fell to accord with him the foure and twentieth of Iuly, in this ſort: That without prejudice to his rights he ſhould deliuer vp the Caſtle of *Millan* to the Captaines, who ſhould receiue it in the Emperours name, promiſe him that he ſhould depart in ſafetie, together with all thoſe that were with him: That it ſhould be lawful for him to remaine at *Coma*, which was deliuered to him with the gouernment and reuenues of the ſame towne, vntill the deliberation of the Emperour touching his affaires were further knowne: and that there ſhould be added thereunto ſo much other reuenues, as ſhould in the whole amount to thirtie thouſand duckats a yeare: That they ſhould giue him ſafe conduct to go in perſon to the Emperour, with obligation to pay the ſouldiers that were within the Caſtle all that was due to them for the time paſt, which was ſaid to amount to twenty thouſand duckats: That the Duke of *Millan* ſhould put into the hands of the Pronotarie *Caracciol*, *Iohn Angelo Riccio*, and *Politiano*, that they might be examined, who neuertheleſſe gaue his faith to ſuffer them to go away afterwards, and to giue them ſafe conduct to ſome place of ſuretie: That the Duke ſhould deliuer the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, who was priſoner within the Caſtle of *Cremona*, & that New Caſtle in *Tortono* ſhould be deliuered to *Sforzino*. In this conuention there was no mention made of the Caſtle of *Cremona*, which

The Caſtle of Millan rendred to the Imperials.

the Duke being no longer able to reſiſt the rage of hunger, had giuen charge to *Iames Philip Sacco*, whom he had ſent to the Duke of *Bourbon*, to promiſe to the Imperials, if compoſition could not be obtained otherwiſe: but he diſcerning by their words and maner of dealing, what deſire they had to accord, and declaring vnto them that the Duke could neuer paſſe ſuch a matter, he obtained ſo much that there ſhould be no ſpeech of it. For albeit the Imperiall Captains had many coniectures that there was no great ſtore of victuals in the Caſtle, and that the neceſſitie of the defendants would ſoone bring them to reaſon: yet being deſirous to aſſure themſelues of it, they determined to accept it vnder any condition, for that they ſtood doubtfull leſt the armie of the League that lay neare, would aduenture to ſuccour it: in which caſe hauing no confidence to be able to defend the trenches, they had reſolued to iſſue out into the field and fight: which doubtfull euent of fortune they were willing to auoid in accepting what conditions they could obtaine of the Duke, who the day following iſſued out of the Caſtle, and being accompanied with many of the Imperiall Captaines euen as farre as the barriers and limits of the armie, when he had taried there one day, he tooke the way to *Coma*; but the Imperials alledging that they had promiſed to giue him ſafe retraite and lodging within *Coma*, but not to cauſe their companies of ſoldiers that were there in garriſon to depart out of the town, he wold no more truſt them; and albeit he had determined before to do nothing that might incenſe the Emperour, he went to *Loda*, which Citie the Confederates put wholly into his hands: and for as much as there was no one article of the capitulations obſerued to him, ſauing that he and his companies came away in ſafetie, he ratified by publike inſtrument, the league made in his name by the Pope and the *Venetians*.

But at the ſame time the Pope, although for the commotion of the *Colonnois*, he had publiſhed a Bull againſt the Cardinall and the reſt of the family of *Colonno*; yet ſeeing his hope to change the gouernment of *Sienna* much diminiſhed, and it being grieuous to him to be troubled in the territories of *Rome*, he willingly gaue eare to *Don Hugo de Moncada*, who not with intention to contract, but to make him more negligent in aduancing his prouiſions, made a motion, that vnder certaine conditions the offences ſhould ceaſſe againſt the *Siennois*, and betweene him and the *Colonnois*: to deale in which matters *Veſpaſian Colonno* whom the Pope truſted much, being come to *Rome*, was the cauſe that the Pope, who hauing loſt all hope of ſucceſſe touching *Sienna*, treated of leuying the armie from before the walls, delayed the execution of that good counſell, expecting (to run into a leſſer ſlander) to make it breake vp as ſoone as the accord now in negociation ſhould be concluded: and yet the diſorders and confuſions of the armie multiplying continually, it was determined at *Florence* that it ſhould retire. Thus it happened the day before the armie was appointed to depart, that foure hundred footmen iſſuing out of the towne, marched towards the artilleries which were guarded by *Iames Corſo*, who preſently turned his backe with his companies; and a bruite being raiſed, and the flight begun, all the armie, wherein was neither order nor obedience, betooke themſelues to flying, being neither charged nor followed, ſtriuing who could make beſt ſpeed, as well Captaines, Commiſſaries and horſemen, as footmen, for the deſire they had to eſcape the danger: and they left to the enemies their victuals, their baggage and artilleries, of which ten peeces as well great as ſmall belonging to the *Florentines*, and ſeuen appertaining to *Perouſa*, were caried into *Sienna* with great reioycing, and almoſt in maner of triumph; and the ignominie which the *Florentines* incurred long time before for loſing their artilleries before *Sienna*, was renewed with great cries; which artilleries were kept yet vpon the publike place of the ſame Citie. This chaſe was giuen the day after the rendring of the Caſtle of *Millan* to the Imperials: and at the ſame time the publike calamities of all Chriſtendome being added to the particular afflictions, the Pope had aduertiſement out of *Hungarie*, that *Soliman Ottoman* who was come from *Conſtantinople* with a very mightie armie to inuade the kingdome of *Hungarie*, hauing paſſed the riuer of *Sauo* without impediment, for that a few yeares before he had made himſelfe maiſter of *Belgrade*, had taken the Caſtle of *Peter Varadin*, and paſſed the riuer *Drauo*: inſomuch as hauing no more impediments, all *Hungarie* was in manifeſt danger. But in *Italy*, by reaſon the Caſtle of *Millan* was fallen into the hands of the Emperour, the ſtate of the warre ſeemed to be wondefully changed, becauſe of the neceſſitie (as the Duke of *Vrbin* alledged) to take new counſels and deliberations, and ſuch as ſhould haue bene ſet downe, if from the beginning of the warre the Caſtle of *Millan* had bene in the hands of *Francis Sforce*: by reaſon whereof, the ſame day the Caſtle was rende-

Soliman Ottoman in Hungarie.

red,

red, in a diſcourſe which he made to the Popes Lieutenant and the Treaſurer of *Venice*, touching the ſtate of the affaires, he added, that it was neceſſarie to make a Captaine generall of the whole League, who might take charge of the armies; and that that which he ſaid was no more for himſelfe then for others, but that he was fully reſolued without that authoritie to take no other care then to command the *Venetian* armie; intreating them to ſignifie his intention to the Pope and the *Venetians*. And to diuert him from that demand, made in a time ſo inconuenient, and ſo greatly diſcontenting the Pope, the Senate of *Venice* was in a maner forced to ſend to the campe *Lewis Piſan*, a Gentleman of great authoritie, by whoſe working his vehement inclination was rather ſomewhat moderated then his determination altered. But touching the maner of proceeding in the warre hereafter, it was determined that the armie ſhould not remoue from the place where it was till the *Swiſſers* were come, who were waged vnder the name, and with the money of the *French* King: and the Duke affirmed, that as ſoone as they were come it was neceſſary to lodge them about *Millan* in two ſeuerall quarters; not to aſſaile it, or proue to force it, but to driue it to yeeld for want of victuals, which he hoped would come to paſſe within three moneths, and ſtood alwayes vehemently againſt the opinion of thoſe, who counſelled that after the campe was ſetled, they ſhould aduenture to take the towne; inferring that the League being mightie in men and money, and the Imperials in neceſſitie of both, all reaſons promiſed the victory of the enterpriſe, whereunto nothing was oppoſite but the deſire to haſten it; for that the enemies conſuming themſelues with time and patience, it could not be otherwiſe, but matters muſt needs ſucceed happily: and being anſwered at one time among others, that his diſcourſe would be very true, if there were any aſſurance that there would not come out of *Germanie* any ſuch ſuccours of footmen as might enable the Imperials to take the field, which if they did, it was not to be doubted but matters would be wholly expoſed to the arbitrement of fortune; he replied, that in that caſe he held the victory no leſſe certaine; for that he knew the Duke of *Bourbon* to be ſo hote and actiue by nature, that he had this opinion of him, that whenſoeuer he eſteemed himſelfe to be equall in forces with the armie of the Confederates, he would aduance ſo faſt, that he would giue them occaſion eaſily to haue ſome happie ſucceſſe, which would haſten the victory. But becauſe that for the difficulties which he vnderſtood fell out in leuying the *Swiſſers*, they might feare leſt they would be long in coming, and therefore it was not amiſſe to remaine ſo long without doing any thing, it was determined by the counſell of the Duke of *Vrbin* principally, and alſo at the inſtance of the Duke of *Millan*, to ſend *Malateſta Baillon* preſently with three hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen, to take the towne of *Cremona*, which they ſuppoſed might be eaſily forced, for that there was therein not paſt an hundred men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, 1000 Lanceknights of choiſe, and three hundred *Spaniards*, very ſmall ſtore of artilleries, and leſſe quantitie of munitions; ſlender prouiſion of victuals; and the inhabitants (notwithſtanding appalled in courage) enemies: and the Caſtle againſt them, the which, although it was ſeparate from the Citie by a trench, yet by the report of *Hannibal Piccinard*, who was Captaine thereof, it was eaſie to ſupplant the flankes, and by that meanes to carrie it. With theſe directions *Malateſta* went to *Cremona*, for whoſe departure the armie being diminiſhed, the Duke of *Vrbin* was in no ſmall feare, leſt the regiments that were within *Millan* ſhould come in a faire night and aſſault the campe, ſo farre were things remoued from hope of the victory. Neuertheleſſe *John de Medicis* skirmiſhed often with the enemies, and although his courage and valour was well ſhewed in theſe skirmiſhes, together with the vertue of the *Italian* footmen, which had not bin ſeene but ſince he had the charge of them; yet thoſe skirmiſhes did rather hurt then helpe the ſubſtance of the warre, for that ordinarily there were alwayes ſlaine ſome of the moſt braue and beſt experienced ſouldiers.

But in the meane while the contrary euent of affaires had much aſtonied the Pope, who was not well prouided of money to furniſh the longneſſe of the warre which was now diſcerned, not being diſpoſed to make prouiſion thereof by ſuch meanes as the importance of the affaires required, and ſuch as other Popes were wont: but that which troubled him yet more, was, that he ſaw the effects of the *French* King were not correſpondent to the obligations of the league, and to that which euery one expected of him: For, beſides that he had bene very long before he payed the fortie thouſand duckats for the firſt moneths pay, and to giue order for the leauying of the *Swiſſers*, it was not diſcerned that he made any preparation to begin the warre

beyond the Mounts: but he alledged, that it was neceſſary firſt to ſignifie to the Emperour what had bene contracted in the articles of the confederation; for that otherwiſe the King of *England*, who had a particular league with the Emperour for their common defence, might haply aide him; whereas ſignification being made in that ſort, that reſpect would ceaſſe; and that then he would immediatly begin the warre, hauing good hope that the King of *England* would do the like, who promiſed, as ſoone as ſignification were made, to proteſt againſt the Emperour, and then to enter into the confederation made at *Coignac*. Moreouer, the *French* King proceeded coldly to prepare his armie by ſea: and his intention was further diſcouered, in that the fiue hundred Lances which he was bound to ſend into *Italie* were long in paſſing the Mounts. And albeit it was alledged, that ſuch a lingring proceeded either of the negligence of the *French* men, or of the diſabilitie to recouer money, and for that they had loſt their credite the yeares before with the Merchants of *Lions*, or for that the companies of men at armes were very ill prouided, for the loſſe receiued in the battel of *Pauie*, & becauſe that ſince that time they had receiued no money or very little, ſo that it being needfull for them almoſt wholly to refurniſh themſelues, they could not do it without a good ſpace of time: yet ſuch as conſidered more nearely the progreſſe of things, began to doubt leſt the length of the warre was no leſſe diſpleaſing to the King then the ſuddenneſſe of the victorie, for feare (according to the ſmall fidelitie and confidence that is amongſt Princes) that the *Italians* when they ſhould haue recouered the Duchie of *Millan*, making ſmall account of his intereſts, would grow to accord with the Emperour without him, or at leaſt would be negligent ſo to vexe and trouble him, as to compell him to reſtore his children. And that which kept the Pope in ſuſpence was, that the King of *England* being required to enter the confederation that was made by his perſwaſions, expreſſing no correſpondencie to the promiſes which he had made before, demanded, rather to protract then for any other cauſe, that the Confederates ſhould be bound to pay him the money which the Emperour ought him, and that the eſtate and reuenue promiſed him in the kingdome of *Naples* might be aſſigned him in the Duchie of *Millan*. Moreouer, the Pope feared leſt the *Colonnois*, who with many commotions held him in continuall ſuſpition, would in the end riſe to inuade him with the forces of the realme of *Naples*. Therefore all theſe difficulties and dangers collected together, he made inſtance to the Confederates, that beſides that euery one in particular ſhould ſolicite and aduance ſuch prouiſions both by ſea and land as they were bound vnto by the articles of the League, they ſhould ioyntly aſſaile the kingdome of *Naples* with an armie of a thouſand light horſmen, and twelue thouſand footmen, and with a conuenient number of men at armes; iudging by the experience of things done till that day, that matters could not ſucceed happily if warre were not made vpon the Emperour in ſome other place then the Duchie of *Millan*. For which cauſes he ſent to the *French* King *Iohn Baptiſta Sanga*, a Romane, one of his Secretaries, to incite him to the warre with a better inclination, and to impart vnto him how much he was drayned of money, and the ſmall meanes he had to go on with ſuch expences, if he ſuccoured him not with ſome quantitie of money: and to tell him that he was determined to hearken preſently to the warre of *Naples*, notwithſtanding it was not debated in the confederation to aſſaile that kingdome ſo long as the warre ſhould endure in *Lombardie*: That the *Venetians* although to auoid ſo great expences, they had in the beginning made ſome difficulty, yet being ouercome with his importunities, they had conſented to be concurrant in the action, yea without the King, but with a number of men ſo much leſſe then imported his part and contribution: That the King for this cauſe, ouer and beſides the fiue hundred Lances, to whom he was minded to giue for Generall and Commander the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, being moued thereunto, as he ſaid, more by the good fortune then the valour of the man, would alſo ſend other three hundred Lances into *Lombardy*, to the end to tranſport one part of them to the warres of *Naples*: That the coming of the armie by ſea might be ſolicited, either to hold *Genes* reſtrained with it, or elſe to conuert it againſt the kingdome of *Naples*: the which, although it was as ſlowly aduanced by the *French* men as other prouiſions had bene, yet it went on ſtill. Now the Kings Nauie conſiſted of foure Gallions and ſixteene light Gallies; that of the *Venetians* of thirteene Gallies, and the Popes of eleuen: ouer all which Nauie entirely *Peter Nauarre* was appointed Captaine generall at the Kings inſtance, notwithſtanding the Pope could haue wiſhed that *Andrew Dore* had bene the man. Beſides all this, the Pope gaue a ſecret charge to *Sanga*, to perſwade the *French* King

The Pope moueth the Confederates to inuade the realme of Naples.

to

to vndertake the enterprise of *Millan* for himselfe, to the end he might haue cause to imbarke himselfe in the warre with all his forces. Moreouer, *Sanga* had commission to go afterwards to the King of *England*, to demand of him succours of money, for as much as that King, who at the first desired nothing more then warre against the Emperour, so farre foorth as the League were negociated in *England*, as he and the Cardinall of *Yorke* desired, was entred (as was beleeued) into the League; but the nature of the time and necessitie of the Castle of *Millan* not suffering a long treatie, when he saw the League was made by others, he thought he might remaine indifferent as a looker on and a Iudge. The Pope also solicited at the perswasion of the *Venetians*, and no lesse of the *French* King, who to that end had sent the Bishop of *Bayeux* to *Ferrara*, to compose the controuersies he had with that Duke: but it was rather in apparence then in effect, propounding vnto him many offers, and among others, to giue him *Rauenna* in counterchange of *Modena* and *Reggio*; an offer whereof the Duke made no reckoning, not onely for that hauing taken courage by the retiring of the armie from before the walls of *Millan*, he was become more hard then before to the offers that were made, & chiefly to that of *Rauenna*; but also for the inequalitie of the reuenues, and that he supposed the same would be a meanes to cause him in time to fall at variance with the *Venetians*. These were the practises, the preparations and operations of the Confederates, deferred, broken off, and changed, according to the forces, ends, and counsels of the Princes.

Prouisions of the Emperour against the Confederates.

But the Emperour, whose deliberations depended of himselfe, was neither negligent nor irresolute, so farre forth as his power and forces stretched. For, after the *French* King, at the instance of the Confederates, had denied the Viceroy leaue to passe into *Italy*, which he demanded euen with teares, the said Viceroy (refusing to take the Kings present, which was worth twentie thousand crownes) returned into *Spaine*, bearing with him a writing of the *French* kings owne hand, wherein he said he was ready to obserue the accord made at *Madril*, so farre forth as he would alter the article of the restitution of *Burgondie* into the paiment of two millions of crownes: at whose returne the Emperour being out of hope that the King would obserue the capitulation, determined to send the Viceroy into *Italy* by sea with the Lanceknights that were in *Parpignan*, being almost three thousand, with the like number of *Spanish* footmen, containing in all a number of sixe thousand: and gaue order to send a new supply of an hundred thousand duckats to *Millan*, soliciting the expedition of the armie by sea, which could not be so soone ready, for that besides the time that was needfull to assemble and prepare the *Spanish* souldiers, it was necessary to pay the Lanceknights an hundred thousand duckats, which was due vnto them for wages past. Furthermore he sent continuall directions into *Germanie* to send to *Millan* new succours of footmen; but for that he tooke no order for money to pay them, and his brother by reason of his pouertie was not able to do it, that expedition proceeded very slowly: and yet the delayes and ill successe of the Confederates gaue them oportunitie to attend all delayes. For *Malatesta Baillon* being come before *Cremona*, planted his artilleries by night on the seuenth day of August before the gate of *Mussa*, iudging that place to be weake, for that it was ill flanked and rampiered: and for that he thought at the same time to giue the assault on the Castle side, he supposed it best to make his battery in a place farre off, to the end those within might be constrained to deuide their strength so much the more. Neuertheless after the artilleries had battered, he was of opinion that the place was strong, and fortified with rampiers, and the battery made so high, that the descent into the towne would be too troublesome; so that he resolued not to giue the assault, but with a counsell quite contrary, to begin a new battery neare the Castle, in a place called *Santa Monaca*, which afore time had bin battered by *Federike de Bossolo*: and at the same time he caused two trenches to be cut vpon the Castle greene, whereof the one drew on the right hand towards the riuer of *Po*, where the defendants also had made two trenches: and he hoped with his trench to take from them a bastillion, within sixe fadomes whereof they were already arriued, which bastillion was in their first trench neare the wall of the towne: and in taking it, he layed his plot to make a Caualier thereof to batter along the walls, as the *French* men had done afore: and for that cause the Imperials made another bastillion behind their last trench. The other trench which *Malatesta* cast, was on the left hand towards the wall, and so neare to theirs, that they were within the cast of a stone; and he determined to begin the battery as soone as the trenches were made according to his deuice, to the which the artilleries of the enemies gaue no great impediment, for that within *Cremona* there

there were but foure Falconets, wherewith they ſhot but ſeldome, for that they had but ſmall ſtore of powder: yet the footmen that were within, ceaſſed not to make ſallies out to vexe thoſe that laboured at the trenches, and put them oftentimes to great diſtreſſe, although they had a great guard. By reaſon whereof *Malateſta* who was in a maner vncertaine what to do, with litle praiſe to himſelfe, confounded (by diuers aduices written in his letters) the Captains of the armie, who ſeeing that the taking thereof was continually found more difficult, ſent to his campe twelue hundred Lanceknights who were newly leuied by the *Venetians*, at a ioynt charge with the Pope: and not many dayes after, to the end to reconcile the diſcord and iealouſie that was betweene *Malateſta* and *Iulius Manfron*, the Treaſurer *Peſero*, who after a great amitie was now in ſmall grace with the Duke of *Vrbin*, went thither from the armie with three thouſand footmen. But the night before the thirteenth day of Auguſt, *Malateſta* cauſed foure peeces of artillerie to be planted betweene Saint *Lukes* gate and the Caſtle, to take a Baſtillion; where, after he had battered almoſt all the day, he cauſed the trench to be opened, in hope to take the Baſtillion the ſame night: but about the fourth houre of the night, a ſmall crue of Lanceknights iſſuing out of the towne, gaue a charge vpon thoſe that guarded the trenches, who as well within as without were more then a thouſand footmen; and hauing put them in diſorder, they forced them to abandon the place: neuertheleſſe the day following they were compelled to depart, ſo that the trench that had bene made with ſo great paine, remained abandoned, as well of the one part as of the other. Thus it happened that Fortune would ſhew her ſelfe fauourable to thoſe without, if they could haue knowne how to diſcerne or embrace the occaſion: for in the night before the fifteenth day, about fortie fadome of the wall fell of it ſelfe betweene Saint *Lukes* gate and the Caſtle, together with one peece of their artillerie: in which place if they had giuen the aſſault as ſoone as the day appeared, thoſe within, who were aſtoniſhed with an accident ſo vnexpected, would haue had no hope to be able to reſiſt, for that the place which they ſhould haue occupied for defence, lay open to the artilleries of the Caſtle. But whileſt *Malateſta* ſtood long, firſt to reſolue, and then to range his ſouldiers to go to the aſſault, the defendants labouring diligently within, the firſt thing they did, was to defend themſelues with bankes againſt the artillerie of the Caſtle, and afterwards they rampiered themſelues in front of the enemies: ſo that when the aſſault was preſented, foure houres before the ſetting of the Sunne, albeit the moſt part of the campe were turned to that ſide, yet they approched with very great domage, for that they went thither too openly: and when they were approched, beſides other defences, they found themſelues wonderfully beaten with ſtones which thoſe within caſt vpon them: ſo that *Iulius Manfron* and Captaine *Maſon* were ſlaine vpon the place, together with many other ſouldiers of condition. At the ſame time there was another aſſault giuen by the Caſtle, but that was repulſed with very ſmall domage: and it was appointed that at the battery made at *Santa Monaca*, another aſſault ſhould be performed with foureſcore men at armes, an hundred light horſemen, and a thouſand footmen: but the ditch being found full of water, and the place well fortified, they retired without doing any thing. After this arriued the Treaſurer *Peſero* with three thouſand footmen *Italians*, more then a thouſand *Swiſſers*, and new artilleries: ſo that being now aboue eight thouſand footmen, the Captaines thought to make two batteries, giuing the aſſault to either of them with 3000 footmen, and alſo to aſſaile the towne with two thouſand on that part towards the Caſtle: and the ſaid Treaſurer hauing brought to the campe a great number of pioners, they laboured diligently in the trenches, of the which one being finiſhed the ſecond day of Auguſt, they preuailed ſo much after long fight, that they couered a flanke of the enemies. Afterwards, in the night of the fiue and twentieth day, they made two batteries; the one (whereof *Malateſta* had the charge) beyond that place which *Federike* had battered heretofore: the other at *Muſſe* gate, managed by *Camilla Vrſin*: but the ſucceſſe both of the one and the other was very ſlender; for that the place where *Malateſta* braked his artilleries, by reaſon it was mooriſh, was vnfit for the artilleries, which in ſinking at the breech by the ſoftneſſe of the place, and riſing at the mouth of the peece when they ſhot, made them ſhoot ouer: and touching that of *Camilla*, it was low, but they found there a ditch full of water, and ſo many flankes of harquebuziers that it was vnpoſſible to paſſe further. Therefore albeit notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties they gaue the aſſault, they receiued in that place great harmes: and albeit on *Malateſtaes* ſide the footmen went euen to the wall, paſſing a ditch, wherein the water was deeper then was looked for, yet they were eaſily repulſed. Moreouer on

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the Caſtle ſide one part of the Cauelier being reuerſed, the footmen mounted vpon it, but for that the deſcent withinſide was too high, they were put backe, and thus being come in on all ſides to the aſſault with very little order, many were hurt and many ſlaine, with little hurt to their enemies. Theſe diſorders, together with the priuation of hope otherwiſe to take *Cremona*, ſeeing there wanted gouernment and obedience in the Campe, conſtrained the Duke of *Vrbin* to go thither in perſon, who drawing out of the armie that lay before *Millan*, almoſt all the *Venetian* footmen, and leauing there ſome of the men at armes, with all the regiments of the Church, together with the *Swiſſers*, who were arriued to the number of thirteene thouſand: and now when there remained in the armie a leſſe number of men, and that it was ſpoyled of a Generall of ſuch authoritie, deſpiſing the danger which he ſeemed alwaies before to feare when there were greater forces, and affirming that it was not the cuſtome of men of warre, and of the *Spaniards* leſſe then others, to inuade other men of warre in their Campe, he went from the armie to *Cremona*, laying his plot, not to carrie it with the onely force of batteries and aſſaults, for that the rampiers of the enemies were too ſtrong, but by endeuouring with a great number of Pyoners to approch their trenches and Baſtillions, and to make himſelfe maiſter of them more by the benefit of vndermining then by force of armes. He was taxed and reprehended in many things by the Imperiall Captaines touching the gouernment of this enterpriſe againſt the State of *Millan*, and chiefly for the retraite from before *Millan*; but no leſſe for that from the beginning he had attempted to take *Cremona* with very ſmall forces, truſting vainely to accompliſh it with facilitie: and that afterwards when the difficulties were diſcouered, perſeuering therein, he had entangled ſuch a part of the armie, that farre greater occaſions that offered themſelues during the time that he ſpent there, were loſt thereby. For, the full number of *Swiſſers* ſo much deſired being now come to the campe, he might by enuironing *Millan* with two armies, as was alwaies determined, cut off that great ſtore of victuals which continually had paſſage thither by the way of *Pauie*, which for the great circuit that was to be made, the ſingle armie that lay at *Ambra* could not reſtraine. But it was a matter of farre greater importance to loſe the occaſion that haply was offered to force *Millan*, for that the ſouldiers within were ſo weakened by ſickneſſe & diſeaſes that fell among thē, that thoſe that were in health being ſcarcely able to keepe the ordinary watch, it was the opinion of many, and of the Imperials themſelues, that if they had bene inuaded at that time, they had bene in great danger to be ouerthrowne.

But the occaſion was greater and more certaine that was offered to take *Genes*; for that the *Venetian* Nauie being ioyned with the Popes at *Ciuita Vecchia*, and afterwards theſe armies ſtaying in the port of *Liuorne* to tarrie for the armie of the *French*, which with ſixteene Gallies, foure Gallions, and foure other veſſels was fallen into the riuer of *Ponent*, when they had by the conſent of the inhabitants gotten *Sauona*, and all the riuer of *Ponent*, and alſo taken many ſhips loden with graine going to *Genes*, they paſſed to *Liuorne* to ioyne with the reſidue. It was alſo determined, that at the common expences of the Confederates, there ſhould be armed in the port of *Marſeilles* twelue great ſhips, to the end with the *French* Gallies, and by the direction of *Peter* of *Nauarre*, to aſſaile the Nauie that was prepared in the port of *Carthage*, or at leaſt to encounter them at ſea. Thus the three fleets of the Confederates ſetting ſaile the nine and twentieth day of Auguſt, the Nauie Eccleſiaſticke and *Venetian* ſtayed at *Portofino*, & the *French* fleete returned to *Sauona*, from which places ſcouring all the ſeas without reſiſtance, they reſtrained *Genes* ſo narrowly (where there was want of victuals) that nothing could come thither by ſea, ſo that it was not to be doubted, if they had ſent a certaine ſtrength of ſouldiers on the land ſide to cut from them that onely refuge, but the towne of *Genes* would haue come to compoſition: and the Captaines of the ſaid Nauies made inſtance for no other thing, both by letters and Meſſengers expreſſe, demanding at leaſt that there might be ſent foure thouſand men on land. But there could be no ſouldiers drawne from the campe that lay before *Cremona*: and the Duke of *Vrbin* and others, holding it dangerous to diminiſh the armie that lay before *Millan*, entertained them with hope, that as ſoone as *Cremona* was taken there ſhould be ſent to them a ſufficient ſtrength of ſouldiers. But the enterpriſe of *Cremona*, which as well for the vertue of the defendants, as for the great workings of the Pyoners required a long time, proceeded daily with greater delay then was expected. For the Duke who would needs haue at the campe two thouſand Pyoners, a great quantitie of munitions, and great ſtore of all ſorts of inſtruments, cauſed continuall working at the trenches of the Caſtle, and at the Baſtillion towards

wards *Po*, to win it, and to ſerue his turne of the Caualier, notwithſtanding the enemies who were in doubt hereof many dayes before, were retired behind with a ſtrong rampier. There was working alſo at the two heads of the trenches which went ouerthwart the Caſtle greene, to the end to ruinate the Caualiers which the enemies had made there: and betweene the two trenches of the campe, he caſt another trench of ſixe fadomes broad, the pioners fencing themſelues in front and in flanke with the earth they digged vp, to the end to make a Caualier at ſuch time as they ſhould come to the trench of the enemies. Moreouer, he cauſed a ditch to be caſt without the Caſtle, neare the towne wall, which ſhould leade to the Baſtillion neare the wall that was ruinated: and he made another trench at Saint *Lukes* gate, drawing vp euen to the ſame wall: and the artilleries of the Caſtle ceaſſed not to batter the rampiers of the enemies, the which for the malignitie of the earth, being very light and looſe, was eaſily pierced through with the ſhot of the artilleries. And on the other ſide, the defendants loſt no time: for, diſtruſting to be able to keepe their trenches and Caualiers long, they made a ditch towards the houſes of the towne, and yet iſſued out often, and with great courage charged vpon the works of the enemies: and the night before the ſeuenth day, they aſſailed in three places the trenches which the enemies caſt vpon the ſide of the Caſtle, and finding almoſt all the footmen that were ſent to guard them aſleepe, they ſlue more then an hundred of them, together with diuerſe Captaines, and proceeded euen vp to the rauelin of the Caſtle: and yet they were more and more reduced into ſtreights, and their affaires began to be in ill tearmes. For the Duke who had made way with his trenches euen to their rampiers, which ſeparated the Caſtle from the towne, aſſailing them with certaine harquebuziers & other good ſouldiers couered with their targets, did them great domage, as likewiſe did the artilleries from the towers of the Caſtle. By reaſon whereof the Imperials burned their rampier that was made at the Caualier, to the end it ſhould not ſerue for a parapet to thoſe that were without: and two trenches being beaten open into their ditches, about the nineteenth day they retired into other trenches, of which the Duke of *Vrbin* made ſmall accompt, becauſe that for the ſhortneſſe of time they could not be well fortified, and for that by their retiring themſelues more at large, there was need of a greater guard to defend them. And yet, although theſe workes were brought to an end, the proceedings of the campe were but ſlow, for the neceſſitie to reorder and renew the *Venetian* footmen, who had bene long time without pay, and for this cauſe were much diminiſhed in numbers, as alwaies in the affaires of the Confederates one diſorder hapned vpon another: and whileſt they were about theſe things, the Imperials made many ſallies by night to attempt the trenches, but it was in vaine, for that their enemies were now made wiſe by the harmes they had receiued there before. At laſt when they had got a ſufficient ſtrength of footmen, the Duke of *Vrbin* began the two and twentieth day furiouſly to batter a tower on that ſide where *Federike* had battered, where after he had ſhot certaine bullets, he found that the enemies were reduced to ſuch termes as they could not refuſe to compound; and therefore he ſent vnto them a Trumpet to ſummon them to render the towne, with whom came forth a Captaine Lanceknight, and a Spaniſh Captaine, together with *Guido Vaine*: and the day following it was thus capitulated with them: That if they were not ſuccoured before the end of the moneth, they ſhould depart out of *Cremona*: and that the Lanceknights ſhould be permitted to go into *Germanie*, and the *Spaniards* to the realme of *Naples*, with promiſe that in foure moneths they ſhould not beare armes for the defence of the State of *Millan*: That they ſhould leaue behind them all the artillerie and munitions, and depart with their Enſignes folded vp, and without ſound of drumme or trumpets, except at the time of their breaking vp.

Cremona rendred to the Confederates.

In this meane while the *French* King (in whoſe Court the Cardinall *Saluiati* who was departed out of *Spaine* with the leaue of the Emperour, was ſhortly after ſetled as Legate,) had anſwered to the requeſts that were made to him on the Popes behalfe, excuſing himſelfe that his doings were not correſpondent to his will, by reaſon he was much exhauſted of money: but if he would permit him to take through his realme a tenth of the reuenues of benefices, he would relieue him with twenty thouſand duckats monethly out of the money which ſhould be ſo collected, and would be concurrant in the warres of *Naples*. He refuſed to hearken to the conqueſt of the Duchie of *Millan* for himſelfe, although at the firſt he had ſhewed ſome inclination that way, from the which his mother & *Monſieur Lawtrech* had chiefly diſſwaded him. He gaue hope that he would make war out of *Italy*: but he alledged that it was neceſſary that the denuntiation

ſhould

ſhould proceed, which being done, he offered to begin the warre vpon the coaſt of *Flanders* and *Parpignan*: and yet it was diſcerned that he had no diſpoſition to it, his intention therein being nothing different from the will of the King of *England*, with whom the expedition ſent by the Pope ſerued to no purpoſe, for that the Cardinall of *Yorke*, whoſe humour was to entertaine euery one, and be ſued vnto of all men, would giue no reſolution: but the King and the Cardinall made oftentimes this anſwer: The affaires of *Italy* appertaine nothing to vs. At which time the Confederates fearing leſt the *Griſons*, who during the ſiege of the Caſtle of *Millan* had reconquered and raſed *Chiauenna*, would enter into the pay of the Duke of *Bourbon*, or at leaſt permit the Lanceknights whom he expected for ſuccours, to paſſe through their countrey, the Pope and the *Venetians* bound themſelues to take into their pay two thouſand *Griſons*, and to pay Captaine *Mus* (who for feare of the Duke of *Millan* was fled from the campe when he came to the armie, and afterwards pretending there was money owing him for the payes of the *Swiſſers*, he detained priſoners two Embaſſadours of the *Venetians* who were going into *France*) fiue thouſand and fiue hundred duckats, which the Embaſſadours had promiſed him by force: and to reſtore vnto them as much as he had exacted from them: That they would cauſe the ſaid *Griſons* to be freed from the new taxes impoſed by the Duke vpon ſuch as traffiqued vpon the Lake of *Coma*. And touching the *Griſons*, they bound themſelues to ſtop the paſſages of the Lanceknights, and tooke ſuch order that *Tegane* their Captaine who had compounded with the Duke of *Bourbon* to ſerue him with two thouſand footmen, aduanced not. In the meane while the affaires of *Italy* proceeded very ſlowly. For the armie that was before *Millan* (wherein was greatly diminiſhed the numbers of the *Swiſſers*, but not of ſuch as were payd) lay there without doing any other thing then skirmiſhing according to cuſtome. But the *Spaniards* that lay within *Carpy* did the worſt they could, who being ſecretly aduertiſed by their eſpials, with the commoditie to withdraw themſelues vpon the lands of the Duke of *Ferrara*, gaue great impediment to the Poſts and other perſons that went to the armie, and ouerrunning all the countrey thereabouts, euen to the confines of *Bologna* and *Mantua*, they did infinite harmes, but not to any others then the ſubiects of the Church. But at laſt the Marquis of *Saluſſa* was paſſed into *Piemont* with the fiue hundred *French* Lances, by reaſon of whoſe comming, *Fabricio Maramo*, who battered the towne of *Valence* and lay encamped before it, (*John Biraguo* lying there in garriſon) retired himſelfe to *Baſſignan*. But the Marquis refuſed to paſſe further, vnleſſe foure thouſand footmen whom he had brought out of *France* for that intention, were payed by the Confederates by equall portions: and the King making great inſtance to that end, as well for the ſurety of his men at armes, as for the greater reputation of the Marquis, it was needfull to conſent thereunto. At the ſame time *Synibald Fieſqno* made himſelfe Lord of the towne of *Pontriemoli*, which *Sforzino* held, but it was ſoone recouered againe with the ſame facilitie, by meanes of the Caſtle. Within *Millan* there was great want of money, ſince they receiued none at all from the Emperour; and the pouerty and intollerable defrayments of the inhabitants was ſuch, that they could hardly furniſh the thirty thouſand duckats promiſed to the Duke of *Bourbon*, who had receiued into his pay *Galeaz Birago* and *Lodowike Belioioſo*, who till that day had alwaies followed the *French* part: the reaſon was, for that the Confederates would not accept them, becauſe of the intollerable expences which they ſuſtained: about which time *Iohn Birago* ſeized vpon *Nouy*.

During theſe ſtirres the State of the Marquis of *Mantua* was in a manner common to both ſides, whereof he excuſed himſelfe, for that he was in the pay of the Pope, and a freeholder of the Emperour: and when the end of the terme of his pay drew neare, he put himſelfe againe into the pay of the Pope and the *Florentines* for foure yeares more, with expreſſe condition, that he ſhould not be bound to do any thing, againſt the Emperour either with his perſon or his Eſtate: although in the beginning of the warre he had deſired to go in perſon to the armie; which being not agreeable to the Pope, as hauing no confidence in his gouernment, he made him anſwer, that in regard he was a freeholder of the Emperour, he would not bring him in danger. Such was at that time the eſtate of the affaires in *Lombardy*.

In *Tuſcane*, the *Florentines* who had neither armie nor armes vpon their lands, were grieued with the burthens of the warre, for the charges that were impoſed vpon them. For the Pope hauing no money by ordinarie meanes, and would not vſe any extraordinarie meanes, layed vpon their ſhoulders with a great impietie, almoſt all the charge of the expences of *Lom-*

bardy. The *Siennois* alſo were not without their vexation on the ſea coaſt, for that *Andrew Dore*, who at the firſt had ſeized vpon *Talamone* and *Porthercule*, made them ſtand continually vpon their guard, although not long after *Talamone* was reſtored to the *Siennois* by the Captaine that was appointed to keepe it: and alſo the exiles of *Sienna* being ſupported by the Pope, moleſted them in *Maremma*, where *Iohn Paule* the ſonne of *Rance de Cere*, who was entertained by the Pope, made himſelfe Lord of *Orbatello*, by reaſon the gate of the towne was ſurpriſed by certaine horſemen, whom he followed foorthwith with his companie.

But at *Rome* there happened matters of right great conſequence, not cauſed by force of armes, but by conſpiracies and ambuſhes, to the great infamie of the Pope, and confuſion of the affaires of *Lombardy*: where, by reaſon of the conqueſt of *Cremona*, there was hope of good iſſue in the enterpriſe of *Genes*, and to be able following the plots ſet downe at the firſt, to encampe in two parts about *Millan*. For ſince the chaſe giuen to the Eccleſiaſtikes before *Sienna*, the Pope hauing no hope to do any great matter againſt the family of the *Colonnois*, and hauing wholly turned his mind to inuade the realme of *Naples* with greater forces, as we haue ſhewed: and on the other ſide, the *Colonnois* and the Emperors Agents, finding themſelues vnable to do any notable matter againſt him, and deſiring to protract time vntil the *Viceroy* were come out of *Spaine* with the Nauie; when they had ſent *Veſpaſian Colonno* to *Rome*, in whoſe fidelity the Pope repoſed much, they fell to capitulate together the two and twentieth of Auguſt: That the *Colonnois* ſhould render *Anagnia*, with other places which they had taken: That they ſhould withdraw their power to the kingdome of *Naples*, and entertaine no more ſouldiers in the townes which they poſſeſſed in the dominion of the Church: That they might freely ſerue the Emperour againſt all men for the defence of the kingdome of *Naples*. And on the Popes ſide, that he ſhould pardon all offences paſt, and reuoke the bull publiſhed againſt the Cardinall *Colonno*: That he ſhould not inuade their eſtates, nor ſuffer them to be endomaged by the *Vrſins*. By reaſon of which reconciliation, the Pope, who made more account of the fidelity of *Veſpaſian* then of any other thing, repoſing himſelfe vnwiſely hereupon, and doubting nothing, he diſmiſſed almoſt all his horſemen and footmen which he had waged; and thoſe bands that remained, he diſperſed in ſeuerall townes about *Rome*, and ſo began to grow cold in the deſigne of inuading the kingdome of *Naples*. But as by the complaints and proteſtations which ordinarily came from *Millan* and *Genes* to the Emperours officers reſident in the realme of *Naples*, it was diſcerned that thoſe cities could hold out no longer, vnleſſe the Confederates were turned from the purſute of their enterpriſe with a mightie diuerſion: the ſaid officers, hauing no meane to make openly a ſtrong warre, and ſuch as might miniſter ſo ſpeedie remedies, diſpoſed immediatly all their minds and thoughts to oppreſſe the Pope with ambuſhes and deuices. But whileſt theſe practiſes were in preparing, God purpoſing that the affliction which the Pope ſuffered for his particular affaires, ſhould be accompanied with other afflictions in regard of the publike: there came aduertiſements that *Soliman Ottoman* Prince of the Turkes had ouerthrowne in ranged battell, *Lewis* King of *Hungarie*, getting ſuch a victorie, no leſſe through the temerity of his enemies, then by his owne forces. For the *Hungarians*, notwithſtanding they were but a very ſmall number in compariſon of ſo many enemies, and being more confident for the many victories formerly had againſt the Turkes, then in the condition of things preſent, they perſwaded their King, who was very yong in yeares, and more yong in counſell, that not to obſcure the reputation and ancient glory of warre gotten by his people (without attending the ſuccours that were to come from *Tranſiluania*) he would go meete the enemie, and alſo that he ſhould not refuſe to fight in open field, wherein the Turkes are almoſt inuincible by reaſon of their infinite numbers of horſemen. The euent therefore being correſpondent to the raſhneſſe and follie, his armie which was compounded of all the Nobilitie and valiant men of *Hungarie* was ouerthrowne, with a great ſlaughter, and with the death of the King himſelfe, with many of the principall Barons and Prelates of the realme. By reaſon of which victorie all men holding for certaine, that the Turke would appropriate to himſelfe the whole realme of *Hungarie*, to the great preiudice of all Chriſtendome, whereof that realme had for many yeares bene the buckler and forewall, the Pope was much troubled; as in the minds of men already troubled and afflicted, new diſpleaſures make a deeper impreſſion, then they do in minds that are free of other paſſions. The Pope then hauing many new matters in his head, and expreſſing in his actions, his words, and

Capitulation betweene the Colonnois and the Pope, to deceiue him.

Lewis King of Hungary ouerthrowne in battell by Soliman.

and his countenance vnmeaſurable griefe, when he had called the Cardinals into the Conſiſtorie, he complained much together with them of ſo great a domage and ignominie to the common weale of Chriſtendome: which he had not in any ſort failed to prouide for, as well by exhorting and perſwading the Princes of Chriſtendome to peace, as in ſuccouring that Realme with a great ſumme of money, when he himſelfe had very great need of it: That he had foretold and knew from the beginning, that the preſent warre would be very inconuenient, and very dangerous for the defence of that kingdome: but that neceſſitie had conſtrained him, ſeeing there was no reckoning made of all the honeſt conditions propounded by him for the tranquillitie and ſuretie of the ſea Apoſtolike and *Italy*, to take armes, contrary to his perpetuall intention. For both the neutralitie which he had vſed before that neceſſitie, and the conditions of the league that he had made, all which reſpected the common benefit, did ſufficiently ſhew that he was not puſhed on by the conſideration of his owne intereſts, or the particular reſpects of thoſe of his family. But ſith it hath pleaſed God, haply for ſome good end, that the head of Chriſtendome ſhould be hurt, ſpecially in a time when all the other members of the ſame bodie were diſtracted with other thoughts then ſuch as tended to the common ſafetie, he beleeued that the will of God was, that they ſhould ſeeke to cure ſo great a maladie by ſome other meanes. And therefore foraſmuch as that care appertained more vnto him then to any other, in reſpect of his office of Paſtor, he was determined, laying aſide all the conſiderations of incommoditie, of danger, and of his dignitie, and ſoliciting as ſoone as he could vnder ſome good conditions, a ſurceaſſing of armes in *Italy*, to mount vpon his galleys, and in perſon to go meet the Princes of Chriſtendome, to obtaine of them with perſwaſions, petitions, and teares, an vniuerſall peace among Chriſtians: That he exhorted the Cardinals to prepare themſelues for this expedition, and to aide their common father in ſo holy a dutie: and to beſeech God to fauour ſo holy a worke: the which if for the common ſinnes it could not be brought to perfection, that it would pleaſe him at leaſt to grant him ſo much grace, that he might die in the negociation thereof, rather then to ſee himſelfe out of hope to accompliſh it; for as much as no infelicitie, or greater miſery could befall him, then to loſe the hope and the meanes to put a helping hand to quench ſo pernicious and great a fire.

The propoſition of the Pope was heard with great attention, and no leſſe compaſſion, and was much commended: but it had bene much more commended, if his words had caried ſo much credit, as in themſelues they had dignitie. For the moſt part of Cardinals were of opinion, that he was touched with the difficultie whereinto the preſent warre was reduced, rather then with the danger of that Realme; for that he had taken armes againſt the Emperour in a time, when, for the open preparations of the *Turkes*, the danger of the Realme of *Hungarie* was manifeſt. But of this there could no true experience be made. For the *Colonnois* beginning to execute the treaſon they had pretended, had ſent *Ceſar Filettin* their confederate, with two thouſand footmen, to *Anagnia*, where there was for the Pope a garriſon of two hundred footmen payed: and to the end to hide their intentions, they made ſhew as though they would take *Anagnia*. But for as much as in true meaning their purpoſe was otherwiſe, they occupied all the paſſages, and vſed extreme diligence that their proceedings might not be knowne at *Rome*; and when they had aſſembled their forces which they had ſent about *Anagnia*, with whom, and others, which were in all about eight hundred horſemen and three thouſand footmen, almoſt all trained, they retired with great celeritie towards the Citie of *Rome*, where their coming was nothing ſuſpected: and being arriued there the night before the twentieth day of September, they tooke by ſurpriſe three gates of *Rome*, making their entrie by the gate of *Saint Iohn de Lateran*; and there were preſent in perſon, not onely *Aſcanio Colonno*, and *Don Hugo de Moncada* (for the Duke of *Seſſa* was dead many dayes before at *Marino*) but alſo *Veſpaſian*, who had ſolicited the accord, and giuen his faith as well for himſelfe as for all the reſidue, and the Cardinall *Pompey Colonno*, who was ſo farre tranſported with ambition and furie, that he had conſpired not onely to put the Pope to a violent death, but (a thing credibly beleeued by all men) to occupie with bloudie hands, and meanes full of impietie and ſacriledge, the Pontificall ſeate, conſtraining the Cardinals with force of armes to make election of his perſon. The Pope when he had information about the breake of day of their arriuall, and how they were already aſſembled about *Saint Coſmo* and *Saint Damiano*, being full of feare and confuſion, fought in vaine to appeaſe the tumult, for that he had no forces particular or proper to defend

himſelfe: and the people of *Rome*, who were partly glad of his trouble, and partly iudged that the publike domage would not touch them, made no ſigne to ſtirre: by reaſon whereof the enemies being encouraged, they aduanced forward, and ſtayed with all their bands at *Santo Apoſtolo*, from whence they ſent beyond *Tiber* by the bridge *Siſto* about fiue hundred footmen with certaine horſemen: who, after a ſmall reſiſtance, repulſed from the gate of *Santo Spirito Stephen Colonno* being in the Popes pay, and appointed for that place with two hundred footmen. Then (taking the way of the old ſuburbes) they drew to *Saint Peters*, and to the Biſhops pallace, where the Pope as yet was, who in vaine imploring the aide of God and men, and hauing a deſire to die in his ſeate, prepared himſelfe, according to the example of Pope *Boniface* the eight when he was aſſailed and ſurpriſed by *Sarra Colonno*, to ſet himſelfe with the habite and ornaments Pontificall in the Pontificall chaire: but being with great difficultie turned from that purpoſe by the Cardinals that were about him, who coniured him to come out of it, if not for his owne ſake, at leaſt for the good of that Sea, and to the end the honour of God might not ſo wickedly be violated in the perſon of his Vicar: he withdrew himſelfe with ſuch of them as he truſted moſt into the Caſtle, about fiue of the clocke; and at ſuch time as not onely the footmen and the horſemen who were come before, but alſo all the reſt of the armie, ſacked the Pallace and the holy ornaments of the Church of Saint *Peter*, without any regard to the maieſtie of Religion, and reſpecting as litle holy things as did the *Turkes* in the Churches of the Realme of *Hungarie*. Then they entred into the new ſuburbes, of which they ſacked about the third part, and paſſed no further for feare of the artilleries of the Caſtle. Afterwards, the tumult being appeaſed, which laſted not much aboue three houres (for within *Rome* they did no domage or hurt to any man) *Don Hugo* vnder the Popes faith, and receiuing as hoſtages for his ſuretie the Cardinals *Cibo* and *Rodolfo* the Popes couſins remoued, went into the Caſtle to ſpeake with the Pope, where vſing ſuch termes as appertained to a victor, he propoſed vnto him conditions of truce: whereunto anſwer being deferred till the next day, the accord was concluded in this ſort: That there ſhould be betweene the Pope as well in his owne name as in the name of the Confederates, and betweene the Emperour a truce for foure moneths, with the ſpace of other two moneths to renounce it, and libertie to the Confederates to enter within two moneths: That in the ſame truce ſhould be comprehended not onely the eſtate Eccleſiaſtike and the Realme of *Naples*, but alſo the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Florentines*, the *Genowaies*, the *Siennois*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and all the ſubiects of the Church, mediatly and immediatly: That the Pope ſhould be bound to retire immediatly on this ſide the riuer of *Po*, his men of warre that lay before *Millan*, and to call home from his armie by ſea *Andrew Dore* with his galleys: That he ſhould be bound to pardon the *Colonnois*, and any other whoſoeuer had participated in this aſſault and commotion: That he ſhould be bound to deliuer for hoſtages of obſeruancie, *Philip Strozzi* and one of the ſonnes of *Iames Saluiati*, and to ſend them to *Naples* within two moneths, vpon paine to loſe thirtie thouſand duckats: That the Imperials and the *Colonnois* with their companies ſhould depart out of *Rome* and all the Eccleſiaſtike Eſtate, and retire to the kingdome of *Naples*.

Truce between the Pope and the Emperour.

This truce was willingly accepted by both the parties: of the Pope, for that there was not ſufficient prouiſion of victuals in ỹ caſtle: of *Don Hugo*, (the *Colonnois* notwithſtanding making inſtance to the contrary) for that he thought he had done enough for the Emperour, and for that almoſt all thoſe that had entred *Rome* with him, being loden with bootie, were ſlipt away into diuers places. This truce brake off all the plots of *Lombardie*, and tooke away all the fruite of the victorie of *Cremona*. For, notwithſtanding almoſt at this ſame time the Marquis of *Saluſſa* was come to the armie with the *French* lances, yet the Popes regiments beginning to faile, who for the moſt part, by reaſon of the truce, retired to *Plaiſance* the ſeuenth day of October, the deuice to ſend ſouldiers to *Genes* was no leſſe diſſolued, then the reſolution to enuiron *Millan* with two armies. And that which cauſed alſo ſome diſturbance was, that the Duke of *Vrbin* after he had made a compoſition with thoſe in *Cremona*, went to viſite his wife at *Mantua*, without tarrying for the conſignation, although he was credibly aduertiſed of the truce made at *Rome*: and hauing accorded to the companies that were within *Cremona* a prolongation of time to depart, the ſouldiers ſtayed ſo long about *Cremona* before they diſlodged, that he arriued not at the armie with the ſaid companies that were before *Cremona* before the midſt of October; a matter that brought great preiudice to all the affaires, for that there was ſolicitation to ſend men to

Genes,

Genes, which *Peter* of *Nauarre* and the *Venetian* Treasurer of the armie by sea demanded with greater instance then euer, for as much (as the *Venetian* regiments being reassembled) there were in the armie as great forces as might suffice for that effect, without being needfull for that cause to remoue the campe: and because the Marquis of *Saluss* had brought with him fiue hundred lances and foure thousand footmen, besides a daily expectation of two thousand *Grisons*, who were waged according to the accord made with them: and the Pope, albeit he made open demonstration to obserue the truce, yet his secret intention being otherwise, he had left in the armie foure thousand footmen vnder the charge of *Iohn de Medicis*, pretending that the *French* King should pay them; an excuse not without apparent colour, for that *Iohn de Medicis* was alwaies in the Kings pay, and in his name retained continually a company of men at armes. At last the Imperials that were within *Cremona* went out of that Citie, the possession whereof was consigned to *Francis Sforce*: and the Lanceknights with their Captaine *Conradin* tooke their way to *Trent*: but the horsemen and footmen of the *Spaniards* hauing passed ouer *Po* to returne to the realme of *Naples*, and the Lieutenant *Guicciardin* making some difficultie to giue them sufficient passeports and safe conducts, for that it was offensiue to the Pope that they should go to the Realme of *Naples*, they suddenly tooke their way by the mountaine of *Parma* and *Plaisance*, and with great diligence repassed the riuer of *Po* at *Chiarella*, from whence they went in safetie to *Lomellina*, and afterwards to *Millan*. And not onely the Lieutenant *Guicciardin*, for the obseruation of the truce, went from before the wals of *Millan* with the Popes regiments, but also *Andrew Dore* remoued himselfe from *Genes* with his Gallies, out of which towne not many daies before were issued sixe thousand footmen, as well bodies payed (whereof there were foure thousand) as voluntary men, with direction to set vpon the sixe hundred footmen, who were vpon the land with *Philippin Fiesqo*. But *Philippin* had made on the top of the mountaines neare to *Portofino* such fortifications with rampiers and bastillions, that he constrained them to retire with great detriment: and yet not many dayes after *Andrew Dore* returned to *Portofino* with sixe Gallies, to continue together with the residue, the siege of *Genes* by sea.

Cremona giuen by the confederates to Francis Sforce.

At the same time that these matters succeeded in *Italy* with diuerse euents, the Embassadours of the Pope, the *French* King, and the *Venetians*, signified to the Emperour the fourth day of September (so long delay was interposed before it was done) the League that was made, together with the libertie that was left to him to enter according to the conditions set downe in the Capitulations. At which act the Embassadour of *England* being present, he deliuered from his King a letter, which modestly perswaded him to enter into the League. When the Emperour had heard the Embassadours, he answered them, that it agreed not with his dignitie to enter into a confederation made principally against his estate & honor: but that hauing alwaies bene most desirous of the vniuersall peace, whereof he had made so euident demonstrations, he offered to accomplish it presently, if they had sufficient warrant and commissions for the same. Neuertheless it was beleeued that his intention was farre otherwise, and that he did but insinuate that offer for his greater iustification, to giue occasion to the King of *England* to deferre to enter into the League; to slacken with that hope the preparations of the Confederates; and so by meanes of the treatie of peace, to cause them to enter into some iealousie and distrust among themselues. And yet he solicited on the other side the prouisions for the armie by sea, which was supposed to be forty ships and sixe thousand footmen payed: and to make that armie aduance being assembled at the famous port of *Cartagena*, the *Viceroy* departed from the Court the foure and twentieth day of September, the Emperor shewing himselfe more prompt and diligent in affaires then the *French* King, who notwithstanding he was pressed with so great interests, passed the most part of his time in hunting, beholding dancing, and courting of Ladies: and his children were carried vp to *Valledolid*, when it was discerned there was no more hope that the accord would be obserued. The coming of this armie by sea compelled the Pope to take armes, who was iealous of the fidelitie of the *Viceroy* and the *Spaniards*. Therefore he called to *Rome* not onely *Vitelly* with his regiments and the bands of his Nephewes, but also an hundred men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and an hundred light horsemen of *Peter Maria Rosso*: and there was sent to him from the armie two thousand *Swissers* at his owne charges, and three thousand footmen *Italians*: and yet he ceassed not to assure that he would go into *Spaine* to conferre with the Emperour, from the which almost all the Cardinals dissuaded

The league signified to the Emperour.

him, chiefly for that he followed an action vncertaine, aduising him rather to send thither his Legates.

Deliberation of the Duke of Vrbin.

But when the Duke of *Vrbin* was returned to the army, which lay still before *Millan*, and seeing there was no hope to take the towne, either by force or by famine, and that the Captaines of the sea armie made great instance that men might be sent them to vexe by land the people of *Genes*, he determined forthe better aduancement of that expedition, to draw the armie farre from the wals of *Millan*, and yet disposing of things in such sort, that the victuals that were to come to that Citie might alwaies be cut off: for which occasion he began to fortifie *Monce*, to the end to leaue there with more suretie some companies of souldiers, which might giue some impediment to the victuals that came from mount *Brianso* and other places confining, and by the commoditie of that fortification, to transport the armie into such a place as might stop the victuals coming continually to *Millan* from *Biagrassa* and *Pauie*: which lodging being fortified, the Marquis of *Salussa* should march to *Genes* with his footmen and a band of *Swissers*; a matter much desired by the sea armies, for that the towne of *Genes* was brought into such extremitie of victuals, that it could scarcely hold out any longer. But these deliberations being such as could not be put in execution but with a farre greater tract of time then was conuenient for the estate of the affaires and for the necessitie of *Genes*, for the getting whereof there needed no other thing then to stop the victuals that came by land, the things determined were not brought to effect, notwithstanding there were in the armie foure thousand *Swissers*, two thousand *Grisons*, the foure thousand footmen of the Marquis of *Salussa*, and foure thousand others vnder *John de Medicis* payed by the Pope, together with the *Venetian* footmen, which according to the obligation of the League, and testimonie and report of themselues, were assured to containe ten thousand men: but in truth were much lesse. In the end, the armie dislodged the last of October from the place where it had so long incamped, and drew to *Pioltello* fiue miles from the first lodging, and in discamping they had a great skirmish with the souldiers of *Millan*, among whom the Duke of *Bourbon* was in person. The intention of the Duke of *Vrbin* was to stay at *Pioltello* vntill the fortifications of the Citie of *Monce* were ended, where he purposed to leaue in garrison two thousand footmen with certaine horsemen, and after to go to *Marignan*, where he was determined to lodge the armie; and that lodging taken & fortified, and haply, as he said, *Biagrassa* first taken, to send the bands of men afterwards to *Genes*; which were matters of such length, that there was reason to accuse him, notwithstanding he alledged for some part of his excuse, the ill prouisions of the *Venetians*, who not paying their footmen in conuenient time, had neuer their numbers which were promised complete, and many of those which they had, going away continually for the slackenesse of their payes, they were constrained when the pay-dayes came, to put others in their places, so that (as he said probably) he had eftsoones new companies & a new army. But this protraction which hitherto seemed to haue bene voluntary, began to haue a cause and colour of necessitie. For after many practises holden in *Germanie* to send a succour of footmen into *Italy*, which came to no effect, as well for the disabilitie of the Archduke, as for that the Emperour sent no money thither, *George Frongspergh* who affected the affaires of the Emperour and the glorie of his Nation, and with great commendation had at two seuerall times commanded in *Italie* two great bands of footmen for the Emperour against the *French* men, determining to supply with his owne goods that wherein the Princes were defectiue, stirred vp with his authority many bands of footmen, shewing vnto them the faire occasion that was offered to make them rich with the spoyles of *Italie*: and when he had contracted with them, that receiuing of him euery man a crowne, they should follow him to the succours of the Emperour, and had obtained of the Archduke certaine horsemen and artilleries, he prepared to passe, making the muster of all his men betweene *Bolzano* and *Maran*. The rumour of which preparation being come into *Italie*, was the cause that the Duke of *Vrbin* left off the resolution to molest *Genes*, reduced almost to the last extremitie, although *Andrew Dore* diminishing his first demands, required no more but fifteene hundred footmen, making his reckoning to furnish as many for his owne part. But the Duke refused also that demand, alledging for his excuse, the necessitie he had had to send from the armie fifteene hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, into the countrey of *Vincensa*, for a feare which that Senate had lest the armie of the Lanceknights would take that way; an opinion which the Duke confuted, perswading himselfe that they would rather take the way of *Lecqua*, and for that reason he stirred not from *Pioltello*, to the

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end to be the more neare to the riuer of *Adda*, and publiſhed that he would march to meet them, and fight with them beyond *Adda* at their coming out of the vale of *Sarſina*.

Thus the affaires of *Lombardie* beginning to returne into new and farre greater difficulties, a new fire was alſo kindled in the Citie of *Rome*. For the Pope being much appalled for the accident of the *Colonnois*, and inclined to the peace, and to go with the armie at ſea to *Barcelona* to contract it perſonally with the Emperour, had (as ſoone as his enemies were gone out of *Rome*) ſent *Paul d'Arezzo* his Chamberlaine to the *French* King, to the end to paſſe to the Emperour with his conſent to negociate the peace, and to ſignifie vnto the King his neceſſitie & dangers, and to demand of him an hundred thouſand crownes to enable him to defend himſelf. In which matters he was ſo much diſcordant to himſelfe, that in demanding money of the King, and vrging him to a greater readineſſe in the warre, he would not onely not conſent to the tenths vnleſſe he had the one halfe to himſelfe, which the King refuſed, ſaying that it was contrary to the vſage of *France*; but alſo he could not be reſolued to create Cardinall the Chancellor *Prat*, who for the authoritie he bare in the Kings counſels, and for that all expeditions of money paſſed through his hands, might haue ſtood him in great ſtead in his deſignes. The King forgat not to bemoane with *Paul d'Arezzo* and the other Nuncios, the accident happened at *Rome*, and to offer to the Pope all his meanes for his defence, and to admoniſh him to repoſe no more confidence in the Emperour, exhorting and counſelling him for this cauſe not to perſeuere in the truce: in which caſe and not otherwiſe, he ſaid he would ſatisfie the twentie thouſand duckats promiſed for euery moneth. The Pope was alſo incited to this by the King of *England*, who counſelled him not to go to *Barcelona*, and vnderſtanding what had happened him, he ſent him fiue and twentie thouſand duckats. The *French* king diſſwaded the Pope from the voyage which he purpoſed to make to the Princes of Chriſtendome, as a matter which for the importance thereof required a further conſultation: and at the firſt he refuſed that *Paul d'Arezzo* ſhould go to the Emperour, either for ſuſpition that the Pope would begin to entertaine with him ſome practiſe ſeparate, or for that it was a matter more honorable to worke the peace by the meanes of the King of *England*, then to ſeeme, as he ſaid, to beg it of the Emperours: and yet ſhortly after the Pope making a new inſtance, he conſented that he ſhould go, either for that he deſired the peace, or elſe becauſe he began to diſlike that it ſhould be wrought by the King of *England*, who caried himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that he had good reaſon to doubt leſt for his particular intereſts he might be drawne by him into inconuenient conditions, ſeeing the ſame King of *England* (or rather the Cardinall of *Yorke* vnder his name) being full of ambition, and deſirous to be iudge of all, propounded conditions very ſtrange, and had ends alſo different from the purpoſes of others, by reaſon whereof he feared leſt he would ſuffer him to be abuſed by the Emperour, and would not be ſorie that the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould fall to the Duke of *Bourbon* by the benefit of the peace, ſo farre forth as he maried the Emperours ſiſter, to the end it might remain in his power to giue his daughter in mariage to the *French* king. Therfore the perſwaſions tendred to the Pope by the one and the other King; the feare to loſe the amitie of the Confederates, and (being depriued of their aides) to remaine in prey to the Emperour and his officers: the prouocations of his owne counſellors; the diſdaine conceiued againſt the *Colonnois*, and the deſire to recouer (by a iuſt reuenge) in ſome ſort the honour loſt; induced him to conuert againſt the townes of the *Colonnois*, all thoſe forces which he had afore called into *Rome* onely for his ſafetie: and he was of opinion that no reaſon might compell him to obſerue the accord which he had made vnwillingly, being abuſed by their frauds, and forced by their armes, contrary to the faith receiued. Therefore he ſent *Vitelli* with his companies to vexe the lands of the *Colonnois*, making his account to burne and raze all their townes, for that by reaſon of the ancient affection of the inhabitants and the faction, it was a matter of ſmall preiudice to take the townes onely. And at the ſame time he publiſhed a Bull againſt the Cardinall and the reſt of that family, by vertue whereof he afterwards depriued the Cardinall of the Hat, who ſeeking before to defend himſelfe with the Bul of Simonie, had publiſhed his appellations at *Naples*, and had appealed to the Councell to come: but he deferred to pronounce ſentence againſt the other *Colonnois*, who entertained horſemen and footmen in the Realme of *Naples*. The Popes bands being entred into their townes, burnt *Marina* and *Montfortin*, whoſe Caſtle was yet holden by the *Colonnois*. They razed *Gallicano* and *Tagarolo*, the *Colonnois* being carefull of nothing elſe, then to defend their places of ſtrength, and chiefly the towne of *Paliano*, which is a place of

ſtrong ſituation, and of very hard acceſſe for great artilleries, and hath no other acceſſe vnto it but by three wayes, whereof one cannot ſuccour another: and withall the wall being very thicke, the inhabitants were well reſolued to defend it. Neuertheleſſe it was beleeued, that if *Vitelli* had marched with diligence to aſſaile it, notwithſtanding many of the inhabitants of thoſe townes that had bene taken were retired thither, he had eaſily caried it, for that there was not one ſouldier within it. But whileſt he deferred to go thither, following the inclination of his nature, full of irreſolution and feare when he was to put any thing in execution, fiue hundred footmen, as well Lanceknights as *Spaniards*, ſent from the Realme of *Naples*, and two hundred horſemen, entred the towne by night, which made the taking thereof ſo difficult, that *Vitelli*, who at the ſame time kept his companies about *Grotta Ferrata*, not daring to make any further enterpriſe vpon *Paliano*, nor againſt the Popes Rocke, determined (when he had ſent to batter the Rocke of *Montfortin* guarded by the *Colonnois*) to gather together all his forces at *Valmonton*, more to looke to the defence of the countrey if any emotion were made towards the Realme of *Naples*, then with hope to be able to do any thing of importance: for the which the Pope blamed him much, who at a time when his purpoſe was to inuade the kingdome of *Naples*, and afterwards when he called into *Rome* the regiments for his defence, had deſired that *Vitelli* and *Iohn de Medicis* ſhould be ſent thither, who were two Captaines conioyned in amitie and alliance; and the coldneſſe of the one of them ſeemed ſufficient both to temper and be tempered by the valour and forwardneſſe of the other. But deſtinie drawing *Iohn de Medicis* to a ſodaine death in *Lombardie*, the Pope following the counſell of his Lieutenat (ſeruing his turne in the meane while of *Vitelli* in leſſer things) had deferred to call the ſaid *Iohn de Medicis* vntill there was greater neceſſitie of him, or that the occaſion of ſome greater enterpriſe preſented it ſelfe, to the end not to depriue the armie in *Lombardie* of ſo worthy a perſonage, who for his great courage and vertue gaue great terror to his enemies and much aſſurance to his friends: and that ſo much the more, by how much the rumor of the deſcending of the Lanceknights for the Emperour increaſed, the which conioyned to the aduertiſements that came, that the *Spaniſh* Nauie was vpon the point to depart out of the port of *Cartagena*, conſtrained the Pope, being vrged thereto by many of the Confederates, and by his own counſellers, to deuiſe (contrary to his meaning alwayes before) to make ſome compoſition with the Duke of *Ferrara*; not ſo much to ſtand aſſured of his conſpiracies and emotions, as to draw from him ſome great quantitie of money, and to induce him to be preſent in the armie as Captaine generall of all the League. To which purpoſe after he had many times dealt with *Mathew Caſella* of *Faenza*, the Dukes Embaſſadour reſident with him, and ſuppoſing that the Duke was well inclined that way, he ſent to his Lieutenant *Guicciardin*, who was then at *Parma*, to go to *Ferrara*, giuing him a commiſſion very large in apparence, but indeed full of reſtraints and limitations, for that he would haue him conſent to render to the Duke of *Ferrara* the townes of *Modena* and *Reggia*, receiuing of him within a ſhort time, two hundred thouſand duckats: That the Duke ſhould be bound to declare himſelfe, and be preſent in the armie as Captaine generall of the League: That his eldeſt ſonne ſhould take in mariage *Catherine* the daughter of *Laurence de Medicis*: and that they ſhould trie if there were any meanes to giue one of the Dukes daughters in mariage to *Hippolito de Medicis* ſonne of *Iulian*, with an equall dowrie: with many other conditions, which being of themſelues almoſt impoſſible to be decided for the ſhortneſſe of the time, the Pope notwithſtanding, who condeſcended thereunto no otherwiſe then by a laſt neceſſitie, charged him not to paſſe this matter, nor to make any abſolute concluſion, vntill he had from him new direction and a new commiſſion. Not long after he enlarged his commiſſion, as well in regard of the conditions, as for the power to conclude, becauſe he had aduertiſement that the Viceroy of *Naples* was arriued with two and thirtie ſhips in the gulfe of Saint *Florent* in *Corſica*, and had brought with him three hundred horſe, fiue and twentie hundred Lanceknights, and three or foure thouſand *Spaniards*.

Catherine de Medicis.

But now the will of the Pope was to litle purpoſe, for that a Gentleman of the Duke of *Ferrara* was come with the Viceroy, who being diſpatched with great diligence from the place aboueſaid, did not onely ſignifie to the Duke the coming of the armie by ſea, but alſo brought vnto him from the Emperour, the inueſtiture of *Modena* and *Reggia*, with promiſe in words of the next mariage of the Lady *Margarite* of *Auſtria* baſtard daughter to the Emperour, with *Hercules* eldeſt ſonne to the Duke. By reaſon of which aduertiſements, *Alphonſo* who before expected

pected with great desire the coming of the Lieutenant, changing his mind, and supposing, for that the Lanceknights of the armie by sea approched, that the affaires of the Emperour began to haue cleare passage, he signified by his Counseller *Iames Aluarot* of *Padua* to the Popes Lieutenant (who being gone from *Parma*, was then at *Centa*) the expedition he had receiued out of *Spaine*; by the which albeit he was not bound to declare himselfe either against the Pope or against the League, yet for that he had receiued so great a benefit from the Emperour, it was not conuenient that he should entertaine any further practise against him, and that the negociation for the which he went to *Ferrara* being thereby dissolued, he thought good to aduertise him of it, to the end to giue the Pope by his silence no iust cause of discontentment against him: not forbidding him notwithstanding to come to *Ferrara*, but referring it to his discretion. The Lieutenant who discerned manifestly by this relation that it would be in vaine for him to go to *Ferrara*; not purposing any more to abuse the Popes reputation without hope of any profit, and being also called backe by the necessitie of the affaires of *Lombardie*, he returned immediatly to *Modena*, after he had (notwithstanding) preferred in some other forme new solicitations of accord, for that the State of the Church on that side was dayly reduced into greater danger: seeing that *George Fronspergh* with his Lanceknights, who were about thirteene or foureteene thousand, hauing taken their way by the vale of *Sabio*, and being come by the Rocke of *Auso* towards *Salo*, were now come to *Chastilion de Striuieri* vpon the confines of *Mantua*: against whom the Duke of *Vrbin* (who not many dayes before, to the end to be ready to encounter the Lanceknights, had led the armie to *Vaury* vpon the riuer of *Adda*, betweene *Trezzo* and *Cassan*, and there had erected a bridge and fortified his campe) leauing at *Vaurie* the Marquis of *Saluss* with the *French* bands, the *Swissers*, the *Grisons*, and his owne footmen, he departed the nineteenth day of Nouember from *Vaurie*, leading with him *Iohn de Medicis*, fiue hundred men at armes, many cornets of light horsemen, and eight or nine thousand footmen; with intention not to set vpon them directly in the plaine field, but to molest them, and cut off their victuals, alledging that the onely way to vanquish men of that humor, was to driue them to fall into some disorder. The one and twentieth day he arriued at *Sonzin*, from whence he caused *Mercario* to aduance forward with all the light horsemen, and a troupe of men at armes, to trouble them, & to giue time to the armie to ouertake them, for that he feared lest he should come very late, because they were lodged the same day at *Caurians*: by which occasion excusing himselfe of his long tarying at *Vaury*, he layed the fault vpon the negligence and couetousnesse of the Treasurer *Pisani*, whereby the campe was constrained to remaine there a day or two more, tarying for the oxen that should draw the artilleries: of which fault he said, there proceeded afterwards very great disorder, and almost the ruine of the whole enterprise. Vntill that time there was great doubt what way the Lanceknights would take; for that at first it was beleeued they would draw towards *Adda* by the countreys of *Bressia* and *Bergama*, with purpose to be met by the Imperiall bands, and to go with them to *Millan*: and afterwards it was supposed they would passe the riuer of *Po* at *Casalmaior*, and that from thence they would take the way to *Millan*. But being come the two and twentieth day to *Riuolto* which is eight miles from *Mantua*, betweene the riuers of *Minceo* and *Oglio*, the Duke of *Vrbin* lodging the same day at *Prato Albuino*, forasmuch as they passed not *Minceo* at *Goito*, it was discerned that they would rather passe *Po* at *Bourgfort* or *Viadana*, then at *Ostia* or the places more lower: but passing at *Ostia*, it was a manifest signe that they would take the way of *Modena* and *Bologna*, in both which places there was made leuies of footmen and other prouisions. Afterwards the Lanceknights took the way of *Bourgfort* the foure & twentieth day, whither, because they had no artilleries, the Duke of *Ferrara* sent them foure Falconets by the riuer of *Po*; which of it selfe was but a slender succour, but did them great seruice by the benefite of fortune. For, as the Duke of *Vrbin* in following them was entred within the straite of *Mantua* which they call *Serraglio*, within the which they were as yet; as they approched to *Bourgfort*, *Iohn de Medicis* made after with his light horsemen to charge them vpon the taile, though without hope to do any great matter: and as he accoasted them very neare, not knowing that they had any artilleries, fire being put to one of the falconets, with the second shot *Iohn de Medicis* had his thigh broken a litle aboue the knee, by reason whereof being caried to *Mantua*, he died there within a few dayes after; to the great preiudice of the enterprise, wherein the enemies neuer stood in feare of any other armes then of his. For notwithstanding he was a yong man of nine and twentie yeares of age,

The Duke of Vrbin goeth against the Lanceknights of George Fronspergh.

The death of Iohn de Medicis.

age, and full of great forwardneſſe and courage, yet his experience and vertue ſurmounted his age, and the heate of his youth was dayly more qualified: and many plaine and euident ſignes of induſtrie and wiſedome appearing more and more in him, there was an aſſured expectation that he would in ſhort time become a famous Captaine in all things concerning the ſcience of warre. After this the Lanceknights without any impediment drew along the riuer of *Po* to *Oſtia*, the Duke of *Vrbin* being at *Bourgfort*: and hauing paſſed ouer *Po* at *Oſtia* the eight and twentieth day, they encamped at *Rouero*, where the Duke of *Ferrara* aided them with a certaine ſumme of money, and ſome other field peeces: and the inhabitants of *Bologna*, and all *Tuſcane* began to be very fearefull, for that the Duke of *Vrbin* (notwithſtanding he had alwaies aſſured before, that if the enemies paſſed *Po* he would do the like) was gone to *Mantua*, ſaying he would tarrie in that place for a commiſſion from the Senate of *Venice*, whether he ſhould paſſe *Po* or not. But the Lanceknights after they had paſſed the riuer of *Secchia*, turned to the way of *Lombardy* to ioyne with the companies that were within *Millan*. At which time the *Viceroy*, who was departed from *Corſica* with fiue and twentie veſſels (for two of his ſhips were periſhed in a ſtorme before he came to Saint *Florent*, and fiue others ſeparate from the Nauie floated here and there) encountred aboue *Seſtria* in the Leuant the Nauie of the League, which was compounded of ſixe gallies of the *French* Kings, fiue of the Popes, and fiue of the *Venetians*: and being grappled together aboue *Codemont*, they fought from two of the clocke till night: in which conflict *Andrew Dore* wrote, that he ſunke one of their ſhips, wherein were more then three hundred men, and did many other great domages to the whole fleete with his artilleries: and that for the ſtormie ſeaſon the gallies were conſtrained to retire vnder the hill of *Portofino*, and that they expected the ſame night the other gallies that were at *Portouenere*: and whether they came or came not, that vpon the appearing of the day he would go ſeeke the enemie. Neuertheleſſe albeit they followed the fleete to *Liuorne*, they could not ouertake it, for that they had wonne much afore thē, becauſe they beleeuing that the fleete had run vp either into *Corſica* or into *Sardignia*, were not diligent to follow it. Afterwards the *Viceroy* followed on his way, but ſo ſhaken with tempeſts, that his ſhips were diſperſed, part whereof, where *Don Ferrand de Gonſaga* was, were driuen into *Sicile*, and afterwards came to *Caietta*, where certaine Lanceknights were ſet on land: but touching himſelfe, he arriued with the reſidue of the Nauie at the port of *Saint Stephen*, from whence for that he was vncertaine in what termes the affaires ſtood, he ſent to the Pope being at *Rome*, the Commander *Pignaloſa*, with commiſſions expreſſing the good intentions of the Emperour: and after when the rage of the ſea was abated, he ſailed with his Nauie to *Caietta*.

Encounter of the Nauie of the Emperour with the fleete of the Confederates.

The Prince of Orange with his Lanceknights.

In the meane while the Lanceknights after they had paſſed the riuer of *Secchia*, and were drawne towards *Razzolo* and *Gonſaga*, they lodged the third day of December at *Guaſtallo*, and the fourth at *Newcaſtle* and *Powy*, which is ten miles from *Parma*: where the Prince of *Orange* ioyned with them, being come from *Mantua* with two companions in the habite of a ſimple harquebuzier. The fift day, after they had paſſed the riuer of *Lenza* aboue the bridge and the high way, they lodged at *Montchiaruculo*, the Duke of *Vrbin* remaining yet at *Mantua* with his wife, being nothing touched with the preſent dangers. The ſeuenth day, after they had paſſed the riuer beyond *Parma*, they beſtowed themſelues in the villages of *Felina*, the riuers being high by reaſon of the great raines that fell: and Captaine *George* by the relation of his letters written to the Duke of *Bourbon*, which were ſurpriſed, ſhewed himſelfe very irreſolute what courſe to take. The eleuenth day they paſſed the riuer of *Taro*, and the day following they lodged at the borough *Saint Danin*, where they ſhewed their *Lutheran* malice againſt holy things and the images of the Saints. The thirteenth day they encamped at *Firenzola*, from whence, as was diſcerned by letters ſurpriſed, they ſolicited the bands of *Millan* to ioyne with them, who had the ſame deſire, but were retained by want of money: for the *Spaniards* ſaid they would not depart out of *Millan*, vnleſſe they were ſatisfied their old payes, and began alreadie to ſacke and ſpoile. But at laſt the Captaines preuailed ſo much with them, that they were content to receiue onely fiue payes; for the furniſhing whereof, they were driuen to ſpoile the Churches of their veſſels of ſiluer, and to impriſon many Citizens: and by degrees as the ſouldiers were payed they were ſent to *Pauie*, though with great difficultie, for that they were loth to depart from *Millan*: and becauſe theſe things would require ſome time, the Captaines in the meane while ſent beyond *Po* certaine bands of horſemen and *Italian* footmen to ioyne with the Lanceknights.

knights. The Lieutenant had made inſtance, for the better ſuretie of the Eſtate of the Church on that ſide, that the Duke of *Vrbin* would paſſe the riuer of *Po* with the *Venetian* regiments, who had not onely deferred ſo to do, ſometimes alledging that he expected aduertiſement of the will of the *Venetians*, and ſometimes ſhewing other cauſes and reaſons; but alſo perſwaded the Senate, that if he ſhould leade the armie ouer the riuer of *Po*, there would be danger leſt the Imperials ſhould inuade their Eſtates, they charged him not to paſſe: and in that regard he had retained many dayes the bands of footmen that were vnder the commandment of *Iohn de Medicis*, whom the Lieutenant had ſolicited to paſſe *Po* for the defence of the lands of the Church: and the Marquis of *Saluſſa* hauing paſſed the riuer of *Adda*, as well for that the Lieutenant had required ſuccours of him, as for that the *Swiſſers* and *Griſons* being diminiſhed, he eſteemed himſelfe not ſtrong enough in the lodging at *Vaurie*, the *Venetians*, who before had conſented that the Marquis ſhould paſſe *Po* to ſuccour the Pope with ten thouſand footmen, as well *Swiſſers* as of their owne people, whō they payed with the fortie thouſand duckats of the *French* King, (the care of receiuing and ſpending whereof was committed to them when the Pope made the truce, and there was a doubt, which was afterwards farre greater, that they conuerted ſome part thereof to the payment of their owne ſouldiers) being afterwards moued by the perſwaſions of the Duke of *Vrbin*, they intreated him not to paſſe: for which cauſe, the Duke who had ſent him word that he would conferre with him at *Sonzin*, deferred his coming ſo long, that the Marquis went his way: neuertheleſſe he not onely vſed all his endeuour to make him ſtay, the better to ſee what the Lanceknights would do, but alſo he counſelled him openly not to paſſe; wherein he was alſo hindered, for that the payes of the *Swiſſers*, (who were payed after the rate of ſixe thouſand and were in truth but foure thouſand) were not readie. And therefore although he deferred to paſſe vntill the ſeuen and twentieth of December, yet he ſent part of the *French* horſemen with certaine bands of footmen, to lodge in diuerſe places of the countrey, to ſtop the paſſage of victuals to the Lanceknights, who had now remained many dayes at *Firenzola*: and for this ſame cauſe *Guido Vaine* was ſent to the borough of *Saint Donin* with an hundred light horſemen: and *Paul Luſaſquo* came out of *Plaiſance* with a good troupe of horſemen, and drew neare to *Firenzola*, from which place part of the Lanceknights went to lodge at the borough of *Arquà* for the more commoditie of victuals: for feare of whom *Plaiſance* had bene refurniſhed before, but not with ſo ſufficient forces as were thought conuenient, for that the Lieutenant, who euer ſince the coming of the Lanceknights had feared leſt the difficultie to aduance their affaires in *Lombardie*, would force the Imperials to paſſe into *Tuſcane*, wiſhed that they would deſire to go encampe before *Plaiſance*: and for that reaſon, vnknowne to all other, yea to the Pope himſelfe, he ſo deferreed to furniſh *Plaiſance*, that they might haue hope to be able to take it: and yet furniſhing it in ſuch ſort as they could not eaſily carrie it, and hoping that if they went thither, he ſhould lacke no meanes to ſuccour it. But by the long abode which the Lanceknights made in the places thereabout, and the danger leſt (as all men beleeued) it would be taken, conſtrained him to conſent that *Guido Rangon* ſhould go thither with a great companie of ſouldiers, and withall, according to the direction of the *Venetians*, who had promiſed to ſend thither for garriſon a thouſand footmen to ſuccour the Popes neceſſitie, *Babbon* of *Naldo* one of their Captaines, was diſpatched thither with a regiment of a thouſand footmen: but becauſe they were ill payed, they were immediatly diminiſhed to foure hundred. At laſt the Marquis of *Saluſſa* paſſed, who in truth had not aboue foure thouſand *Swiſſers* and *Griſons*, and three thouſand footmen of his owne: and being come to *Puleſine*, notwithſtanding he was deſired not to depart from thence, to moleſt the Lanceknights that were lodged at *Firenzola*, whither *Luſaſquo* alſo made incurſions many times, euen vp to their lodgings, yet for his better ſuretie he went to *Torricella* and *Siſſa*. But within two dayes after the Lanceknights brake vs from *Firenzola*, and went to *Carpineta* and the places thereabouts: neither was it knowne what was the intention of the Duke of *Bourbon*, whether to go encampe himſelfe before *Plaiſance* when he was come out of *Millan*, or to paſſe further towards *Tuſcane*. Afterwards the Lanceknights paſſed the riuer of *Nyno* the laſt day of the yeare, to the end to paſſe afterwards the riuer of *Trebia*, and there to attend the Duke of *Bourbon*, as in a place leaſt ſubiect to the incurſions of the enemie. The affaires of *Lombardie* proceeded thus ſlowly, not ſo much for the ſeaſon of the yeare, which was ſharpe, as for the difficulties which the Duke of *Bourbon* had to pay his ſouldiers, by reaſon whereof the people of *Millan* were wonderfully trauelled and

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tormented for prouiſion of money: and in reſpect of this neceſſitie, *Ierome Moron* being condemned to death, compounded the night before he ſhould ſuffer, to pay twentie thouſand duckats; for which end they had made ſhew that they would put him to death: but when by this and other meanes he was deliuered out of priſon, before many dayes paſſed, of a priſoner he became by the dexteritie of his wit, a counſeller to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and almoſt his onely gouernour.

Ierome Moron out of priſon.

Now the treaties of truce or peace were great betweene the Pope and the Viceroy, but the plots of the Viceroy were indeed rather to make warre, at the incitation of the *Colonnois*, who had cauſed him take heart ſince he came to *Caietta*, and for that he vnderſtood that the Pope being deiected in courage, and drained of money, was very deſirous of peace, & making his pouertie and feare knowne to all the world, and refuſing to create Cardinals for money, as euery one counſelled him, he increaſed the courage and hope of ſuch as had any purpoſe to offend him. For the Pope not being entred into the warre with ſuch conſtancie of mind as was fit, had written a letter to the Emperour ſince the ſixe and twentieth day of Iune, which was very bitter and full of complaints, excuſing himſelfe that he was conſtrained by him to make warre: but as ſoone as he had ſent it, ſuppoſing it was too bitter, he preſently ſent another, more mild and amiable, charging his Nuncio to retaine the firſt, which neuertheleſſe was deliuered, for that it came firſt to his hands. Afterwards the other was preſented, and the Emperour anſwered them both ſeuerally, (but with one expedition) either of them according to that which was contained and propounded therein: to that which was bitter, bitterly; and to the courteous, kindly. Moreouer the Pope had readily hearkened to the Generall of the Grayfriers, who going into *Spaine* at ſuch time as the warre began, was charged by him to deliuer to the Emperour kind words: and being eftſoones returned to *Rome* by commiſſion of the Emperour, he brought many reports touching his good intention, and that he would be content to come into *Italy* with a traine of fiue thouſand men, and after he had taken the Crowne of the Empire, to paſſe preſently into *Germanie* to take ſome order for the affaires of *Luther*, without ſpeaking of the Councell: That he would be content alſo to accord with the *Venetians* vnder reaſonable conditions; To referre the cauſe of *Francis Sforce* to the arbitration of two Iudges aſſigned by the Pope and himſelfe; and in caſe he were condemned, to giue that Eſtate to the Duke of *Bourbon*: To cauſe his armie to depart out of *Italy*, the Pope and the *Venetians* paying three hundred thouſand crownes to ſatisfie the armie for that which was already due, which notwithſtanding he would endeuour to content with a ſumme more moderate: And alſo to reſtore to the *French* King his children, receiuing in counterchange two millions of gold at two or more termes. He ſhewed alſo that it would be eaſie to accord with the King of *England*, both for that the ſum that was in queſtion was not great, and alſo the King made offer of it. And to debate theſe matters (all which the Pope communicated to the Embaſſadours of the *French* king and the *Venetians*) the Generall of the Grayfriers offered a truce for eight or ten moneths, ſaying he had very large warrants and commiſſions from the Emperour, wherein all power was giuen to him, the Viceroy, and *Don Hugo de Moncada*. Wherefore the Pope, after he had heard *Pignaloſa*, and receiued aduertiſement that the Viceroy was gone out of the port of Saint *Stephen*, ſent the Generall to *Caietta* to treate of theſe matters with him: for that the *Venetians* would not refuſe the truce if the *French* King would conſent, who for his part was not farre eſtranged from it, and his mother had ſent to *Rome Laurence Tuſcan* declaring an inclination to a peace wherein all the world ſhould be comprehended. And ſuppoſing that no practiſe could be very ſure without the conſent of the Duke of *Bourbon*, he ſent vnto him for the ſame cauſes one of his owne Amners that was at *Rome*, whom the Duke returned ſhortly after to the Pope to ſolicite the ſame matters; and yet at the ſame time, not abandoning the prouiſions of warre, he ſent Cardinall *Auguſtine Triuulce* as Legate to the armie which was in *Campagnia*, and preparing alſo to inuade the Realme of *Naples* by ſea, *Peter* of *Nauarre* arriued the third day of December at *Cinitauecchia* with eight and twentie galleys belonging to the Pope, the *French* King, and the *Venetians*: at which time *Ranſe de Cere* being ſent by the *French* King for the expedition intended againſt the Realme of *Naples*, was arriued at *Sauona* with a fleet of ſquare ſailes. On the other ſide, *Aſcanius Colonno* with two thouſand footmen and three hundred horſemen, came to *Valbon*, fifteene miles from *Tiboli*, where are the lands of the Abbot of *Farfa* and of *Iohn Iordan*: with which forces he tooke *Cepperano* the twelfth day of December, for that

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it was not guarded: but *Vitelli* with the Popes companies reduced himselfe between *Tibole*, *Palestrina* and *Velletri*. Afterwards the *Colonnois* tooke *Pontecoruo* which was not guarded, and in vaine gaue an assault to *Scarpa*, which is a litle and weake place belonging to the Abbey of *Farfa*. After this *Cæsar Filettin* approched by night to *Alagnia* with fifteene hundred footmen, where when fiue hundred souldiers were secretly brought in by some Citizens through a certaine house adioyning to the walls, they were repulsed by *Iohn Lion* of *Fano*, a Commander of the footmen that were there for the Pope. In this meane while the Generall returned from the Viceroy, and related that he would consent to the truce for certaine moneths, to the end that in the meane while the peace might be debated: but that he demanded money, and (for suretie) the Castles of *Ostia* and *Ciuitauecchia*. But contrary to this, the Archbishop of *Capua* who arriued at *Gaietta* after he was departed, and whom haply the Pope had sent thither with an ill counsel, wrote vnto him, that the Viceroy wold heare no more speech of truce, but of peace with the Pope onely, or with the Pope and the *Venetians*, so farre forth as they would make paiment of money, to the end to maintaine the armie for assurance of the peace, and that afterwards the truce should be debated with others; which came to passe, either for that indeed the Viceroy had altered his determination, or else by the perswasions of the Archbishop, as many suspected. At which time *Paul d'Arezzo* being come to the Emperours Court, with authoritie from the Pope, the *Venetians* and *Francis Sforce*, whither also the King of *England* would haue the Auditor of the Chamber to go for the same cause of peace, for that the *French* Kings commissions were come thither alreadie: he found the Emperours mind wholly changed by the aduertisement which he had receiued of the arriuall of the Lanceknights and his Nauie in *Italy*: so that falling from all the conditions propounded before, he vrged that the *French* King should absolutely obserue the accord of *Madril*, and to haue the cause of *Francis Sforce* tried before Iudges assigned by himselfe. Thus did the will and intention of the Emperour vary according to the successe of the affaires: and the commissions giuen to his officers that were in *Italy*, had, by reason of the distance of place, either an expresse or silent condition, to gouerne themselues according to the variation of times and occasions. Therfore the Viceroy after he had many dayes abused the Pope with vaine practises, and would not so much as consent to a surceasse of armes for a few dayes till the negociation might sort to some issue, he departed from *Naples* the twentieth day of December to go into the Estate of the Church, propounding new and strange conditions of accord.

Capitulations betweene the Emperour and the Duke of Ferrara.

The last day of the yeare, the Duke of *Ferrara* capitulated, by the meanes of his Embassadour, with the Viceroy and *Don Hugo* who had commission from the Emperour: neuerthelesse that capitulation was made with very small liking of the Embassadour, who was almost constrained by the threats and rude words of the Viceroy, to consent: That the Duke of *Ferrara* should be bound as well in his person as in his Estate, to serue the Emperour against all his enemies; That he should be Captaine generall for the Emperour in *Italy*, with a companie of an hundred men at armes and two hundred light horsemen, but he should assemble and leuie them at his owne charges, which should be restored to him againe, and allowed in his accounts: That he should presently receiue the towne of *Carpy* and the Castle of *Nouy* which had appertained to *Albert Pio*, for the dowrie of the Emperours bastard daughter promised to his sonne, but that the reuenues should be answered in account of his entertainment; and that he should make satisfaction thereof vntill the consummation of the mariage: And that *Sessa*, *Sassuolo* and the Marquis of *Guasto* should disclaime and renounce the rights which they pretended thereunto: That he should pay two hundred thousand ducats when he had recouered *Modena*, but out of that should be deducted that which he had giuen to the Viceroy since the battell of *Pauie*: That if he did not recouer *Modena*, all the money that he had disbursed before, should be eftsoones repayed him: That the Emperour should be bound to his protection, and not to make peace without comprehending him, nor without obtaining for him of the Pope absolution of the paines and censures which he had incurred euer since he was declared Confederate to the Emperour. And that he should vse all his endeuour that he might obtaine absolution of those transgressions which he had incurred before.

This in the end of the yeare 1526, all things tended to a manifest warre.

The end of the seuenteenth Booke.

THE XVIII. BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

The Duke of Bourbon iſſueth out of Millan. The Viceroy and the Colonnois make warre againſt the Pope in the Eſtate of the Church. The Marquis of Saluſſa entreth into Bolognia. The Pope maketh war in the kingdome of Naples. The Duke of Bourbon leadeth his armie to Rome, taketh the towne, ſacketh it, and is ſlaine in the action. The Pope being abandoned of all hope, accordeth with the Imperials. A mutinie in Florence. The King of England is declared againſt the Emperor. The Confederates do many enterpriſes.

1527 THe yeare a thouſand fiue hundred twentie and ſeuen was full of moſt cruell accidents, & ſuch as had not bene heard of in many ages before: as the mutation of Eſtates, the captiuity of Princes, the horrible ſacke of Cities, the great dearth of victuals, and a great plague almoſt through all *Italy*; all things being full of death, flying, and rapine. To which calamities there was no other thing that ſtayed the beginning, but the difficulties which the Duke of *Bourbon* found to make the *Spaniſh* footmen depart out of *Millan*. For when it was determined that *Anthony de Leua* ſhould remaine for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* with all the Launceknights which were there before, for whoſe entertainment were conſumed all the monies exacted of the *Millannois*, and that which had bene raiſed by the billes of exchange which the Duke of *Bourbon* brought from *Spaine*; and that twelue hundred *Spaniſh* footmen ſhould alſo remaine there with *Leua*, together with certaine bands of *Italian* footmen vnder the leading of *Lodowike Belgioioſo* & other Commanders, who had receiued no money of the Emperor, but were entertained with ranſomes and contributions; and hauing in prey the houſes and wiues of the *Millannois*, were well contented to liue ſtill at ſuch liberty. The other *Spaniſh* footmen who could not directly refuſe the Duke of *Bourbon*, demanded to be firſt ſatisfied of the paies due vnto them till that day, and afterwards promiſed to follow the Duke, ſo farre forth as he would pay them fiue paies; a condition very hard to accompliſh, for that there could no money be drawne from the inhabitants of *Millan*, either by threatnings, ſacking their houſes, or impriſoning their perſons; beſides that (to nouriſh the armie) the abſent were ſummoned to appeare, and the goods of ſuch as appeared not were giuen to the ſouldiers. At laſt all difficulties being ſurmounted, the Imperials paſſed the riuer of *Po* the laſt day ſaue one of Ianuarie: & the day after part of the Launceknight who before had paſſed the riuer *Trebia*, repaſſed it againe, and went to lodge at *Pontenouo*: and the reſidue of the armie ſtayed beyond *Plaiſance*. On the other ſide, the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, who had all his companies diſperſed in the countrie, was at *Parma*; & the Duke of *Vrbin* being come to *Caſalmaior*, to whoſe choyce the *Venetians* had referred either to paſſe or not to paſſe the riuer of *Po*, began to paſſe his companies, anouching, if the Imperials tooke the way of *Tuſcan* according to the aduertiſements he had receiued from *Millan*, that he would paſſe in perſon with ſixe hundred men at armes, nine hundred footmen, and fiue hundred light horſemen, and would be before them at *Bolognia*: and that the Marquis of *Saluſſa* ſhould do the like with his regiments and the bands of the Church. The armie Imperiall ſtayed about twenty dayes, the one halfe on this ſide, and the other beyond *Plaiſance*, which happened partly through the difficultie of money, the Launceknights hauing not receiued one penie of the Duke of *Bourbon* till that day: and partly for that he had a deſire to plant his campe before *Plaiſance*, haply more for the difficultie

The Duke of Bourbon goeth out of Millan and leaueth there Anibo. de Leua.

to passe further then for any other cause. By reason whereof he made instance to the Duke of *Ferrara* to furnish him with powder for the artilleries, and to come and ioyne with the army, offering to send out to meete him fiue hundred men at armes; and Captaine *George* with sixe thousand footmen. To which demand the Duke made answere, that it was vnpossible to send powder through the countrie of the enemie, and that he could not without hazard attempt to ioyne with him, for that all the cõpanies of the league were very neare: but though these things were easie, that the Duke of *Bourbon* was to consider, that he could not do a thing more commodious for the enemie, and more desired of them, then to stand temporising and lose time about those townes one after another, and to know that if he tooke not *Plaisance*, or if he did take it, with length of time, what would become of his reputation, & what means he would haue to pursue the warre hauing so great want of money and other prouisions: That the good of the Emperour, and the onely way to obtaine the victorie, was to addresse himselfe to the Head, and laying aside all other enterprises, to march directly to *Bolognia*, and there to determine either to force that towne (in which enterprise he could not want succours) or to passe forward either to *Florence* or *Rome*. But whilest these matters were in debating, and that the Duke of *Bourbon* was busied to get mony, not onely to make vp the full pay of the *Spanish* souldiers, but also to giue something to the Lanceknights, to whom at their departing from *Plaisance* he distributed two crownes a man; the warre was strongly kindled in the Estate of the Church. For *Ranse de Cere* at his returne out of *France* was newly gone to the the campe Ecclesiasticke, which campe lay very neare to the *Viceroy*, who was then vpon the confines of *Cepperano*, where certaine bands of *Italian* footmen ouerthrew three hundred *Spanish* footmen. But the opinions were diuerse touching the manner how to defend the State Ecclesiasticke. For *Vitelly* before the coming of *Ranse*, had counselled the Pope to abandon the prouince of *Campagnia*, and to bestow two thousand footmen within *Tiboli*, two thousand more within *Pilestrina*, and the residue of the armie to remaine at *Velletri* to stop the *Viceroy* for going to *Rome*. Which matter being now determined, *Ranse* arriuing on the sudden reproued the counsell to inclose themselues within *Velletri*, for as much as the Citie was great, vneasie to be fortified, and vnapt to stop the passage of the enemies: and he was of opinion to haue the armie placed in *Ferentin*, where by reason there was no need to gard so many places, it would be the greater, the place being withall very fit to hinder the enemies for passing further. Which counsell being approued, they bestowed within *Frusolone* the principall towne of *Campagnia*, and within fiue miles of *Ferentin*, the most part of those bands of *Iohn de Medicis* who were called the blacke bands: and thither went also *Alexander Vitelly*, *Iohn Baptista Sauello*, and *Peter Birago*, Captaines of light horsemen. But in this meane while the *Colonnois* had secretly conspired with *Napoleon Vrsin* Abbot of *Farfa*, to take armes in the Citie of *Rome* as souldier to the Emperour: which matter the Pope dissembling, who was secretly aduertised thereof, found meanes to send the Abbot, who had receiued mony of him before, to meete *Monsieur Vaudemont* the Duke of *Lorraines* brother, whom the *French* king sent to him to fauour the enterprise of *Naples*, and caused him to be apprehended neare to *Bracciano*, and sent prisoner to the castle *Saint Angelo*. The Pope was carefull to make prouision of money, and imploring the aide of other Princes, he receiued againe from the King of *England* thirtie thousand duckets, which the Lord *Russell* his Chamberlaine brought vnto him: and with him came *Monsieur de Rabaudanges* with ten thousand crownes, sent vnto him by the *French* king, because of the tenthes which the Pope constrained by necessity had accorded vnto him, vnder this promise, that besides the payments of the forty thousand crownes which he gaue to the League, and of the twenty thousand which he contributed to the Pope for euery moneth, he should presently pay him thirty thousand duckets, and as much more within a moneth. The King of *England* gaue commission also to the Lord *Russell* to signifie to the *Viceroy* and the Duke of *Bourbon* a surceassing of armes, to the end to giue time to the treatie of peace, the which according to the Emperours will was holden in *England*: and if he would not hearken thereto, that he should denounce warre against him. It seemed also at that time, that that King vnder a desire to marrie his daughter with the *French* King, was well inclined to the Confederates, and fauoured their cause; and he promised, assoone as the marriage was concluded, to enter into the League, and begin the warre in *Flanders*. It seemed also that he was particularly much disposed to pleasure the Pope: but there could be no great expectation of speedy remedies from a Prince who measured not well his forces and the present

The Duke of Ferrara perswadeth the Duke of Bourbon.

Continuation of the Warre begunne in state Ecclesiasticke.

condition of *Italy*, nor ſtood reſolute in his purpoſes, but alwayes ſomewhat retired, by the hope which the Emperour gaue him to commit the practiſe of the peace into his hands, notwithſtanding the effects were not correſpondent thereunto. For the Auditor of the Chamber being gone vnto him to that effect, albeit the Emperour laboured with much art to perſwade him in many ſorts that ſuch was his intention: yet for that he would vnderſtand firſt what was done in *Italy* ſince the deſcending of the Lanceknights and the arriuall of his Nauie at ſea, whereof he expected ſome aduertiſement, he gaue him no certaine anſwer, excuſing himſelfe vpon the warrants and commiſſions of the Confederates, as though they had not bene ſufficient. But the accord which the Pope ſolicited continually with the *Viceroy*, hurt him not a little with the Confederates, for that they ſtood alwayes in feare leſt he would compound with him: and the *French* king and the *Venetians* were of opinion, that all the expences which they ſhould be at to ſupport him, would be in a manner vnprofible. And this ſuſpition was increaſed by the extreme feare which was diſcerned to be in him, and by the proteſtations which he made daily, that he was no more able to ſuſtaine the war: together with his obſtinacy not to create Cardinals for money, nor to relieue himſelfe in ſo great neceſſities, and amid ſo many dangers of the Church, with thoſe meanes which other Popes were wont to vſe, euen for their vniuſt and ambitious enterpriſes. In ſo much as the *French* king and the *Venetians*, to be readie and prepared in all accidents, bound themſelues againe particularly to make no accord with the Emperour the one without the other: and the *French* king for this cauſe, and for the great hope which the king of *England* gaue, to raiſe together with him (in caſe the marriage went forward) great emotions in the Spring following, became more negligent and leſſe carefull of the dangers of *Italy*.

At this time the *Viceroy* who ſolicited to inuade the Eſtate of the Church, ſent two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen to aſſault a ſmall Caſtle of *Stephen Colonno*, who were repulſed: and becauſe the *Viceroy* aduanced, the Eccleſiaſtikes referred to another time to execute the reſolution taken to batter the Popes Rocke, the garriſons of which place had ſurpriſed the Caſtle *Gandolfo*, which was ill guarded, and at that time poſſeſſed by the Cardinall of *Monte*. At laſt the *Viceroy*, after he had aſſembled together twelue thouſand footmen, the greateſt part whereof (except the *Spaniards* & Lanceknights that came with him by ſea) were trained ſouldiers, he encamped with the whole armie the nine and twentieth day of Ianuarie before *Fruſolone*, a towne weake and without walles, ſauing that the Grot and the houſes of ſome particulars ſerued as a wall, and within the which the Captaine of the Church: haſt beſtowed a garriſon, becauſe they would leaue him no footing in *Campagnia*. Beſides the weakneſſe of this place, there was alſo ſmall ſtore of victuals: and yet the ſituation of the towne, ſtanding vpon a hill, giueth meanes to the inhabitants to ſaue themſelues alwaies on one ſide, for that it hath a certaine kinde of backing; which made the the garriſon within more reſolute to defend it, being withall of the beſt *Italian* footmen which at that time tooke pay. And alſo by reaſon of the height of the mountaine the enemies could not approch ſo neare to it with their artilleries, (of which they had planted three demy Cannons and foure Culuerines) that they might do them any great domage: but the greateſt care of the enemies was to ſtop as much as they could the entrie of victuals into the towne. On the other ſide, the Pope, although he was much exhauſted of money, and more apt to ſuffer the indignity to deſire others to relieue him then to furniſh himſelfe by meanes extraordinary, increaſed his campe as much as he could with bands of footmen payed and trayned, and had alſo newly taken into his pay *Horacio Baillon*, without remembring the iniuries done before to his father, and afterwards to himſelfe, whom he had long holden priſoner in the Caſtle of *S. Angelo*, as a diſturber of the quiet of *Perouſa*. With theſe ſupplies the Popes armie went on ſtill drawing neare to *Ferentin*, to make there his generall muſters, and to giue hope of ſuccours to the beſieged. The batterie of *Fruſolone* was ended the foure & twentieth day; but becauſe it was not ſuch as might giue hope to cary the place, there was no aſſault giuen: & yet Captaine *Alarcon* approaching the walles was hurt with the ſhot of an harquebuze, and likewiſe *Mario Vrſin*. The principall hope of the *Viceroy* ſtood vpon this, that he knew there was ſmall ſtore of victuals within, whereof the armie that muſtered at *Ferentin* had want alſo. For the ſouldiers of the *Colonnois* which lay within *Paliano*, *Montfortin*, and the Popes Rocke, the onely places which they yet held, made bootie of all they found vpon the wayes; and *Ranſe* going to the armie, they had defeated the bands of footemen of *Cuio* that were for his guard. Neuertheleſſe

three

three hundred footmen iſſued one day out of *Fruſolone*, & part of the horſemen with *Alexander Vitelly*, *Iohn Baptiſta Sauello*, and *Peter de Birago*, and being approched within halfe a mile of *Larnata*, where were lodged fiue enſignes of *Spaniards*, they drew two enſignes into an ambuſh and ouerthrew them, and there died Captaine *Peralta*, with foureſcore footmen, and many were made priſoners, with the two enſignes. All this while the *Viceroy* was caſting of mines at *Fruſolone*, and thoſe within countermined, who ſtood in ſo little feare of the forces of their enemies, that they refuſed foure hundred footmen whom the Captaines of the armie would haue ſent thither for their ſuccours. And yet at the ſame time the ſolicitations of accord were followed with no leſſe vehemencie: for as much as at this time the Generall and the Archbiſhop of *Capua* were returned to *Rome*, & with them was come *Caſar Fieramoſquo* a Neapolitan, whom the Emperour had diſpatched to the Pope after the *Viceroy* was departed from *Spaine*: to whom he had giuen chiefly in charge, to aſſure him that he was very ſorrie for the entrie of *Don Hugo* and the *Colonnis* into *Rome*, together with the accidents that followed thereof; and to perſwade him, that the Emperour was very deſirous to cõpound all the controuerſies that were betweene them, and that the peace ſhould be contracted in his name, a matter which he ſeemed inclined to accompliſh alſo with the other Confederates, ſaying (according to the relation of the Nuncio) that if the Pope executed his enterpriſe to go to *Barſelona*, he would giue him ful & free power to pronounce it as he thought beſt. Theſe propounded for the *Viceroy* a ſurceaſſing of armes for two or three yeares with the Pope and the *Venetians*, euery one poſſeſſing all they held at the preſent, the Pope paying an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats, and the *Venetians* fiftie thouſand; and albeit this was a matter not a litle grieuous to the Pope, yet ſuch was his inclination to be deliuered of the trauels of warre, that to induce the *Venetians* to conſent thereto, he offered to pay the fiftie thouſand duckats impoſed vpon them: and to expect their anſwer, he made truce for eight dayes with the *Viceroy* the laſt of Ianuary, in which it was agreed, that the regiments of the Church ſhould not paſſe *Ferentin*, nor the bands of the *Viceroy Fruſolone*, and that nothing ſhould be done againſt the towne; thoſe of the towne being likewiſe forbidden to fortifie themſelues, and to put victuals into the towne but from one day to another. And *Fieramoſquo* thinking he had well founded the intention of the Pope, and that he could alſo diſcouer the meaning of the Emperor without doing wrong to his dignitie, he preſented vnto him a long letter written with the Emperours owne hand, full of good intention, offers, and deuotion towards the Pope: and afterwards being gone to ſignifie to the *Viceroy* and the Legate the ſurceaſſing agreed vpon, and to take order for the execution thereof, the ſame day he found the armie departed from *Ferentin*, and marching towards *Fruſolone*: and when he had communicated with the Legate all that had paſſed betweene the Pope and him, the Legate not willing to breake the great hope which his ſouldiers had of the victory, abuſed him with faire words, and ſent word ſecretly to his Captaines not to forbeare to march. The armie could not come to *Fruſolone* if they wonne not a paſſage in forme of a bridge, lying at the foote of the firſt hill of *Fruſolone*, and guarded by foure enſignes of Lanceknights. But when the vantguard commanded by *Stephen Colonno* was arriued there, and came to blowes with them, they brake them and put them to flight, after they had ſlaine about two hundred of them, and taken foure hundred priſoners, together with their enſignes. And thus the firſt hill being wonne, the others retired into places more ſtrong, leauing the entrie into *Fruſolone* free to the Eccleſiaſtikes, who (for that night approched) pitched their tents euen at their beards, with great hope to *Ranſe* and *Vitelly* (with whom the Pope was diſcontented for this enterpriſe) to defeate them, whether they ſtayed in that place or went their wayes, as was aſſuredly beleeued it would haue fallen out if they had encamped vpon the hill that was taken, or had bene diligent and carefull to obſerue the retiring of the enemies. For the *Viceroy*, not the day following, but the third day, making no ſigne that he would diſlodge, went away with the armie two or three houres before day, ſetting on fire certaine munitions that remained, and left behind him many bullets for artilleries: and albeit the Eccleſiaſtikes when they knew he was gone, ſent out after him their light horſemen, who tooke ſome of his baggage and a few priſoners of ſmall importance, yet they were not there in ſufficient time to do him any notable hurt: and yet he left behind him part of his victuals, and retired himſelfe to *Ceſena*, and from thence to *Cepperano*. By whoſe retrait the Pope taking courage, and at the incitation of the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, whom he could not otherwiſe ſatisfie, he reſolued to execute the enterpriſe of *Naples*: for *Rabandanges* who

Caſar Fieramoſquo ſent by the Emperour to the Pope.

had brought ten thousand duckats to the Pope in regard of the tenths, and ten thousand more to *Ranse*, had commission not to disburse them without the consent of *Albert Pio*, *Ranse*, and *Monsieur de Lange*, and that in case they were assured that the Pope would not accord: and the *Venetians* (to whom was gone the Lord *Russell* to induce them to accept the truce offered by the *Viceroy* and approued by the Pope, but for that he had broken his legge by the way, he sent the packet vnto them) made answer, that they would not accept the truce before they knew the *French* Kings will, and that so much the more resolutely, by how much they vnderstood that *Genes* was reduced to great extremitie of victuals. It was determined therefore to inuade the kingdome of *Naples* as well by sea as by land, and that *Monsieur de Vaudemont* should be Admirall of the armie by sea, for whose better strength there was leauied twentie thousand footmen. But *Ranse* following that deliberation whereupon the *French* Kings money depended, determined, contrary to the Popes will (who was of opinion to conuert all the forces into one place) to cause sixe thousand men to enter *Abruzza*; hoping that by the working of the sonnes of Count *Montoire*, who had bene sent with two thousand footmen, they should easily make themselues Lords of *Aquila*, which accordingly hapned presently, for that *Askanius Colonno*, as soone as he heard of their approch, fled from them. The beginnings of this enterprise were full of great hope. For albeit the *Viceroy* who had bestowed garrisons in the places neare adioyning, redressed and refurnished his army as much as he could, yet for that part of his regiments were disbanded, and other parts by necessitie bestowed in garrisons, it was thought he would stand engaged in great difficultie to be able to resist onely the armie by land: and that *Ranse* in *Abruzza*, and the Nauies of the Church and *Venetians*, containing two and twenty Gallies, should find no head made against them, chiefly for that they were resupplyed with a strength of three thousand men, and *Horatio* going thither with two thousand footmen, together with *Monsieur de Vaudemont* in person, who vnder the ancient rights of King *Rene*, made claime to the succession of that kingdome, and managed the place of Lieutenant of the Pope. But matters proceeded very slowly, for that the armie Ecclesiastike was not yet departed from *Frusolone* the twelfth day of February, expecting the great artilleries from *Rome*, and that *Ranse* should enter *Abruzza*, and the sea armie arriue. And there was a further impediment and losse of time, in that the footmen of *Frusolone* falling into mutinie, demanded double pay, as a matter wonne and due for the victorie. Neuertheless the eighteenth day the souldiers of the *Viceroy* abandoned *Cesena* and other places confining, and withdrew themselues to *Cepperana*: by the opportunity of whose retrait, the armie Ecclesiastike beginning already to haue want of victuals, passed *Saint Germain*, and the *Viceroy* fearing to put things to hazard, retired to *Caietta*, and *Don Hugo* to *Naples*: and yet the Pope pressed still with his want of monie, and fearing no lesse the aduancing of the Duke of *Bourbon*, against whose armie he saw the Confederates endeuoured not much to make resistance, continuing in the same inclination to compound with the Emperour, had procured the Lord *Russell* to go vp to the *Viceroy* in the name of his King. Whereupon it followed, that *Fieramosquo* returned to *Rome* the one and twentieth day of February, who departed the day following, when he had published his commissions, leauing the Popes mind confused and full of irresolution: to whom, to the end he should not rashly fall to accord, the *Venetians* in the beginning of March, offered within fifteene dayes to make payment of fifteene thousand duckats, and of fifteene thousand more within other fifteene daies, so farre forth as he would grant a *Iubiley* for their dominion.

The Confederates resolue to inuade Naples

Monsieur de Vaudemont the Popes Lieutenant.

Exploits of the Nauie of the Confederates.

But the Nauie of the Pope and the *Venetians*, which had with great losse taried to expect the *French* fleet, and by reason of the winds was retired the three and twentieth day of Februarie into the Ile of *Ponso*, being againe aduanced, sacked the Mole of *Caietta*: and afterwards the fourth day of March hauing set on land the footmen at *Pozzolo*, and finding it well furnished, they returned againe to sea: and passing further, they descended againe neare to *Naples* by the riuer of the borough of *Stabbia*, where was *Diomed Carafa* with fiue hundred footmen: which borough was taken the third day by assault on the side of the Mountaine, and the Castle rendred the day after. The tenth day they tooke by force the *Greeke* Tower and *Surrente*: and many places on that side yeelded afterwards vpon composition. This Fleet had taken before certaine ships laden with graine that were going towards *Naples*, where there was but sorie prouision of victuals, whereof there was great want. Neither did they find any impediment by sea, by reason whereof the Fleet drew so neare the Mole the second day in Lent, that the Castle and the

the Galleys ſhot at it: and the footmen before came on ſo faſt by land, that with great difficultie the *Neapolitans* could retire themſelues by the Market gate, and ſhut it. After this the armie by ſea tooke *Salerne*; and *Monſieur Vaudemont* being gone after certaine ſhips, and hauing left foure galleys at *Salerne* where *Horacio* was, the Prince of *Salerne* entred into the towne by the Caſtle with many ſouldiers, but he was ouerthrowne by *Horacio*, and there were more then two hundred footmen ſlaine, and many made priſoners. In *Abruzza* after the Viceroy had deliuered out of priſon the old Earle of *Montoire*, to the end he might recouer *Aquila*, the ſaid Earle was made priſoner by his owne ſonnes: and *Ranſe* who the ſixt day of March tooke *Siciliana* and *Taillecouſſa*, went vp towards *Sora*. And notwithſtanding ſo faire an occaſion, by reaſon of the great want of victuals that was in the armie by land, either through the negligence of the officers, or for the ill prouiſions of the Pope, the ſouldiers began the fifth of March to depart from the armie by troupes. But the practiſes of the peace continuing ſtill, *Fieramoſquo* and *Serenon* Secretary to the Viceroy, came the ſixt of March to *Rome*, where *Monſieur de Lange* was arriued the day before, with many words and promiſes, but without money, notwithſtanding they had aduertiſement out of *France* that he was departed with twentie thouſand duckats, to put footmen into the great ſhips which were expected at *Ciuitauecchia*; and that he brought twentie thouſand more for the Pope, with charge to incite him to aduance the enterpriſe of the Realme of *Naples* for one of the ſonnes of the *French* King, to whom ſhould be giuen in mariage *Catherine* the daughter to *Laurence de Medicis* and neece to the Pope. For the *French* King repoſing much in the negociation of *England*, and perſwading himſelfe that the Viceroy for the diſorder of *Fruſolone* could execute nothing, and that the Imperiall armie, ſeeing they ſtayed ſo long to moue, & that withall they had no money, would not go at all into *Tuſcan*, would heare no more of the motion of truce, no though all men ſhould be comprehended therein, & that he ſhould be acquitted from all paiments of money; and that to the end to giue no time to the Emperour to reorder & readdreſſe his forces. And yet in regard of his owne want of money, he ſent to the Pope no other thing of the twentie thouſand duckats which he had promiſed him monethly, nor of the money collected of the tenths, then ten thouſand duckats: and alſo the tenth of March he had not ſent the money for the footmen of the maine armie at ſea, which was at the common expences of himſelfe & the *Venetians*. And for that he had a deſire that nothing ſhould be done vntill ſome concluſion were made with the King of *England*, he thought it reaſonable that the Pope ſhould expect till that time. Thus the enterpriſe of *Naples*, begun with ſo great hope, went on euery day more coldly. For the armie by ſea which was not increaſed either with veſſels or men, & was to defend the places that were taken, could do no great matter: and the armie by land, wherein (for the ill diſpoſition of the time) the victuals that were ſent from *Rome* by ſea, were not yet arriued the fourteenth day of March, not onely aduanced not, but diminiſhing dayly for the neceſſitie of victuals, it retired at laſt to *Piperna*: and the footmen which *Ranſe* gouerned, were ſo diminiſhed for want of money, that *Ranſe* when he could not incloſe the Viceroy as he had purpoſed, returned to *Rome*: and likewiſe the continuall negociation of accord with the Pope, augmented much thoſe diſorders. For it abated the preparations of the Confederates, very backward of themſelues, which on the other ſide increaſed the Popes inclination to the accord, chiefly ſeeing he was induced to haue greater hope in the intention of the Emperour, by reaſon of a letter of his which had bene ſurpriſed, by the which he commanded the Viceroy that he ſhould ſeeke to accord with the Pope, if the eſtate of his affaires induced him not to take other counſell. But that which moued him yet more, was, that he ſaw the Duke of *Bourbon* aduance continually with the Imperiall armie: and that the reſolutions of the Duke of *Vrbin* and the prouiſions of the *Venetians* were not ſuch, as he might haue any aſſurance of the matters of *Tuſcan*, the feare whereof afflicted him maruellouſly. For, the Imperials being ſome on this ſide, & ſome beyond *Plaiſance*, the Duke of *Vrbin* had changed his firſt opinion, which was to get before, to put himſelfe with the *Venetian* armie into *Bolognia*, and had reſolued in his counſell, that as ſoone as he ſhould be aduertiſed that the enemies would remoue, the armie Eccleſiaſtike leauing good garriſon within *Parma* and *Modena*, ſhould go to *Bolognia*; and for himſelfe, he would march with the *Venetian* armie in the tayle of the enemies, but alwaies twenty or thirtie miles from them, for the more ſuretie of his people: according to which order, if afterwards the enemies would take the way to *Romagnia* or *Tuſcan*, the campe ſhould aduance continually, the armie of the Eccleſiaſtiks marching alwaies

Catherine de Medicis.

before, with the Marquis of *Saluſſa* leading the *French* lances, the *Swiſſers* footmen and his owne, and leauing alwayes garriſons in ſuch places as the enemies ſhould paſſe by after them, and gathering them together againe from hand to hand by degrees as the enemie ſhould paſſe by. The Duke alleaged many reaſons for this counſell, ſuch as the Captaines could not well comprehend. Firſt, that it was not ſafe to put themſelues all together in the field to ſtop the paſſage of the Imperials: for that it would be a matter either dangerous or vnprofitable: dangerous, in reſpect of the fight; for though the Imperials were not ſuperiour in number, yet they ſurmounted them in force and valour; and by that meanes would obtaine the victorie: vnprofitable, for that if the Imperials would not fight, it would be in their power to leaue behind them the armie of the Confederates, and ſo keeping alwayes before them, they might accompliſh great exploits: That though all matters were in his power, he held this counſell beſt, but now he was conſtrained by neceſſitie to follow it; for that the Imperiall armie being as was beleeued halfe ſhaken, he could not put his people into ſuch ſpeedie readineſſe as to be aſſured to be readie in time to march before: and that it was alſo to be conſidered, ſeeing the *Venetians* had wholly repoſed themſelues vpon him touching that deliberation, that he ought not to leaue their eſtate in ſuch danger, which if the enemies diſcerned to be vnfurniſhed, they might, taking new counſell vpon new occaſions, returne ouer *Po*, and endomage them. With theſe reaſons he perſwaded the Senate of *Venice*, who by nature haue for obiect to proceed aduiſedly and ſurely in all their affaires: but it did not ſatisfie the Pope, for the conſideration he had that by this counſell a way was opened to the Imperiall armie to come euen vp to *Rome* or into *Tuſcan*, or to what place they liſted, ſeeing the armie that was to go before, being inferiour in forces, & diminiſhed daily, for ẏ they muſt put garriſons in places as they paſſed, was not able to reſiſt thē: neither was it certain, that ẏ *Venetians* tarying once behind, would be ſo ready to follow in effect, as the words of the Duke promiſed, conſidering his cuſtome, and the maner of his proceeding in all the war: and he iudged, that if the armies were vnited all together, wherein there were far more ſoldiers then in the Imperials army, they might with more facilitie ſtop them for paſſing further, cut off their victuals, make vſe of all occaſions that were offered, and neuer be ſo far from them, that they might not be ready in good time to ſuccour the townes of the *Venetians*, if they offered to aſſaile them. And this reſolution diſpleaſed him ſo much the more, when he vnderſtood that the Duke of *Vrbin*, who was come to *Parma* the third of Ianuary, was retired the fourteenth day to *Caſalmaior* for a ſmall malady that befell him, and fiue dayes after from thence to *Caſſola* vnder colour to take phyſicke: to which place, being ſomewhat eaſed of his feauer, but tormented as he ſaid with the gout, he ſent for his wife. But ſuch as would take in good part, and interprete the beſt of this maner of dealing (very ſuſpitious to the Pope) ſaid, that the practiſes of peace were the cauſe thereof: but the Lieutenant *Guicciardin* comprehending partly by likelyhood, and partly by the report made vnto him of the Dukes words, that he was alſo induced by a deſire to recouer *Montfeltro* and Saint *Leo* poſſeſſed by the *Florentines*, and iudging that if in that he were not contented, he would leaue both the Pope and the *Florentines* abandoned in their greateſt neceſſities; and ſuppoſing thoſe places to be a reward not worthy enough for expoſing himſelfe to ſo great a danger: and knowing withall, that the ſame was deſired at *Florence*, he gaue the Duke an aſſured hope of the reſtitution of thoſe places, as though he had commiſſion from the Pope ſo to do: which neuertheleſſe was not approued by the Pope, who in that caſe ſuffered himſelfe to be caried more by old and new hatreds, then by reaſon. In the meane while the Imperials, who had giuen but litle money to the Lanceknights, kept themſelues incamped vpon the confines of *Plaiſance*, where was the Count *Guido Rangon* with ſixe thouſand footmen: to which place *Paul Luzaſquo*, with certaine other light horſemen of the Eccleſiaſtikes making ſometimes incurſions to diſcouer the countrey, one day amongſt others, being accompanied with certaine bands of footmen and ſome men at armes, they encountred a troupe of enemies of the ſame facultie, whom they ouerthrew, and tooke foureſcore horſe and an hundred footmen, ouer and beſides the Captaines *Scalengo*, *Succar* and *Grugny*, *Burgonians*, who remained priſoners. After this the Duke of *Bourbon* ſent out ten Enſignes of *Spaniards* to reuictuall *Piſqueton*, and a litle after the Count *Caiazze* with the light horſemen and with his regiments of footmen, came to lodge in the borough of Saint *Donin* which the Eccleſiaſtikes had abandoned: and the day after, according to an intelligence which was entertained with him before, and pretending, becauſe he was not payed, to be acquited of the oath which he had giuen

Count Caiazze goeth from the Imperials to the pay of the Eccleſiaſtikes.

uen to the Imperials, he paſſed to the Eccleſiaſtike campe, and was entertained by the Lieutenant, (more to content others then of his owne inclination) with twelue hundred footmen, and an hundred and thirtie light horſemen which he had with him: and with condition, that if the Emperour tooke from him his Earledome of *Caiazze*, the Pope within eight moneths ſhould indue him with ſo much in yearely value as the Earledome was worth, vntill he had recouered it againe.

The Duke of *Bourbon* deſired, following the counſell of the Duke of *Ferrara* (who refuſed notwithſtanding to come to the armie) to go rather to *Bologna* and to *Florence*, then to ſtay in thoſe townes. The ſeuenteenth day the *Spaniſh* footmen mutined, demanding their pay, and ſlue the Sergeant Maior whom he had ſent to appeaſe them; and yet when he had appeaſed the tumult as well as he could, he paſſed the twentieth day ouer *Trebia* with his whole armie, and incamped within three miles of *Plaiſance*, hauing with him fiue hundred men at armes, and many light horſemen *Italians* who were not payed, the Lanceknights newly come, foure or fiue thouſand *Spaniards*, all choſen ſouldiers, and about two thouſand *Italians* at libertie and out of pay: part of the old bands of Lanceknights remaining at *Millan*, and the reſt being gone to *Sauona*, to aide thoſe of *Genes* who were reduced to great neceſſitie. Surely the reſolution of the Duke of *Bourbon* and the armie which he led, was wonderfull, for that being without money, without munitions, without pioners, and without any order for victuals, they ſought to paſſe further in the midſt of ſo many townes of the enemie, and againſt foes who far exceeded them in numbers. And the conſtancie of the Lanceknights was yet more admirable, who being come out of *Germanie* with one onely duckat a peece, and hauing endured ſo long a time in *Italy*, without hauing receiued in all that time any more then two or three duckats a peece, they ſet themſelues, contrary to the cuſtome of all ſouldiers, and ſpecially of that nation, to paſſe further, without any other pay or aſſignation then the hope of the victorie, notwithſtanding it was manifeſtly diſcerned, that for the ſcarcitie of victuals, and the neareneſſe of the enemies, they could not liue without money. But that which made them hope and ſuffer much, was the great authoritie that Captaine *George* had with them, who propounded vnto them the ſacke of *Rome*, and the ſpoile of the moſt part of *Italy*. The two and twentieth day they marched to the borough of Saint *Donin*: and the day following the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and the Eccleſiaſtike regiments, leauing certain bands of *Venetian* footmen for the guard of *Parma*, iſſued out, & tooke the way of *Bologna* with eleuen or twelue thouſand footmen: but it was ordained that the Count *Guido* ſhould come from *Plaiſance* to *Modena*, and the footmen of the blacke bands to *Bologna*, leauing a ſufficient garriſon within *Plaiſance*. Thus marching by the countrey of *Reggia*, they came at foure remoues betweene *Anzolo* and the bridge of *Rene*. At which time the Duke of *Bourbon* was vpon the confines of *Reggia*: and the Duke of *Vrbin* (who being perſwaded at *Caſalmaior* by the Lieutenant *Guicciardin* to augment his number of *Swiſſers*, had refuſed it as a matter vnprofitable) made inſtance now vnto him that a new leuie of foure thouſand *Swiſſers* and 2000 Lanceknights might be propounded at *Rome* & at *Venice*; excuſing the contradiction made at that time, for that the ſeaſon did not permit to take the field, and that he was of opinion that the enemies would haue bin diſſolued, whom now he promiſed to accoaſt with that ſupply. But it was a counſell diſliked of all men, for that ſuch ſlow remedies did litle helpe preſent dangers; and for as much as he himſelfe might well perceiue, that for the want of money, and the diſagreement of the Confederates, theſe things could not be put in execution. At this time the Duke of *Millan*, who with the helpe of three thouſand footmen whom he had aſſembled, had defended *Loda*, *Cremona*, and all the countrey beyond *Adda*, and made incurſions vpon the territories of *Millan*, tooke with a ſodaine aſſault the towne of *Monce*: but his ſouldiers ſodainly left it abandoned, hauing aduertiſement that *Anthonie de Leua* (who after he had conducted the Duke of *Bourbon*, was returned to *Millan*) marched thither with two thouſand of the old Lanceknights, and fifteene hundred of a new leuie, a thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, and fiue thouſand *Italians* vnder diuers Captaines.

The Duke of Ferrara perſwadeth the duke of Bourbō to go to Rome.

But after the Duke of *Bourbon* had paſſed the riuer of *Secchia*, he tooke his way on the left hand, and arriued the fift day of March at *Bonport*: where leauing his companies, he went to *Finale* to communicate with the Duke of *Ferrara*, who earneſtly perſwaded him that laying aſide all other thoughts, he ſhould draw towards *Florence* or *Rome*: yet it was beleeued that he counſelled him, leauing off all other enterpriſes, to draw ſtraight to *Rome*. In which deliberation many

ny difficulties troubled the mind of the Duke of *Bourbon*; and chiefly the feare leſt the armie being come neare *Rome*, either conſtrained by neceſſitie, or to refreſh themſelues, or entring into any difficultie, (as doubtleſſe they would, vnleſſe the Pope were diſarmed) would encampe in the Realme of *Naples*. On which day the regiments of the *Venetians* paſſed the riuer of *Po* without the perſon of the Duke of *Vrbin*, who, notwithſtanding he was almoſt recouered, yet he remained at *Gazzuol*, but with intention to put himſelfe on the way forthwith. The ſeuenth day the Duke of *Bourbon* lodged at *Saint Iohns* vpon the confines of *Bolognia*, from which place he ſent a Trumpet to *Bolognia*, whither was retired the army Eccleſiaſtike, to demand victuals, ſaying he would go to ſuccour the Realme of *Naples*: and the ſame day the *Spaniards* that were within *Carpy*, when they had deliuered vp the towne to the Duke of *Ferrara*, ioyned themſelues with the Duke of *Bourbon*. The armie of the *Venetians* lay incamped along the riuer of *Secchia*, reſolued to paſſe no further, vnleſſe they firſt vnderſtood that the Duke of *Bourbon* were diſcamped from *Saint Iohns*, into whoſe armie victuals had paſſage by the territories of *Ferrara*: but becauſe men were to pay for it that had almoſt no money, they lodged themſelues at large, to eate vp the countrey, and ran into all places robbing men and beaſts, whereby they got meanes to pay for their victuals: ſo that it was holden for certaine, that if they had met with any ſtrong encounter, or if the armie Eccleſiaſtike that was in *Bolognia* and the confines thereabouts, would haue incamped neare them, the Imperials would ſoone haue bene much troubled: for that continuing to lodge ſo at large, they would haue bene in great danger, and reducing themſelues into one campe, they could haue no meanes to get victuals. But there were diſorders among the companies within *Bolognia*, as well through the condition of the Marquis, who was more apt to breake a lance then to manage the office of a Captaine, as alſo for that the *Swiſſers* and his footmen were not payed at due times by the *Venetians*, which cauſed them to loſe a faire occaſion. In the meane while the Duke of *Bourbon*, to the end to paſſe further, was at the point to draw from *Ferrara* a prouiſion of victuals for many dayes, together with a proportion of powder, pyoners, and oxen to draw foure cannons: and notwithſtanding he made many demonſtrations of that which he had in his mind, yet it was holden for certaine, that he was determined to paſſe into *Tuſcan* by the Stonie way: the like was confirmed by *Ierome Moron*, who many dayes before had holden a ſecret intelligence with the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, although in the iudgement of many, fraudulently and diſſemblingly. But when he had now determined to depart the fourteenth day of March, and to that end had ſent backe againe to *Bodin* the foure cannons: the day before, the bands of Lanceknights who had bene abuſed by many promiſes made to pay them, being ſeconded by the *Spaniſh* footmen, began to call for their payes, and fell to mutinie with very great tumult, and that to the great danger of the life of the Duke of *Bourbon*, if he had not with diligence eſcaped ſecretly from his lodging; whither being come, they made pillage of all they found, and ſlue one of his Gentlemen: by reaſon whereof the Marquis of *Guaſt* went forthwith to *Ferrara*, from whence he returned with ſome little ſumme of money, with the which the armie was appeaſed. The ſeuenteenth day there fell ſuch abundance of ſnow and raine, that for certaine dayes it was impoſſible to march, as well for the fowlneſſe of the wayes, as the ſwelling of the riuers; and Captaine *George* fell ſicke of an Apoplexie, whereof he was like to die, by reaſon whereof the enemies entred into great hope that at leaſt he would become vnprofitable to follow the campe, and that the Lanceknights in his abſence would no more beare out the incommodities and want of money: but the effect was otherwiſe. By this time the *Venetian* armie was at *S. Fauſtin* neare to *Rubiera*, to whom came the Duke of *Vrbin* the eighteenth day of March, promiſing to the Senate of *Venice*, according to his cuſtome, almoſt a certainty of the victory, not through the valour and weapons of the Confederates, but by the difficulties whereinto the enemies were reduced.

The Pope looſeth courage and why.

Now matters being on all ſides reduced to this paſſe, the Pope gouerned himſelfe in his affaires very negligently, for that he had no money, and becauſe the enterpriſe of *Naples* ſucceeded not according to his firſt deſignes, and his companies were retired to *Piperna* for want of victuals. But that which moſt of all put him out of heart, was that the promiſes of the *French* which were great in words, were daily found ſmall in effects; according to their cuſtome, euen from the firſt day of all the warre to the laſt. For beſides that the King was long in ſending the forty thouſand duckats for the firſt moneth of the warre, and to diſpatch the fiue hundred lances for the armie at ſea:

ſea: and beſides that, he would not (as he was bound) make warre beyond the mounts, which was one of the principall foundations and meanes ſet downe to attaine to the victory: he failed alſo to obſerue the promiſes which he made to the Pope from day to day. He had promiſed the Pope, that beſides the ordinary contribution, he would miniſter to him monethly twenty thouſand duckats to make warre in the Realme of *Naples*: and afterwards the truce being made by reaſon of the irruption of *Don Hugo* and the *Colonnois*, he counſelled him not to obſerue the truce, and had confirmed vnto him the ſame promiſe, not onely to aide him in the warre againſt the Realme of *Naples*, but alſo for his owne defence: and had promiſed likewiſe to ſend *Ranſe de Cere* to him, whom he eſteemed greatly, for that he had caried himſelfe valiantly in the defence of *Marſeilles*. Which things, albeit they had bene promiſed from the moneth of October, yet it was ſo long ere they were performed, that *Ranſe* came to *Rome* about the fourth day of Ianuarie without money, and the twenty thouſand duckats arriued there ten dayes after of which ſumme foure thouſand were retained by *Ranſe*, as well for his expences, as for his penſion, and ten thouſand to furniſh the enterpriſe of *Abruzza*; and the Pope, who vnder that promiſe had broken the truce almoſt three moneths before, neuer had any more then ſixe thouſand. Furthermore the King had promiſed the Pope for his conſent to a tenth, to pay vnto him fiue and twenty thouſand crownes within eight dayes, and fiue and thirtie thouſand more within two moneths: but he neuer receiued any more then nine thouſand, which were brought him by *Monſieur Rabaudanges*. Moreouer, after *Paul Aretze* had taken his leaue of the *French* King the twelfth day of February, the King beſides theſe things promiſed the Pope twenty thouſand duckats, to encourage him the better to make warre: but the ſaid twenty thouſand duckats which were ſent after *Monſieur de Lange*, neuer paſſed further then *Sauona*. The King was bound by the capitulations of the confederation to ſend twelue gallies, and ſaid he had ſent ſixteene, but the moſt part of them ſo ill prepared, and ſo ſlenderly furniſhed of men to ſet on land, that they ſtirred not from *Sauona*. But if at the firſt ouerture of the warre againſt the kingdome of *Naples*, they had immediatly ioyned with the gallies of the Pope and the *Venetians*, in the iudgement of all men, they might haue executed right great exploits. And touching the armie by ſea of great veſſels, certainly very puiſſant, notwithſtanding the King had oftentimes promiſed to ſend them out againſt *Naples*; whatſoeuer the cauſe was, they neuer went farre from *Prouence*, or *Sauona*: and after he had condeſcended to giue two payes to the ſouldiers of the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, he agreed with the *Venetians*, who had a leſſe number of ſouldiers then they were bound to prouide, that their pay ſhould be taken vpon the contribution of the forty thouſand duckats. The ſuccours of the King of *England* were too farre off and too vncertaine. He ſaw that the *Venetians* payed their companies alwaies very late, and for that cauſe the bands of the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and the *Swiſſers* that were within *Bologna*, ſerued almoſt to no purpoſe. The manner of proceeding of the Duke of *Vrbin* and his variations aſtoniſhed him, ſince thereby he diſcerned that no impediment would be giuen to the Imperials to paſſe into *Tuſcan*: & that by this meanes (conſidering the ill diſpoſition of the people of *Florence*, and the intelligence of *Sienna* with the Imperials) not only the State of *Florence* would fall into manifeſt danger, but alſo that of the Church. Theſe reaſons moued him much, neuertheleſſe after many drifts and doubts, for as much as he diſcerned likewiſe how infamous and dangerous it would be to ſeparate himſelfe from the Confederates, and to referre him to the diſcretion of the enemies; yet becauſe he was not ſufficiently ſuccoured by the reſidue, and withall would not aide himſelfe ſo much as he might, and alſo becauſe preſent feare was more powerfull in him, and that he had not the courage to reſiſt difficulties and dangers, he determined to accord with *Fieramoſquo* and *Serenon*, whom the Viceroy had ſent to *Rome* to that end: That there ſhould be a ſurceaſſing of armes for eight moneths, the Pope paying to the Imperiall armie threeſcore thouſand duckats: That whatſoeuer had bene taken from the Church, the Realme of *Naples*, and the familie of the *Colonnois*, ſhould be rendered: and that *Pompey Colouno* ſhould be reſtored to the dignitie of Cardinall, with abſolution of the cenſures, which was a condition moſt grieuous to the Pope, and whereunto he condeſcended with a very ill will: That the *French* King & the *Venetians* might enter into the accord within a certaine time: That in caſe they entred, the Lanceknights ſhould go out of *Italy*, and if they entred not, that they ſhould depart from the Eſtate of the Church, and likewiſe from the territories of *Florence*: That the Pope ſhould pay fortie thouſand duckats within two and twentie dayes, accounting from the preſent day, and

The Pope accords with the Imperials

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the reſidue within a moneth after: That the Viceroy ſhould come to *Rome*, for that the Pope ſuppoſed it would be a meanes to aſſure him that the Duke of *Bourbon* would obſerue the accord, together with the hope he had already thereof; for the Lieutenant *Guicciardin* had ſurpriſed a letter which the Duke of *Bourbon* had written to the Viceroy, whereby he aduertiſed him of the difficulties wherein he was, and counſelled him to grow to accord with the Pope, if it might be done with the honour of the Emperour. The accord being made, either partie preſently retired their bands of ſouldiers, & reuoked their armie by ſea, and the places that were taken were rendred, the Pope vſing good faith in the execution of the contents of the capitulation, notwithſtanding at that time he had the better in the Realme of *Naples*; but in *Aquila* the ſonnes of the Count *Montoire*, diſtruſting to remaine there in ſafetie, deliuered vp their father, who forthwith with the fauour of the Imperiall faction chaſed them out of that Prouince, together with all thoſe of the contrary faction. After this the Viceroy came to *Rome*, by reaſon of whoſe coming, the Pope iudging that he was abſolutely aſſured of the obſeruation of the accord, diſmiſſed with a very ill counſell, all thoſe bands of ſouldiers that were in his pay in the quarters of *Rome*, and retained onely two hundred light horſemen and two thouſand footmen of the blacke bands. He was much incited hereunto by an opinion he had that the Duke of *Bourbon* was inclined to the accord, by reaſon of the difficulties that dayly increaſed vpon him, and for that he had alwayes giuen him to vnderſtand that he deſired peace. But the affaires went farre otherwiſe in the confines of *Bologna*. For aſſoone as the truce was eſtabliſhed, the Pope hauing diſpatched *Ceſar Fieramoſquo* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, to the end he might approue the accord, and that he ſhould depart from off the Church lands as ſoone as he had receiued money: infinite difficulties were diſcouered in the Duke of *Bourbon*, and many more appeared in the ſouldiers, who were reſolute to follow the warre, either for that they had propounded to themſelues the hope of ſome great profit, or becauſe the moneys promiſed by the Pope were not ſufficient to ſatisfie their two payes; which induced many to beleeue, that if the Pope had aduanced to the ſumme of an hundred thouſand duckats, they had eaſily accepted the truce. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, it is certaine that after the coming of *Fieramoſquo*, they ceaſſed not to rob and ſpoile the countrey of *Bologna* as before, and to expreſſe all demonſtrations of enemies. Neuertheleſſe the Duke of *Bourbon* cauſed the wayes to be leuelled, and *Fieramoſquo* gaue continuall hope to the Popes Lieutenant, that notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and inſolencies, the armie ſhould accept the truce: the Duke of *Bourbon* affirming that he was conſtrained to plaine the wayes to entertaine the armie in hope to paſſe further, vntill he had reduced them to his deſire, which was, to keepe amitie with the Pope: and yet at the ſame time arriued in the campe many prouiſions, of meale, pioners, carts, powder, and other ſuch like things ſent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, who boaſted afterwards, that the money he had ſent them, and all theſe prouiſions, exceeded not the value of threeſcore thouſand duckats. And on the other ſide, the Duke of *Vrbin* ſeeming to be fearefull leſt if the armie ſhould accept the truce, it would turne towards *Poleſina de Rouigna*, he retired the *Venetian* regiments towards *Po*, and incamped at *Caſalmaior*. Matters continued in this eſtate of ſuſpence for the ſpace of eight dayes. But at laſt the Duke of *Bourbon*, either for that ſuch had alwayes bene his intention, or becauſe it was not in his power to command the armie, wrote to the Lieutenant *Guicciardin*, that (ſince he could not range the ſouldiers to his will) neceſſitie conſtrained him to paſſe further: and putting it accordingly in execution, he went the day following, being the laſt of March, to incampe at the bridge of *Rene*, with ſo great furie of the footmen, that a Gendeman ſent by the Viceroy to ſolicite the Duke of *Bourbon* to embrace the truce, had bene ſlaine by the *Spaniards*, if he had not fled. But the demonſtrations againſt the Marquis of *Guaſt* were farre greater, who being departed from the armie to go into the Realme of *Naples* becauſe of his indiſpoſition, or elſe not to tranſgreſſe againſt the will of the Emperour as others did, according to that which he wrote to the Lieutenant, or incited by ſome other cauſe, was publiſhed and proclaimed rebell by the armie. By the coming of the Duke of *Bourbon* to the bridge of *Rene*, the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and the Lieutenant being now certaine that the enemies would draw towards *Romagna*, (after they had left part of the *Italian* footmen for the guard of *Bologna*, and with great difficultie brought thither the *Swiſſers*, for the payment of whom the Lieutenant was conſtrained to lend ten thouſand duckats to *John Vetturio*) they went the ſame night with the reſidue of the armie to *Forly*, where they entred the third day of Aprill, leauing a ſufficient garriſon within *Imola*, neare to

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which Citie the Duke of *Bourbon* passed the fift day to incamp more lower, beneath the highway. And when aduertisement came to *Rome* that the Duke of *Bourbon* had not accepted the truce, the Viceroy making shew that he was much discontented, and perswading himselfe, that according to the first aduertisements he had receiued, it was needfull to aduance a greater summe of mony, he sent a Gentleman of his to make an offer of twentie thousand duckats more, which he would pay of the reuenues of *Naples*: but vnderstanding afterwards that the Gentleman had bene in danger, he departed himselfe from *Rome* the third of Aprill to conferre with the Duke of *Bourbon*, hauing promised the Pope that he would compell him to embrace the truce, by separating from him the men at armes and the most part of the *Spanish* footmen, if he could not compasse it by other meanes. But being arriued the sixt day at *Florence*, he stayed there to debate with the Deputies whom the Duke of *Bourbon* sent to him, as in a place most conuenient: by whom he was fully assured that the armie could not be stayed or retained, but by aduancing a greater summe of money, and that it must be leuied vpon the *Florentines*, vpon whom the Pope had layed all the charge of that prouision.

These variations increased much the difficulties and dangers of the Pope, yea there was now many dayes since they were much augmented. For in such vncertaintie of ỹ deliberations of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and of that which the coming of the Viceroy might produce, he stood in need of the succours of the Confederates, the actions of whom slackened, notwithstanding the perswasions and instance of the Lieutenant: because the Pope in all his speeches and demonstrations made knowne the great desire he had to accord, and the great hope he had of the successe thereof by the working of the Viceroy. And on the other side, the Lieutenant, who comprehended by many signes that the Popes hope was vaine, and knowing that the prouisions of the Confederates being foreslowed, the matters of *Florence* and *Rome* stood in most apparent danger, he was very earnest with the Marquis of *Saluzza* and the *Venetians*, to perswade them, that the accord would not fort to effect; and to induce them, if not in regard of others, yet at least for their owne interests, that they would not abandon the affaires of the Pope & *Tuscan*: and (to the end he might the rather be beleeued) he dissembled not that ỹ Pope did vehemently desire & demand truce, and vndiscreetly expected the same, not looking into the manifest deceitfulnesse of the Imperials: and he told them, that though by aiding him they obtained no other thing then to make easie for him the conditions of the accord, yet that would turne to their great good and profit, for that the Pope by meanes of their aide, might accord for himselfe and the *Florentines* vnder such conditions as should litle hurt the League: whereas if they abandoned him, he should be compelled of necessitie to pay to the Imperials a great summe of money presently, and some large contribution monethly for the entertaining of those forces, wherewith warre was afterwards to be made against them: and therefore vnlesse they would much preiudice themselues, they ought to raise all their forces to defend *Tuscan* whensoeuer the Duke of *Bourbon* should attempt to inuade it. The Marquis of *Saluzza* was in great doubt and perplexitie touching this deliberation, but much more the *Venetians*: for that the pusillanimitie of the Pope being knowne to all men, they held for certaine, that though they should endeuour to succour him againe, yet he would embrace the accord without any respect to the Confederates as often as he had meanes to obtaine it: by reason whereof it seemed to them a matter very strange, to be vrged to administer aide vnto him, to the end he might the more easily accord with the common enemies. They considered, that to leaue him abandoned, would be more preiudiciall to their common affaires: but they iudged they should leaue their men in manifest danger betweene the *Appenine* and the enemies, and in a countrey become already against them, if, whilest they were in *Tuscan*, the Pope did either confirme the accord, or make a new one. Moreouer the Senate of *Venice* feared lest the Pope would make instance to haue their men passe into *Tuscan*, to the end to constraine them to consent to a surceasing of armes, by meanes of the danger wherein they should be to lose their men. The Lieutenant had easily drawne the Marquis of *Saluzza* out of this doubt and perplexitie, although many of his counsell laboured to incline him to the contrary, to the end not to commit his souldiers to danger: wherfore as he had bin ready before to come to *Furly*, so he refused not to passe into *Tuscan* if need required. But the *Venetians*, who sought to hold the Pope and the *Florentines* in some hope, and on the other side to be ready to take from day to day such courses as the occurrences required, gaue direction that the Duke of *Vrbin* should issue out of *Casalmaior* the fourth day

the reſidue within a moneth after: That the Viceroy ſhould come to *Rome*, for that the Pope ſuppoſed it would be a meanes to aſſure him that the Duke of *Bourbon* would obſerue the accord, together with the hope he had already thereof; for the Lieutenant *Guicciardin* had ſurpriſed a letter which the Duke of *Bourbon* had written to the Viceroy, whereby he aduertiſed him of the difficulties wherein he was, and counſelled him to grow to accord with the Pope, if it might be done with the honour of the Emperour. The accord being made, either partie preſently retired their bands of ſouldiers, & reuoked their armie by ſea, and the places that were taken were rendred, the Pope vſing good faith in the execution of the contents of the capitulation, notwithſtanding at that time he had the better in the Realme of *Naples*; but in *Aquila* the ſonnes of the Count *Montoire*, diſtruſting to remaine there in ſafetie, deliuered vp their father, who forthwith with the fauour of the Imperiall faction chaſed them out of that Prouince, together with all thoſe of the contrary faction. After this the Viceroy came to *Rome*, by reaſon of whoſe coming, the Pope iudging that he was abſolutely aſſured of the obſeruation of the accord, diſmiſſed with a very ill counſell, all thoſe bands of ſouldiers that were in his pay in the quarters of *Rome*, and retained onely two hundred light horſemen and two thouſand footmen of the blacke bands. He was much incited hereunto by an opinion he had that the Duke of *Bourbon* was inclined to the accord, by reaſon of the difficulties that dayly increaſed vpon him, and for that he had alwayes giuen him to vnderſtand that he deſired peace. But the affaires went farre otherwiſe in the confines of *Bologna*. For as ſoone as the truce was eſtabliſhed, the Pope hauing diſpatched *Cæſar Fieramoſquo* to the Duke of *Bourbon*, to the end he might approue the accord, and that he ſhould depart from off the Church lands as ſoone as he had receiued money: infinite difficulties were diſcouered in the Duke of *Bourbon*, and many more appeared in the ſouldiers, who were reſolute to follow the warre, either for that they had propounded to themſelues the hope of ſome great profit, or becauſe the moneys promiſed by the Pope were not ſufficient to ſatisfie their two payes; which induced many to beleeue, that if the Pope had aduanced to the ſumme of an hundred thouſand duckats, they had eaſily accepted the truce. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, it is certaine that after the coming of *Fieramoſquo*, they ceaſſed not to rob and ſpoile the countrey of *Bologna* as before, and to expreſſe all demonſtrations of enemies. Neuertheleſſe the Duke of *Bourbon* cauſed the wayes to be leuelled, and *Fieramoſquo* gaue continuall hope to the Popes Lieutenant, that notwithſtanding all theſe difficulties and inſolencies, the armie ſhould accept the truce: the Duke of *Bourbon* affirming that he was conſtrained to plaine the wayes to entertaine the armie in hope to paſſe further, vntill he had reduced them to his deſire, which was, to keepe amitie with the Pope: and yet at the ſame time arriued in the campe many prouiſions, of meale, pioners, carts, powder, and other ſuch like things ſent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, who boaſted afterwards, that the money he had ſent them, and all theſe prouiſions, exceeded not the value of threeſcore thouſand duckats. And on the other ſide, the Duke of *Vrbin* ſeeming to be fearefull leſt if the armie ſhould accept the truce, it would turne towards *Poleſina de Rouigna*, he retired the *Venetian* regiments towards *Po*, and incamped at *Caſalmaior*. 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of Aprill, and ſhould ſend the horſemen by the way beyond *Po*, and the footmen by the riuer: and the Duke of *Vrbin*, plainly ſhewing that he ſtood in ſome feare for that the Imperials went into *Romagna*, diſpatched a regiment of two thouſand footmen *Venetians* for the guard of his owne Eſtate, although many were of opinion, and the Pope in particular, that he had ſecretly promiſed the Duke of *Bourbon* not to hinder him when he would paſſe into *Tuſcan*. In the meane while the Duke of *Bourbon*, who ſought to recouer victuals from all parts, of which he had great want, ſent part of the armie to *Cotignola*, which towne after it had endured certaine ſhot of the cannon, rendred vpon compoſition, notwithſtanding it had very ſtrong walls: for thoſe of the towne, together with many other places of *Romagna*, fearing the rapines of the ſouldiers that were their friends, had refuſed them. *Cotignola* being taken, the Duke of *Bourbon* ſent to *Lugo* foure cannons: and as well to make prouiſion of victuals, as for the impediment of waters, he abode three or foure dayes vpon the riuer of *Lamone*. Afterwards he paſſed *Montone* the thirteenth day of Aprill, and lodged at *Villefranche*, fiue miles from *Furly*: on which day the Marquis of *Saluſſa* ſtripped fiue hundred footmen, almoſt all *Spaniards*, who were gone out in diſorder towards *Monte Poggioli* to ſeeke victuals, according to the example of the whole army, for the great neceſſitie wherein they were. The fourteenth day the Duke of *Bourbon* incamped aboue the way drawing towards *Meldola*, which leadeth into *Tuſcan* by *Galeata* and *Valdibagno*: he was ſolicited to take that way by them of *Sienna*, who offered him great ſtore of victuals and pioners: and in the way the Lanceknights, who burned all as they paſſed, aſſaulted the towne of *Meldola*, which rendred, and yet was burned: on which day the Duke of *Bourbon* was aduertiſed that the Viceroy by the conſent of *Monſieur de la Motte*, ſent by him to that end, had capitulated the day before at *Florence* in this ſort: That without going from other matters, but confirming againe the capitulation made at *Rome*, the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould begin within fiue dayes next to retire himſelfe with the armie, and that at the firſt lodging he ſhould make in retiring, there ſhould be payed him threeſcore thouſand duckats, whereunto the Viceroy would adde twentie thouſand: That he ſhould receiue threeſcore thouſand more by the end of the next moneth of May, whereof the Viceroy by a ſcedule ſubſigned with his owne hand, bound the Emperour to reſtore & repay fiftie thouſand; but that theſe laſt threeſcore thouſand duckats ſhould not be payed, vnleſſe *Philip Stroſſy* were firſt deliuered, and *Iames Saluiati* abſolued of the penaltie of thirtie thouſand duckats, as the Viceroy had promiſed the Pope, not in the capitulations of the truce, but vnder ſimple words. The knowledge of this detained not the Duke of *Bourbon* for paſſing further, nor the aduertiſement he had that the Viceroy was departed from *Florence* to come to the armie to him, to eſtabliſh with him all things that ſhould be neceſſary. For the Viceroy deſired the accord, as well for many other cauſes, as for that (as I haue heard by credible relation) he ſought to conuert the armie preſently againſt the *Venetians*: and albeit the Viceroy had promiſed at *Rome*, to take from the Duke of *Bourbon* the horſemen, and the moſt part of the *Spaniſh* footmen, yet he refuſed ſo to do, ſo long as he was vpon the treatie within *Florence*, alleaging that he would not be the cauſe of ruine to the Emperours armie. The ſixteenth day the Duke of *Bourbon* marched to lodge at Saint *Sophia*, a towne of the valley of *Galeata*, ſubiect to the *Florentines*: and ſtriuing with diligence and deceit to preuent the enemies, to the end no impediment might be giuen him in paſſing the *Alpes*, where, for want of victuals euery contrary accident had bene ſufficient to diſorder him, when he had receiued letters at Saint *Peter* at the Baines, from the Viceroy and the Lieutenant, whereby he was aduertiſed of the comming of the Viceroy, he made anſwer as well to the one as to the other, that ſuch aduertiſement was come to him in a place ſo incommodious, that it was vnpoſſible for him to ſtay there, but that the day following he would expect him at S. *Marie* of the Baines below the *Alpes*: and he ſhewed himſelfe (principally in the letters which he wrote to the Viceroy) very deſirous of accord, and to make knowne to the Pope the good inclination and deuotion he had thereto, although his intention was otherwiſe. The Viceroy went to meete the Duke at the day appointed, together with the Lieutenant *Guicciardin*, who was entred into doubt by reaſon of the Dukes aduancing: and to the end the enemies ſhould not enter into *Tuſcan* before the ſuccors, he perſwaded the Marquis of *Saluſſa* with many reaſons to go before: and when he had throughly diſputed the matter againſt *Iohn Vitturio* the *Venetian* Treaſurer, with the Marquis, and againſt others, who for feare leſt their companies ſhould be brought into danger, demanded, that before they paſſed into *Tuſcan*, there ſhould be aſſurance giuen for two hundred thouſand

duckats,

duckats, or at leaſt ſome ſtrong places in pawne, he went with all his companies to *Breſſiquella*: and from thence he wrote to the Pope, that he found the Marquis ſo ready to march, that he made no doubt to procure him to paſſe with his armie into *Tuſcan*, aſſuring himſelfe that the *Venetian* regiments would do the like: but that by how much the matters of *Florence* were aſſured by their paſſage, by ſo much were endangered the affaires of *Rome*; becauſe the Duke of *Bourbon* hauing no other hope remaining, would be conſtrained to conuert his forces to that enterpriſe: and that he being more neare *Rome*, it would be hard for the ſuccours that ſhould be ſent, to equall his diligence, ſeeing he might well paſſe the *Appenine* in two remoues of incamping: for feare whereof the *Florentines* ſought aforehand to fortifie themſelues with the forces of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Vrbin*, and had giuen hope, and afterwards promiſed to enter the League, in caſe their companies did paſſe into *Tuſcan*: to bind themſelues to pay a certaine number of footmen; and not to accord with the Emperor, though the Pope deſired it: and had alſo offered to the Duke of *Vrbin* (who when he had paſſed *Po* at *Ficqueroles*, was arriued the thirteenth day of Aprill at *Finale*, and afterwards at *Corticella*) to render vp to him the Caſtles of Saint *Leo* and *Maiuolo*; which offer was made by *Pallas Rucellai*, whom they ſent vnto him to negociate theſe matters: ſo that it was leſſe difficult for them to haue ready ſuccours, chiefly when there was aduertiſement that the Viceroy had not onely not found the Duke of *Bourbon* in the place appointed, who deluding him, endeuoured the ſame day to paſſe the Alpes; but alſo had bene in great danger to be ſlaine by the paiſants of thoſe quarters, riſing in armes for the iniuries and wrongs they had receiued by the armie. For the Marquis (notwithſtanding the Duke of *Vrbin* ſoliciting him to come and ſpeake with him in the borough of Saint *Peter*, ſought to interpoſe difficulties and delaye) was ready to paſſe the Alpes: ſo that the two and twentieth day of Aprill he lodged at the borough of Saint *Laurence* in *Mugello*: and the Duke of *Vrbin*, when he could with no honeſtie be farre from him, and would not haue all the blame layed vpon himſelfe, ſeeing the readineſſe of the *French* men, and knowing that the *Venetians* had referred themſelues to his will, but yet with this commiſſion, that if immediatly after he was arriued in *Tuſcan* the *Florentines* finiſhed not the confederation, he ſhould preſently repaſſe his armie, he alſo paſſed, and lodged the fiue and twentieth day of the moneth at *Barberino*.

At laſt the Duke of *Bourbon* hauing paſſed the Alpes the ſame day, lodged at Saint *Stephens*, which towne made a braue defence againſt the aſſault of his ſouldiers: and to entertaine the Pope with the ſame ſubtiltie, and to haue the greater occaſion to offend him, he ſent vnto him one of his Gentlemen, to aſſure him that he deſired to accord with him: but that in regard of the obſtinacie of his ſouldiers, he was driuen to accompanie them, to auoide a greater euill: and he aduiſed him not to leaue off the ſolicitations of accord, nor to ſticke for any ſumme of money. But it was a matter ſuperfluous to vſe ſuch ſedulitie with the Pope, who beleeuing too much the thing he deſired, and deſiring too much to eaſe himſelfe of expences, as ſoone as he was aduertiſed of the concluſion made at *Florence*, in the preſence, and with the conſent of the Agent of the Duke of *Bourbon*, he vndiſcreetly diſmiſſed almoſt all the footmen of the blacke bands, and *Monſieur Vaudemont* was gone to *Marſeilles* by ſea, as if the peace had bene very certaine. All the armies being now in *Tuſcan*, and the Confederates vnderſtanding that the Duke of *Bourbon* was gone in one day (which was the three and twentieth day) from Saint *Stephens* to incampe at *Chiaſſa* neare to *Aretze*, being eighteene miles diſtant, the Captaines who were aſſembled at *Barberino*, drew into counſell what was to be done: and many of the ſaid Captaines making inſtance, together with the Agents of the Pope and the *Florentines*, that the armies knit in one ſtrength, ſhould march and incampe in ſome place beyond *Florence*, to keepe the Duke of *Bourbon* from approching that Citie, it was reſolued to ſuffer the regiments to repoſe in the lodgings where they were, but that the day following the Captaines ſhould go to *Anciſa* thirteene miles from *Florence*, to leade thither all their companies afterwards, if they found they might ſafely lodge there, as *Federike de Boſſolo* who was the author of that counſel, affirmed they might. But as they marched the day after, and were approched neare *Florence*, there happened an accident which might haue brought forth very dangerous effects, if it had not bene remedied, which hindered much the execution of that counſell, and of many others which might haue followed thereupon. For at *Florence* the minds of all men were much moued, and the moſt part of the people diſcontented with the preſent gouernment, and the youth making inſtance

to the Magiſtrates to giue them the publike armes, to defend them (as they ſaid) againſt the ſouldiers; before there could be any reſolution, there happened by chance the ſixe and twentieth day a certaine tumult in the publike place, where the moſt part of the people, and almoſt all the youth hauing taken armes, they began to runne toward the publike Pallace: and to this tumult was much helping the indiſcretion or timorouſneſſe of *Siluio* Cardinall of *Cortona*, who being determined to iſſue out of the towne to go meet the Duke of *Vrbin*, to the end to do him the more honour, forbare not to go, notwithſtanding he knew before his going that the tumult was begun; by reaſon whereof a rumor running through the towne that he was fled, euery one was the more ready to runne to the Pallace, which being in the power of the youth, and the market place full of the Commons armed, the great Magiſtrate was conſtrained to proclaime rebels by a ſolemne decree, *Hippolito* and *Alexander* the Popes nephewes, with intention to introduce againe the popular gouernment. But whileſt theſe things were in doing, the Duke and the Marquis being entred *Florence* with many Captaines, accompanied with the Cardinall of *Cortona* and *Hippolito de Medicis*, and fifteene hundred footmen in armes, who had bene kept many dayes in the Citie for feare of the Duke of *Bourbon*, they made head all together, and drew towards the market place, which being immediatly abandoned by the people, fell into their power: and yet none of them durſt remaine there, by reaſon of the ſtones that were caſt by thoſe within the Pallace, and the harquebuziers that ſhot; but they kept the ſtreets thereabout. Now the Duke of *Vrbin* was of opinion (a matter which albeit it ſeemed of no conſequence, yet was it the principall cauſe that *Florence* was that day deliuered of ſo great a danger) that the bands that were within *Florence* were not ſufficient to winne the Pallace: and iudging, that it would be dangerous, if it were not recouered before night, leſt the people taking courage ſhould haue recourſe again to armes, he determined with the conſent of the three Cardinals that were preſent, to wit, *Cibo*, *Cortona*, and *Rodolpho*, and of the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, and the *Venetian* Embaſſadors, being al aſſembled in the ſtreet of *Garba*, ioyning to the market place, to ſend for part of the *Venetian* footmen who were incamped vpon the plaine of *Florence* neare the Citie. By meanes whereof there was a dangerous encounter towards (for the Pallace could not be ſubdued without the ſlaughter of moſt part of the Nobilitie that were therein, & likewiſe there was danger leſt beginning to take weapon in hand, and to kill one another, the ſoldiers being victors would put to ſacke all the reſidue of the Citie:) yea that day had bene very vnhappie for the *Florentines*, if the Lieutenant *Guicciadin* had not cut in ſunder the knot that of it ſelfe was very hard to be vndone. For perceiuing *Federike de Boſſolo* to come towards them, and comprehending the cauſe thereof, he preſently left the others, and ranne to meete him, to the end to be the firſt to ſpeake to him. In the beginning of the mutinie *Federike* was gone to the Pallace, hoping to reappeaſe the riot, as well through his authoritie, as for the familiaritie he had with many of the youth: but he could preuaile nothing, yea, on the contrary, he receiued from ſome of them iniurious words, and being kept retained certaine houres, he could hardly obtaine libertie to be gone. But being got out of the Pallace full of diſdaine, and knowing how eaſie it was to take it, both for the ſmall forces they had, and the litle order they kept, he perſwaded the reſidue to aſſault it preſently. But the Lieutenant ſhewing him with very few words, what griefe the Pope would conceiue by the diſorders that might happen thereby, together with the domage that would follow vpon the affaires of the Confederates; and that it were better to deuiſe how matters might be appeaſed, then to incenſe the hearts of men: and therefore that it was a matter very pernicious to make knowne to the Duke of *Vrbin* and others, the great facilitie to force the Pallace, he eaſily drew him to his opinion; ſo that he ſpeaking to others as the Lieutenant had willed him, propounded the matter in ſuch ſort, and gaue ſuch hope to reconcile the mutinie without the helpe of armes, that this way being choſen as the beſt, they intreated them both to go together into the Pallace, to endeuor to appeaſe the tumult, promiſing pardon to euery one for whatſoeuer they had committed that day againſt the State: whither being gone vnder ſafe conduct of thoſe that were within, they induced them at laſt, after many difficulties, to condeſcend to abandon the Pallace, which they could no longer keepe. Thus the tumult being appeaſed; and yet as ingratitude and reproch are farre more ordinary then remuneration and praiſe for good workes, although for the preſent the Lieutenant was much commended and eſteemed of all men, neuertheleſſe, both the Cardinall of *Cortona* complained againſt him ſhortly after, that he reſpecting more the ſafetie of the Citizens, and particularly of

Tumult in Florence.

Lewis

Lewis Guicciardin his brother, who at that time was *Gonfalonnier* of iuſtice, then the greatneſſe of the *Medices*, proceeding artificially, had bene the cauſe why the Eſtate had not bene that day eſtabliſhed for euer, with the armes and bloud of the Citizens, in the houſe of the *Medices*: and the Commons ſlandered him afterwards, for that when he went to the Pallace, making the dangers farre greater then they were, he had induced them, for the good of the *Medices*, to yeeld without any neceſſitie. Now though the tumult of *Florence* was appeaſed the ſame day without any murther, yet hereof many great diſorders tooke beginning: and haply it may be ſaid, that had it not bene for that accident, the ruine that fell out ſhortly after, had not happened. For the Duke of *Vrbin* and the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, abiding ſtill at *Florence* becauſe of this mutinie, went not according to the firſt reſolution, to view the lodging of *Anciſa*: and the day following, *Lewis Piſan* and *Marke Foſcaro* Embaſſadours for the *Venetians* with the *Florentines*, when they had ſeene the inconſtancie of the Citie, proteſted that they would not ſuffer the armie to paſſe *Florence*, vnleſſe there were firſt made a concluſion of the confederation which had bene negociated, in which they demanded contribution for ten thouſand footmen, ſuppoſing the oportunitie of the time ſerued their turnes to make vſe of the neceſſities of the *Florentines*: but in the end the concluſion was accompliſhed the eight and twentieth day, referring themſelues to ſuch contribution as the Pope ſhould appoint, who was ſuppoſed to be already reunited with the Confederates. Hereunto was added, that the time being come for the paiment of the *Swiſſers*, and *Lewis Piſan* hauing no money to furniſh them, by reaſon of the ill order the *Venetians* had taken for it, there paſſed certaine dayes before he could recouer it: in ſo much as the good counſell to go with the armies to lodge at *Anciſa* was not executed. In this eſtate of affaires, the Pope perceiuing the wiles wherewith the Duke of *Bourbon* had abuſed the Viceroy, and that he was paſſed into *Tuſcan*, turned by neceſſitie to the thoughts of warre, and after the fiue and twentieth day made a new confederation with the *French* King and the *Venetians*, by the which they were bound to aid him with a great ſumme of mony; but he would bind neither himſelf nor the *Florentines* to any other thing, then ſuch as their faculties were able to beare, alleaging that they were both very weary of the exceſſiue expences which they had bene at: and theſe conditions very grieuous of themſelues, were approued by the Embaſſadours of the Confederates, to the end entirely to ſeparate the Pope from the accords made with the Viceroy; but they were not approued by their Maiſters. The *Venetians* ſaid, *Dominicke Venerio* their Embaſſadour had much failed, in that without commiſſion of the Senate he had concluded a confederation of great expences and litle fruite, conſidering the inconſtancie of the Pope, of whom they iudged that in all occaſions he would returne to his firſt deſire to accord with the Viceroy: and the *French* king who was drained of money, and ſought rather to wearie the Emperour with the longneſſe of the warre, then with the victorie, iudged it would ſuffice now if he entertained the warre with ſmall expence: and which more is, although at the firſt when he vnderſtood that the Pope had made truce with the Viceroy, the ſaid truce was very offenſiue vnto him, yet afterwards looking better into the eſtate of affaires, he deſired that the Pope would diſpoſe the *Venetians* (without whom he would make no conuention) to embrace the truce. But at this time the Pope, who was not a litle diſcontented to ſee the warre transferred into *Tuſcan*, and yet leſſe then if it had bene transferred to *Rome*, leuied bands of ſouldiers, and made prouiſions for money, but ſlowly: and his purpoſe was to ſend *Ranſe de Cere* againſt the *Siennois*, and alſo to inuade them by ſea, to the end that the Duke of *Bourbon* being intangled in *Tuſcan*, might be ſtopped for taking his way to *Rome*: whereof neuertheleſſe this feare diminiſhed dayly, hoping, by reaſon of the difficulties which the Duke of *Bourbon* had to leade his armie to *Rome* without victuals and money, and for the oportunitie of the Eſtate of *Sienna*, where at the leaſt his ſouldiers might be nouriſhed, that he would be driuen to ſtay in *Tuſcan*, and make warre againſt the *Florentines*.

The Pope diſpoſed to hearken to the warre

But the Duke of *Bourbon*, either for that his firſt counſell was otherwiſe, the which, as many reported, was very ſecretly determined at *Finale* by the authoritie of the Duke of *Ferrara* and *Ierome Maron*; or diſtruſting to make any profit of that enterpriſe, for that the maine forces of the League were aſſembled neare the Citie of *Florence* for the defence thereof: and alſo being no longer able to entertaine the armie without mony, which he had till that day carried through ſo many difficulties with faire promiſes and vaine hopes, conſtrained either to periſh or to trie fortune, he determined to march with all diligence to ſurpriſe the Citie of *Rome*, where the reward

ward of the victorie, as well for the Emperour as for the ſouldiers, would be ineſtimable: and he was puſhed on by the hope which he ſaw very great to carry it, ſeeing the Pope, with an euill counſell, had firſt diſmiſſed the *Swiſſers*, and afterwards the footmen of the blacke bands, and began ſo ſlowly to refurniſh himſelfe at ſuch time as the accord was deſperate, that it was thought he could not in time aſſemble forces ſufficient. Therefore the Duke of *Bourbon* departed the ſixe and twentieth day of Aprill from the countrey of *Aretze*, without artilleries or baggage: and marching with incredible diligence, being not hindered either by the raines which in thoſe dayes fell in great abundance, or with the want of victuals, he drew to *Rome* at a time when the Pope was ſcarcely aduertiſed of his coming, and found no impediment either at *Viterba*, whither the Pope had not ſent ſufficient ſtrength in time, or in any other place. Therefore the Pope hauing recourſe (as many wiſe men had foretold it would come to paſſe in his laſt neceſſities, when they could ſtand him in ſmall ſtead) to thoſe remedies, which if he had vſed in their due time and place, might haue bene to ſpeciall purpoſe to turne away ſo great a ſtorme, he created three Cardinals for money, which could not be payed him for the importunitie of the affaires, and though he had receiued it, it could ſtand him in no ſtead, by reaſon of the danger that haſtened on ſo faſt. He called together the people of *Rome*, and intreated them, that in ſo great a hazard of their countrey, they would readily take armes to defend it, and that the richeſt of them would lend money to wage ſouldiers; whereunto no man would hearken, yea, it remaineth for a remembrance, that *Dominicke Maximo* the richeſt man among all the *Romanes*, offered to lend an hundred duckats, of which couetouſneſſe he bare the puniſhment afterwards, for that his daughters were made a prey to the ſouldiers, & touching himſelfe, being made priſoner with his ſonnes, he was rated at a huge ranſome. But when newes came to *Florence* of the diſcamping of the Duke of *Bourbon*, which being written by *Vitelli* lying then within *Aretze*, ſtayed a day more thē was conuenient in coming, the Captaines determined that the Count *Guido Rangon* with his horſemen and with the troupes of the Count *Catazze*, and fiue thouſand footmen of *Florence* and the Church, ſhould march preſently without baggage towards the towne of *Rome* with great diligence, and that the other armie ſhould follow after, in hope that if the Duke of *Bourbon* tooke his artilleries with him, that thoſe ſuccours would be at *Rome* before him; and if he marched with expedition, it would arriue ſo ſoone after him, that hauing no artilleries, and finding ſome reaſonable defence at *Rome*, where the Pope had written that he had ſixe thouſand footmen, it would be maintained vntill the firſt ſuccours were come, which being arriued, *Rome* would be out of danger. But the celeritie of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and the ſlow prouiſions made at *Rome*, marred all theſe deuices. For *Ranſe de Cere*, to whom the Pope had committed the principall charge of the defence of *Rome*, hauing, by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of the time leuied very few footmen of ſeruice, but a great crew of men vnexperienced in matters of warre, whom he had gotten together tumultuouſly out of the ſtables of the Cardinals and Prelates, and the ſhops of artificers, beſides Innes and victualling houſes: and hauing made rampiers in the ſuburbes, which in the iudgement of all men were very weake, but in his owne conceit ſufficient for defence, being ſo confident that he was able to defend them, that he would not ſuffer the bridges of *Tyber* to be cut to ſaue *Rome* in caſe the ſuburbes and quarter beyond *Tyber* could not be defended: and which more is, iudging the ſuccors to be ſuperfluous, and doubting the coming of Count *Guido*, he wrote vnto him the fourteenth day of May, by the Biſhop of *Verona*, in the Popes name, that for as much as the Citie of *Rome* was ſufficiently furniſhed and fortified, he ſhould onely ſend thither ſixe or eight hundred harquebuziers, and for himſelfe he ſhould go with the reſidue of his people to ioyne with the armie of the League, for that he might do more good that way, then if he ſhould be incloſed in the Citie of *Rome*. And though this letter did litle harme, for that the Count was not ſo farre aduanced as he might arriue in time, yet it ſhewed how ill the preſent dangers were calculated by him. But it was a matter no leſſe maruellous (if it be a wonder that mortall men either know not how or cannot reſiſt deſtinie) that the Pope, who before was wont to deſpiſe *Ranſe de Cere* aboue all other Captaines, threw himſelfe now into his armes, and referred himſelfe wholly to his iudgement: and much more, that he who was wont to be fearfull in far leſſer dangers, and who had bene often at the point to abandon the Citie at ſuch time as the Viceroy drew with his campe to *Fruſolone*, now in ſo great a danger, contrary to his nature, ſtayed conſtantly in *Rome*, and with ſo great a hope to defend himſelfe, that being become as it were the aduocate

The Duke of Bourbon draweth with his armie directly to Rome.

aduocate of the enemies, he did not onely forbid men to depart, but alſo gaue order, that no goods ſhould be carried away, which many Merchants and other men would haue ſent into places of ſafetie by the riuer.

The Duke of *Bourbon* incamped the fift day of May in the medowes neare to *Rome*, from whence with the inſolencie of a ſouldier he ſent a Trumpet to demand paſſage of the Pope through the Citie of *Rome*, to go with the armie to the Realme of *Naples*: and the next morning at the breake of day, he determined either to die or vanquiſh, (for that indeed he had not much other hope then this in his affaires) and being approched the ſuburbes on that ſide towards the Mountaine of the *Holy Ghoſt*, he began there to giue a furious aſſault: and Fortune fauoured him, in that ſhe cauſed him to approch the armie more ſafely by the benefite of a thicke miſt, which being riſen before day, couered the ſaid armie vntill ſuch time as they were come to the place where the aſſault was giuen: at the beginning whereof the Duke of *Bourbon*, who through a laſt deſpaire aduanced before all the companies, not onely for that in caſe he returned not victorious he had no other expectation of refuge, but alſo for that he thought the Lanceknights came on but ſlowly to the aſſault, he was ſtricken with a bullet of an harquebuze, of which blow he fell dead to the earth. But his death did nothing diminiſh, but rather redoubled the courage of the ſouldiers, who fighting valiantly for the ſpace of two houres, entred at laſt into the ſuburbes, wherein was much helping vnto them not onely the weakneſſe of the rampiers which was very great, but alſo the ill reſiſtance made by them within. By which accident (as at many other times) ſuch as haue not as yet learned by examples paſt to meaſure things preſent, may know how much the vertue of men exerciſed in warre, differeth from the valour of new armies leuied in haſte and compounded of a multitude of people gathered together. For at the defence of the ſuburbes there was a part of the youth of *Rome* vnder the enſignes of the people; notwithſtanding that many of the *Gibelins*, and the faction of the *Colonnois* deſired (or at leaſt did not feare) the victorie of the Imperials, hoping that in regard of their faction they ſhould receiue no harme by them, which was the cauſe alſo why they proceeded ſo coldly to the defence. Neuertheleſſe for that it is a hard matter to take townes without artilleries, there died of the aſſailants about a thouſand footmen: who hauing made the way open to enter, all the defendants fell to manifeſt flight, and many ranne by heapes towards the Caſtle; ſo that the ſuburbes being entirely abandoned, remained in prey to the victors; and the Pope, who expected in the Pallace of *Vatican* what would be the iſſue, hearing that the enemies were entred, fled preſently with certaine Cardinals into the Caſtle, where conſulting whether he ſhould remaine there, or retire through the Citie with the light horſemen of his guard into ſome place of ſuretie, he who was appointed by deſtinie to be an example of the calamities that may happen to Popes, and alſo how hard it is to extinguiſh their authoritie and maieſtie, being certified by *Berard* of *Padua* who was fled from the Imperiall armie, of the death of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and that the whole armie being abated in courage for the death of their Captaine, deſired to come to accord with him, he ſent out men to parley with the Captaines, and wretchedly left off the counſell to go his way; he and his Captaines remaining no leſſe irreſolute in the meanes to defend themſelues, then they were ſlow in the execution thereof. So that the ſame day the *Spaniards* finding neither order nor counſell to defend the quarter beyond *Tiber*, they entred the place without any reſiſtance; from whence finding no impediment, they entred the Citie of *Rome* the ſame euening an houre before Sunne ſetting, at the bridge *Xiſto*; where, except ſuch as truſted to the name of their faction, and certaine Cardinals, who for that they bare a name to haue embraced the Emperours quarrell, ſuppoſed themſelues to be in more ſuretie then others, all the reſidue of the Citie and the Court (as happeneth in accidents ſo furious) were in flight and confuſion. The ſouldiers being entred the Citie, euery one ranne in diſorder to make pillage, without any regard, not onely to the name of friends, and the authoritie and dignitie of Prelates, but alſo of Temples and Monaſteries, of holy Relikes honored by the reſort of all the world, and of holy things; ſo that it is impoſſible not onely to recount, but alſo to imagine the calamities of that Citie, raiſed by the ordinance of heauen to a wonderfull greatnes, and alſo deſtinate to many fortunes & calamities, hauing bene ſacked by the *Gothes* within nine hundred & foureſcore yeares. It is impoſſible to recount the greatneſſe of the prey, for the wealth and riches which lay in heapes, and ſo many rare and precious things belonging to Merchants and Courtiers: but that which made the ſpoile yet more great, was the qualitie

The Duke of Bourbon ſlain at the aſſault of Rome.

Rome taken and ſacked.

and great number of the priſoners, who were to redeeme themſelues with very great ranſomes. And to make vp the full meaſure of miſerie and infamie, many Prelates being taken by the ſouldiers, chiefly by the Lanceknights, (who for the hatred which they bare to the name of the Church of *Rome*, ſhewed themſelues cruell and inſolent) were with great contempt led through the Citie of *Rome*, ſet vpon Aſſes and leane Mules, clothed in the habites and enſignes of their dignitie, and many were cruelly tormented, who either died with the torments, or were handled in ſuch ſort that they ended their liues within a few dayes after they had payed their ranſome. There died as well at the aſſault as in the rage of ſacking, about foure thouſand bodies. The Pallaces of all the Cardinals were ſacked, except thoſe which to ſaue the Merchants that were retired thither with their goods, together with the perſons and goods of many others, had promiſed a very great ſumme of money: and ſome of thoſe hauing compounded with the *Spaniards* were afterwards ſacked by the Lanceknights, or conſtrained to redeeme themſelues again. The Ladie Marqueſſe of *Mantua* compounded for her Pallace for fiftie thouſand duckats, which were payed by the Merchants and others that were retired thither: and the rumour ranne, that *Ferdinand* her ſon had ten thouſand thereof for his ſhare. The Cardinall of *Sienna* deuoted from the father to the ſonne to the name of the Emperour, after he had agreed with the *Spaniards*, as well for himſelfe as for his Pallace, was made priſoner by the Lanceknights, who ſacked his Pallace, and afterwards led him with buffets, and his head bare, into the quarter called *Borgo*, where he was driuen to redeeme himſelfe out of their hands, with promiſe of fiue thouſand duckats. The Cardinals of *Minerua* and *Ponſetta* ſuffered almoſt the like calamitie: who being priſoners to the Lanceknights, payed their ranſome after they had bene baſely led in proceſſion through the Citie of *Rome*. The Prelates & Cardinals *Spaniſh* and *Germains*, who thought themſelues ſure that the ſouldiers of their Nation would do them no wrong, were taken, and as ill handled as others. There might be heard the pitifull cries and lamentations of the women of *Rome*, and of the Nunnes, whom the ſouldiers led by troupes to ſatisfie their luſt: ſo that it might truly be ſaid, that the iudgements of God were hidden from mortall men, ſeeing he would ſuffer the renowmed chaſtitie of the *Romane* womē to be ſo villanouſly & miſerably forced. There was heard in all places the infinite complaints of ſuch as were inhumanely tormented, partly to conſtraine them to pay ranſomes, and partly to diſcloſe the goods they had hidden. All holy things, the Sacraments and relikes of Saints, whereof the Churches were full, being diſpoiled of their ornaments, were caſt downe to the ground, whereunto was added infinite villanies by the barbarous Lanceknights: and whatſoeuer eſcaped the hands of the ſouldiers, which were things but baſe and vile, were carried away by the paiſants of the lands of the *Colonnois*, who came into *Rome*: but the Cardinall *Colonno* who arriued the day following, ſaued many women that were fled into his houſe. The rumor went, that the valuation of this ſacke, in gold, ſiluer and iewels, amounted to more then a million of duckats; but that in ranſomes there was gotten a farre greater ſumme.

The ſame day that the Imperials tooke *Rome*, Count *Guido* arriued with his light horſemen and eight hundred harquebuziers, at the bridge of *Salara*, to enter *Rome* the ſame euening: but hearing what had happened, he retired to *Otricoly*, where the reſidue of his forces came to him. For notwithſtanding the letters he had receiued from *Rome*, whereby he vnderſtood that there was no reckoning made of his ſuccours, yet for that he would not neglect the renowne to be the man that had ſuccoured *Rome*, he forbare not to keepe on his way: and there wanted not thoſe (as it is the nature of men to be fauorable and eaſie interpreters of their owne actions, but ſeuere cenſurers of the actions of others) who reprehended the Count *Guido* for not knowing how to vſe a faire occaſion: for that the Imperials being wholly diſpoſed to follow ſo rich a prey, to rob houſes, to ſearch out treaſure that was hid, to take priſoners, and to reduce into places of ſuretie ſuch as they had already taken, were diſperſed into all the parts of the Citie, without any order for their lodging, without knowing their Enſignes, and without obeing the commandements of their Captaines: ſo that many beleeued, if Count *Guido* with his companies had ſodainly entred *Rome*, and ſhewed their faces to the Caſtle which was neither beſieged nor guarded, that they had not onely obtained the deliuerance of the Pope, but had done ſome braue exploit; the enemies being ſo buſie and attentiue to make pillage, that for any accident that might happen, there could hardly haue bene drawne together any notable number, the ſame being verified by the experience of certaine dayes after, when by the com-

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mandement of the Captaines or for ſome accident the alarme was ſounded, not one ſouldier was in readineſſe to reſort to his Enſigne. But men oftentimes perſwade themſelues, that if this had bene done, or that not done, the iſſue had certainly bene ſuch; whereof if the experience might be ſeene, ſuch iudgements would oftentimes be found falſe. Now there remained onely to thoſe that were incloſed within the Caſtle, an hope to be reſcued by the armie of the League, who being departed from *Florence* no ſooner then the third of May, (for the *Venetians* had deferred long to pay the *Swiſſers*) marched in ſuch ſort as the Marquis of *Saluſſa* went a dayes iourney before the *Venetian* regiments, but vnder this ordinance agreed vpon betweene him and the Duke, that they ſhould follow him the ſame way. Neuertheleſſe the Duke contrary to that reſolution, the ſeuenth day tooke the way from the lodging of *Cortona* to *Perouſa*, to arriue at *Tody*, and afterwards at *Orti*; and there paſſing *Tiber*, he ioyned with the reſidue: who as they marched along the way appointed, forced and ſacked the borough of *Pieua*, who had refuſed to lodge the *Swiſſers*, and there were ſlaine ſix or eight hundred of thoſe within. By reaſon of which diſorder, the ſouldiers ſpending time in pillage and ſpoile, they arriued not before the tenth day at the bridge of *Granaiuola*, where they had aduertiſement of the taking of *Rome*, and the eleuenth day they came to *Oruietto*, from whence by the counſell of *Federike de Boſſolo*, the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, *Boſſolo*, and *Hugo de Peppoly*, with a great troupe of horſe, drew towards the Caſtle, with intention that he and *Hugo* ſhould go vp to the Caſtle, and the Marquis to remaine behind to backe them, hoping to find the Imperials diſordered, and by arriuing ſuddenly, to get ſome occaſion to draw out of the Caſtle the Pope and his Cardinals, knowing that the ſouldiers for the greatneſſe of the bootie, laying aſide all enterpriſe, would looke after nothing elſe. But that deuice ſorted to no effect, for that when they were not farre from *Rome*, *Federikes* horſe falling vnder him, he receiued ſuch a hurt, as he could go no further; and *Hugo* ſhewing himſelfe before the Caſtle when it was high day, where, by his direction he ſhould haue arriued in the night, he retired, knowing (as he ſaid) that the enterpriſe was diſcouered; but, as *Federike* ſaid, fearing more then was need.

In this meane while, when the Duke of *Vrbin* had intelligence of the accident of *Rome*, albeit he aſſured that he would ſuccour the Pope with all his forces, yet ſuppoſing there was a faire occaſion offered to take the Eſtate of *Perouſa* out of the hands of *Gentil Baillon*, who was maintained there by the Popes authoritie, and to reſtore it to the diſpoſing of *John Paul*, he approched *Perouſa* with the *Venetian* regiments, and with threats compelled *Gentil* to depart thence: and leauing there certaine Commanders, ſuch as depended vpon *Malateſta* and *Horatio*, of whom the one was incloſed in the Caſtle of *S. Angelo*, and the other was in *Lombardie* with the *Venetian* regiments, when he had ſpent three dayes in that action, he departed the ſixteenth day to *Oruietta*, the way which he tooke at his departure from *Cortona* to go to *Rome* beyond *Tiber*, being the cauſe that he had lingred long. At *Oruietta* all the Commanders of the armie aſſembled themſelues together, to ſet downe ſome reſolution for their proceedings hereafter: whereupon the Duke of *Vrbin*, after he had ſhewed in the preamble of his ſpeech, great affection, he propounded many difficulties, putting them in mind chiefly to thinke vpon the ſuretie of their retrait in caſe the ſuccours of the Caſtle ſucceeded not well. And for that cauſe he vrged them of *Oruietta* to giue him hoſtages to aſſure him that at his returne they would not faile to relieue the armie with victuals: and interpoſing in all the affaires a tract of time, he reſolued at laſt to be at *Nepy* the nineteenth day, and that the ſame day the Marquis with his people, and the Count *Guido* with his *Italian* footmen, ſhould likewiſe be at *Bracciano*, to the end to go all the next day to the Iſle, which is a place nine miles from *Rome*. The coming of whom being expected by the Pope by reaſon of ſ letters which his Lieutenant *Guicciardin* wrote to him from *Viterbo*, was the cauſe, that the accord being almoſt concluded betwixt him and the Imperials, he refuſed to ſubſigne the articles; not ſo much for the hope he receiued by the letters, which (albeit they were aduiſedly written) made ſome diſcouerie to him of things which by diſcourſing of matters paſt, he was to looke and hope for of the time to come, as to auoide the ignominie, that it might be attributed to his fearfulneſſe and raſhneſſe that he had not bene reſcued. There was in the *French* an vniuerſall readineſſe to ſuccour the Caſtle, and the *Venetians* with letters and relation of great affection, augmented the ſame diſpoſition, the Prince ſoliciting the matter with great vehemencie in the councell of the *Pregati*: ſo that all excuſes being taken away from the Duke, he conſented that the day following a muſter ſhould be made of all the armies,

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hoping perhaps to find the numbers ſo much diminiſhed, that he might haue a iuſt cauſe to refuſe the fight; which was a deuice that could not ſerue his turne, for that there were found in the armie, notwithſtanding many were gone, fifteene thouſand footmen, with an vniuerſall reſolution to fight, and do the office of ſouldiers. The muſter being ended, counſell was taken for the maner of their proceeding, and they all agreed to go and incampe at the croſſe of *Montmary*, as they were earneſtly requeſted by thoſe of the Caſtle: who alleaged, that in regard the place was ſtrong, and but three miles from *Rome*, and that there was no feare that the Imperials would come to incampe without the Citie, they might both remaine there, and retire without danger: and that in that place they might better know and execute the occaſion to ſuccour the Caſtle. But this reſolution not pleaſing the Duke of *Vrbin*, he embraced another deuice propounded by *Guido Rangon*, who offered to approch the Caſtle the ſame night with all the horſemen & footmen of the Church, to aſſay to get the Pope from thence, ſo that the Duke of *Vrbin* with the reſidue of the army would march to the three Cottages to backe him. But this deuice was not executed ỳ night, for that the Duke, being vrged by the Pope, went to ſuruey the campe of *Montmary*; and yet the night approching he paſſed not the three Cottages, but many houres being vainly loſt about this matter, they were driuen to deferre the execution of that enterpriſe till the night following. But being aduertiſed the ſame day by certaine ſpies (whether true or ſubborned) that the trenches which the Imperials had made in the medowes, were greater thē indeed they were, & that they had broken in many places the gallery wall that leadeth from the *Vatican* to the Caſtle *S. Angelo*, to the end to miniſter ſpeedie ſuccours on many ſides, if any ſouldiers were diſcouered (which alſo was falſe:) and vpon this report the Duke propounding many difficulties, which were all conſented vnto by *Guido*, & approued almoſt by all the other Captaines, it was concluded that it was vnpoſſible at that time to ſuccour the Caſtle, and ſome other of the Captaines that roſe vp to diſpute and defend the contrary opinion, were bitterly reprehended by the Duke. And thus the Pope remained in prey, not one Lance being broken to recouer out of priſon, him who to ſuccour others, had leuied ſo many bands of ſouldiers, ſpent huge maſſes of money, and ſtirred vp to warre almoſt all the world. Neuertheleſſe they diſputed, if that which they did not preſently, might be done afterwards with more forces; to which deuice propounded by the Duke, he anſwered himſelfe, that vndoubtedly the Caſtle might be ſuccoured, whenſoeuer the armie were poſſeſſed of a ſtrength of fixteene thouſand *Swiſſers* leuied by decree of the Cantons, not reckoning thoſe that were there already, as being become vnprofitable by their long abiding in *Italy*: and beſides the *Swiſſers*, ten thouſand harquebuziers *Italians*, three thouſand Pioners, and fortie peeces of artilleries: requiring the Lieutenant to perſwade the Pope, whom he knew to be furniſhed with victuals for ſome weeke, that he would deferre to make any accord till theſe forces could be gotten together. And the Lieutenant anſwering, that he vnderſtood his propoſition, in caſe the eſtate of affaires changed not in the meane while, but for that it was very likely that thoſe within *Rome* would make the reſcue more hard with new trenches and fortifications, and alſo that from *Naples* would come to *Rome* the bands which the Viceroy had led thither by ſea, he deſired to know what hope could be giuen to the Pope if matters ſucceeded in that ſort (as in all likelyhood they would:) he replied, that in ſuch a caſe all meanes poſſible ſhould be vſed; adding, that if the bands that were at *Naples* were ioyned with thoſe of *Rome*, they would be in all more then twelue thouſand Lanceknights, and eight or ten thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, and that if the Caſtle were loſt, there could be made no reckoning to remaine maiſters of the warre, if indeed they had not at leaſt two and twentie or foure and twentie thouſand *Swiſſers*. Which demands being contemned of all the Captaines, as impoſſible, the armie being much diminiſhed in footmen, retired the firſt day of Iune to *Monterooſi*, notwithſtanding the Pope made great inſtance that they ſhould not depart ſo ſoone, to the end to make his aduantage thereby in the practiſes of accord: and the ſame night *Peter Maria Roſſa* and *Alexander Vitelly* with two hundred light horſemen paſſed vp to *Rome* towards the enemies. But now it is to be vnderſtood, that the Pope hauing ſmall expectation of ſuccours, and no leſſe feare and iealouſie of his life becauſe of the *Colonnois* and the Lanceknights, ſent for the Viceroy who was at *Sienna* to come to *Rome*, hoping to obtaine of him better conditions, who, for that he hoped to be made Captaine general of the armie, went willingly. But when he was come to *Rome*, whither he paſſed vnder ſafeconduct of the Captaines of the armie, and found the minds of the Lanceknights and *Spaniards*

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eſtranged from him, who after the death of the Duke of *Bourbon* had choſen the Prince of *Orange* for their Generall, he had not the heart to ſtay there: but as he was going towards *Naples*, he was met in the way by the Marquis of *Guaſt*, *Don Hugo*, and Captaine *Alarcon*, by whoſe counſels he returned againe to *Rome*: neuertheleſſe for that he was not agreeable to the armie, he bare no more authoritie, either in the affaires of the warre, or in the negociation of accord with the Pope, who in the end being made naked of all hope, compounded the ſixth day of Iune with the Imperials, almoſt vnder the ſame conditions with the which he might haue accorded before: That the Pope ſhould pay to the armie foure hundred thouſand duckats, to wit, one hundred thouſand preſently, to be defrayed of the gold and money reſerued in the Caſtle; fiftie thouſand within twentie dayes; and two hundred and fiftie thouſand within two moneths, aſſigning the paiment hereof to an impoſt of money to be charged vpon the whole State of the Church: That he ſhould deliuer into the power of the Emperour, to retaine them ſo long as he ſhould thinke good, the Caſtle *Saint Angelo*, the Rockes of *Oſtia*, of *Ciuittauecchia*, and of *Ciuita Caſtellana*, together with the Cities of *Parma*, *Plaiſance*, and *Modena*: That the Pope together with all thoſe Cardinals that were with him, which were thirteene, ſhould remaine priſoners within the Caſtle, vntill the firſt paiment of an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats were ſatiſfied: and that afterwards they ſhould go to *Naples* or to *Caietta*, to expect what the Emperour would determine of them: That for aſſurance of the paiments, whereof the third part appertained to the *Spaniards*, he ſhould giue in hoſtage the Archbiſhops of *Siponto* and *Piſa*, the Biſhops of *Piſtoia* and *Verona*, *Iames Saluiati*, *Simon de Ricaſola*, and *Laurence* brother to Cardinall *Rodolfo*: That *Ranſe de Cere*, *Albert Pio*, *Horacio Baillon*, the Knight *Caſalo* Embaſſadour of the King of *England*, and all the reſidue that were ſaued in the Caſtle, except the Pope and the Cardinals, ſhould depart in ſafetie: That the Pope ſhould abſolue the *Colonnois* of the cenſures which they had incurred: and that when he ſhould be led out of *Rome*, a Legate ſhould remaine there for him, and a Iudge to adminiſter iuſtice. Which accord being made, Captaine *Alarcon* entred within the Caſtle with three bands of *Spaniſh* footmen, and three companies of Lance-knights; and for as much as he was appointed for the guard of the Caſtle and the Pope, he performed it very carefully, holding them ſhort, and giuing them ſmall libertie. But the other caſtles and townes promiſed, were not ſo eaſily conſigned, for that the Caſtle of *Ciuita Caſtellana* was kept in the name of the Confederates, and *Andrew Doré* refuſed to deliuer vp the Caſtle of *Ciuittauecchia* (notwithſtanding he had receiued commandement from the Pope) vnleſſe he were firſt payed fourteene thouſand duckats, which he ſaid were due to him for his pay. *Iulian Leno* a *Romane*, an Architect, went to *Parma* and *Plaiſance* in the Popes name, and *Lodewike* Count of *Lodron* went thither in the name of the Captaines, with commandement to thoſe Cities to obey the will of the Emperour, notwithſtanding on the other ſide the Pope had giuen them ſecret aduertiſement to the contrary: which Cities abhorring the iuriſdiction of the *Spaniards*, refuſed to receiue them. And touching them of *Modena*, they were not now in their owne power, for that the Duke of *Ferrara* letting paſſe no occaſion which the calamities of the Pope offered him, & threatning to waſte all their corne which was now ripe, he conſtrained them to render vp to him the towne the ſixt day of Iune, not without the infamie of Count *Guido Rangon*, who, notwithſtanding the Duke had but a ſmall ſtrength with him, left the towne abandoned, without making any ſigne of reſiſtance: and in this action the Duke reſpected not the authoritie of the *Venetians*, who perſwaded him to attempt or innouate nothing againſt the Church at ſuch a time. And yet they themſelues entertaining intelligence with the *Guelfes* of *Rauenna*, after they had ſent certaine bands of footmen vnder colour to defend the towne for feare of thoſe of *Cotignola*, made themſelues Lords of *Rauenna*, and withall tooke the Caſtle, after they had ſecretly cauſed the Captaine to be ſlaine, publiſhing that they would hold it in the name of the whole League: and not many dayes after they ſeized vpon *Ceruia*, and the ſalts that were there appertaining to the Pope, whoſe Eſtates being neither guarded nor defended, any otherwiſe, then ſo farre forth as the people did it of themſelues and for their owne intereſts, *Sigiſmond Malateſta* with the ſame facilitie ſeized vpon the Towne and Caſtle of *Rimini*.

The Pope being abandoned of all hopes, compoundeth with the Imperials.

But the affaires of the Pope had no better ſucceſſe in the Citie of *Florence*. For when the newes of *Rome* was brought thither, the Cardinall of *Cortona*, who was in feare, when he ſaw himſelfe abandoned of thoſe Citizens who made profeſſion to be the friends of the *Medices*,

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it being vnpoſſible for him to prouide mony without vſing violent and extraordinary means,& by reaſon of his couetouſnes being vnwilling to put his hand to his purſe,at leaſt vntil he ſaw the euent of the armies that went to ſuccour the Pope, and without being vrged by ſome neceſſitie (for there were many ſouldiers in the Towne, and the people aſtoniſhed for the accident happened by the occaſion of the Pallace, had not the courage to ſtirre) he determined to giue place to fortune: and when he had aſſembled the Citizens together, he left vnto them the free adminiſtration of the Commonweale, hauing obtained certaine priuiledges and exemptions, and leaue for the Popes Nephewes to remaine at *Florence* as priuate Citizens, with pardon to euery one for all things paſt committed againſt the Eſtate. And theſe things being concluded the ſixt day of May, he went to *Lucques* with the Popes Nephewes, where quickly repenting himſelfe of the courſe he had taken with ſo great timorouſneſſe, he aſſayed to retaine to himſelfe the Caſtles of *Piſa* and *Liuorne*,which were in the hands of Captaines whom the Pope truſted, and yet theſe Captaines hauing no hope of ſuccours by reaſon of the Popes captiuitie, and receiuing withall ſome ſumme of mony, deliuered the Caſtles to the *Florentines*: who in the meane while hauing reduced the Citie to the popular gouernment, created *Gonfalonnier* of iuſtice for one yeare, and with facultie to be confirmed for three yeares,*Nicholas Cappony*,a Citizen of great authoritie,and a louer of the publike libertie: who deſiring maruellouſly the concord of the Citizens, and that the gouernment might be reduced to the moſt perfect forme of a Commonweale that was poſſible,the firſt day,when he had called together the great Councell,in whom reſted the abſolute power to eſtabliſh laws and to create all the Magiſtrates, he ſpake in this ſort:

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The words of the *Gonfalonnier* were very graue,and his counſell indeed very wiſe,whereunto if the Citizens had giuen credite, the new libertie had haply endured longer: but diſdaine for the moſt part being ſtronger in him that recouereth libertie,then in him that defendeth it, and the hatred ſtrange againſt the houſe of the *Medices* for many cauſes,and eſpecially for that they had bene driuen to beare out for the moſt part with their owne money,all the warres begun by the ſaid *Medices*: (for it is manifeſt that the *Florentines* had expended not onely in the winning, but alſo in the defence of the Duchie of *Vrbin*,more then fiue hundred thouſand duckats, and as much in the warre which Pope *Leo* made againſt the *French* King; and for matters happening after the death of *Leo*, depending vpon the ſame warre,three hundred thouſand duckats, which were payed to the Imperiall Captaines and the Viceroy, before the creation of *Clement*: and after his creation, for the preſent warre againſt the Emperour, ſixe hundred thouſand duckats.) For theſe reaſons they began to perſecute very ſharply thoſe Citizens that had bin friends to the *Medices*, and to aboliſh the memory of the Pope. They defaced and reuerſed through all the Citie,the armes of the houſe of the *Medices*, ſpecially thoſe that were affixed to the publike Pallaces builded by them. They brake the images of *Leo* and *Clement*, that were in the Temple of *Annunciata*, famous through all the world. They made the Popes goods ſubiect to the exaction and paiment of old debts: the moſt part of them omitting nothing that appertained to moue the Popes diſdaine,and to nouriſh diuiſion and diſcord in the Citie;and they had done yet more,if the authoritie and wiſedome of the *Gonfalonnier* had not bene interpoſed,the which notwithſtanding was not ſufficient to remedy many inſolencies. But at *Rome* there arriued with the Marquis of *Guaſt* and *Don Hugo*, all the Lanceknights and *Spaniards* that were in the Realme of *Naples*; ſo that it was ſaid there was together within *Rome* eight thouſand *Spaniards*, twelue thouſand Lanceknights, and foure thouſand *Italians*; an armie ſufficient to do in *Italy* what they liſted,as well for the reputation they had gotten, as for the aſtoniſhment of others, and the weake prouiſions that were made to reſiſt them. But the Prince of *Orange* being their Captaine onely in title and name, the armie in effect being gouerned by it ſelfe, and wholly diſpoſed to make prey, get ranſomes, and to receiue the money that was promiſed by the Pope, they tooke no care at all of the intereſts of the Emperour. Therefore they would not go out of *Rome*, where gouerning themſelues tumultuouſly, the Viceroy and the Marquis of *Guaſt*,who feared leſt the footmen would fall vpon them, fled away, leauing the ſouldiers to the ſtroke of the plague,which being already begun, did afterwards great domage. For which reaſons the Imperials loſt the occaſion of many enterpriſes, but ſpecially of the conqueſt of *Bologna*; wherein albeit Count *Hugo de Pepoly* was gone thither after the loſſe of *Rome*

Plague in Rome.

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with a thouſand footmen payed by the *Venetians*, it could hardly haue bene kept in the obedience of the Sea Apoſtolike, by reaſon of the tumult which *Laurence Maluezzi* made by the ſecret conſent of *Ramazzatto*, and with the followers of the faction of the *Bentiuoleys*: and (which was a matter of no leſſe importance) they gaue time to ỹ *French* king to diſpatch into *Italy* a moſt mightie armie, with great danger of the Emperour, after he had gotten ſo great a victorie, to loſe the realme of *Naples*. For matters being in hand a long time before in *France* for the preparation of a new warre, the foure and twentieth day of Aprill the confederation ſolicited many moneths betweene the *French* King and the King of *England* was concluded, with condition That the daughter of the King of *England* ſhould be maried to he *French* King, or to the Duke of *Orleans* his ſecond ſon; and that at the enteruiew of the two Kings, which was to be performed at Whitſontide betweene *Caliet* and *Bolleine*, it ſhould be reſolued to which of the two ſhe ſhould be giuen: That the King of *England* ſhould renounce the title of King of *France*, receiuing in recompence a yearely penſion of fiftie thouſand duckats: That the King of *England* ſhould enter the league made at *Rome*, and be bound to moue warre againſt the Emperour out of *Italy*, in the moneth of Iuly next, with nine thouſand footmen, and the *French* king with eighteen thouſand, and with a conuenient number of lances and artilleries: That in the meane while both the one and the other of them, ſhould ſend Embaſſadours to the Emperour, to ſignifie vnto him the confederation made by them, and to ſummon him to reſtore the Kings children, and to enter into the peace with honeſt conditions, and in caſe he would not accept it within one moneth, to denounce the warre, and begin it. As ſoone as this accord was paſſed the King of *England* entred the League, who together with the *French* king ſent two Gentlemen in poſt to preſent to the Emperour conuenient ſummons; which acts were performed by the *French* and *Engliſh* Embaſſadours with farre greater readineſſe then they had bene before on the Popes behalfe: for that his Nuncio *Baltaſar Caſtillon*, alleaging that he ought not to exaſperate the mind of the Emperour ſo much, would not conſent to denounce warre againſt him. But afterwards when newes was come into *France* of the loſſe of *Rome*; and the diſcontent for the accident of the Pope ſomewhat qualified, by the ioy which was greater, for the death of the Duke of *Bourbon*; the King holding it not good to ſuffer the matters of *Italy* ſo to decline, he contracted the fifteenth day of May with the *Venetians*, to entertaine in common ten thouſand *Swiſſers*, he to furniſh the firſt pay, and the *Venetians* the ſecond, and ſo from that time forward. Furthermore it was agreed, that the King ſhould ſend into *Italy* ten thouſand *French* footmen vnder *Peter* of *Nauarre*: That the *Venetians* ioyntly with the Duke of *Millan* ſhould wage ten thouſand footmen *Italians*: That he ſhould ſend thither againe fiue hundred Lances and eighteene peeces of artilleries: And for as much as the King of *England*, notwithſtanding the articles of the contract, ſhewed no great readineſſe to make warre out of *Italy*, which alſo diſpleaſed the *French* king, euery one of them deſiring to keep it far frõ their owne Realmes, they diſpenced with that obligation, and couenanted: That the King of *England*, to furniſh the warre of *Italy*, ſhould pay ten thouſand footmen for ſixe moneths: And at the ſpeciall inſtance of the ſaid King of *England*, *Monſieur Lautrech* (yet almoſt againſt his will) was declared Captaine generall of the whole armie: and whileſt he prepared himſelfe with conuenient prouiſions of money and other neceſſaries, there was nothing done in *Italy* that was of any conſequence. For the Emperours armie ſtirred not out of *Rome*, notwithſtanding many of them died dayly by the rage of the plague, which at that time alſo was very hote in *Florence* and many parts of *Italy*: and the armie of the League (into which at the inſtance of the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* were entred againe with obligation to pay fiue thouſand footmen, wherewith the Emperour found himſelfe much offended, for that hauing at their inſtance giuen to the Duke of *Ferrara* authoritie to compound with them in his name, he was almoſt as ſoone aduertiſed of the contrary deliberation,) being greatly diminiſhed in numbers, for that the *Venetian* footmen, thoſe of the Marquis, and the *Swiſſers*, were ill payed, was retired neare *Viterba*, and by temporiſing, they laboured to hold in the deuotion of the League, *Perouſa*, *Oruietta*, *Spoleto*, with other places adioyning. But afterwards hauing heard in that place, that part of the Emperours armie was iſſued out of *Rome* (which notwithſtanding they did to take the freſh aire,) fearing leſt the reſidue ſhould do the like, after the firſt payment was made, they retired to *Oruietta*, and afterwards neare to the borough of *Piena*; and would haue retired vpon the lands of the *Florentines*, if they would haue giuen conſent. The plague was gotten alſo into the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo*,

Confederation betweene the French king and the king of England.

to the great danger of the life of the Pope, about whom died some of those that serued his person: who amid so many afflictions and aduersities, hauing no other hope then in the clemencie of the Emperour, he appointed for Legate (with consent of the Captaines) the Cardinall *Alexander Farnese*, who notwithstanding being gotten out of the Castle and Citie by that occasion, refused to go in that legation. The Captaines desired to bring the Pope to *Caietta*, and the thirteene Cardinals that were with him; but the Pope vsed great diligence to turne them from that resolution, with petitions and art.

Monsieur Lautrech Captaine generall of the League.

At last *Monsieur Lautrech*, when he had taken order for things necessarie, departed from the Court the last day of June, with eight hundred lances, and with the title (for the King would haue it so) of Captaine generall of the whole League: and the King of *England* in stead of ten thousand footmen, was taxed to pay in money for euery moneth (beginning the first day of June) the summe of thirtie thousand duckats, for the payment of ten thousand Lanceknights vnder *Monsieur Vaudemont*, which was the best band and well exercised, for that they had many times ouerthrowne the *Lutherans*. Furthermore, the *French* King tooke into his pay *Andrew Dorie* with eight Galleys, and promised him sixe and thirtie thousand crownes for euery yeare. But before *Monsieur Lautrech* had passed the Mounts, the companies of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* ioyned together, & marched to *Marignan*; and *Anthonie de Leua* who for that cause issued out of *Millan* with eight hundred *Spaniards* and the like number of *Italians*, together with a few horsmen, constrained thē to retire. At which time *Iohn Iaques de Medicis* Captaine of *Mus*, who was in the pay of the *French* king, and expected vpon the Lake the coming of the *Swissers*, made himselfe Lord by subtill meanes of the Castle of *Monguzzo* seated betweene *Lucques* and *Coma*, wherein dwelt *Alexander Bentiwley* as in his owne house: for the recouering whereof, *Anthonie de Leua* sent thither *Lodowike de Belgioioso*, who hauing in vaine assaulted it, turned to *Monce*: but afterwards *Anthonie de Leua* hauing gotten knowledge that the said Captaine *Mus* with fiue and twentie hundred footmen was come to the village of *Carate*, foureteene miles from *Millan*, returned to *Millan*: where leauing onely two hundred men (notwithstanding the *Venetians* were almost ten thousand) and issuing out by night with the rest of the armie, he charged sodainly (vpon the rising of the Sunne) the bands of Captaine *Mus*, who at the alarme leauing their houses wherein they were lodged, they retired into a plaine place enuironed with hedges not farre from the village, not thinking that all the bands of the enemies were there: and albeit they cast themselues into order, yet by the disaduantage of the place, being low and as it were a prison, they were all either taken or slaine, without making any resistance, except many who fled at the first, when they perceiued the Captaine had done the like.

In the meane while the Emperour had aduertisement of the taking of the Pope, by letters which his high Chancellor wrote vnto him from *Monaco*, as he went into *Italy* whither he had sent him: and albeit he made shew in words that he was much displeased therewith, yet it was well discerned that in secret he was glad of it; chiefly in that without abstaining altogether from outward demonstrations, he left not off the feasts and tourneys begun before for the birth of his sonne. But the deliuery of the Pope being vehemently desired by the King of *England* and the Cardinall of *Yorke*, and for their authoritie the *French* King also desiring the same, who in case he could other waies haue recouered his children, would haue taken litle care and griefe for the domages of the Pope and all *Italy*: the two Kings sent Embassadours together to the Emperour, to demand his deliuery, as a matter appertaining in common to all Christian Princes, and particularly due by the Emperour, vnder whose faith he had bene reduced to so great misery by his Captaines and his armie: and at the same time they requested the Cardinals that were in *Italy*, that they would assemble together at *Auignion* with the other Cardinals, to consult in so troublesome a time, what was to be done for the good of the Church: who, because they would not all put themselues in the power of so mightie Princes, refused to go thither, although with diuers excuses. And on the other side, the Cardinall *Saluiati* Legate in the Court of *France*, being required by the Pope to go to the Emperour to helpe his affaires at the comming of *Don Hugo*, who according to the capitulation, was to go to the Emperour, he refused so to do, as though it had bene a dangerous matter that so many Cardinals should be in the power of the Emperour: but he sent by one of his Chamberlaines the instructions he had receiued from *Rome*, to the Auditor of the Chamber resident with the Emperour, to the end he might

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negociate with him, who brought from him very gracious words; but a doubtfull and vncertaine resolution. The Emperour could haue bin content that the Pope should haue bin brought into *Spaine*: but for that it was a matter full of infamie, and that he would not so much incense the King of *England*; and for that all the Realmes of *Spaine*, and principally the Prelates and Lords, detested not a litle, that the Emperour of *Rome*, Protector and Aduocate of the Church, should with so great indignitie to all Christendome, hold in prison the man in whom was represented the person of Iesus Christ on earth, he made a gracious answer to the Embassadours that were sent vnto him: and to the instance that was made vnto him touching peace, he said he was content it should be negociated by the King of *England*, which was accepted by them: & he sent into *Italy* the third day of August the Generall of the gray Friers, and foure days after him *Veri de Migliau*, each of them (as it is said) with commission to the Viceroy for the deliuery of the Pope, and restitution of all such townes and Castles as had bin taken from him: and consented withal, for the better relieuing of the Pope, that his Nuncio should send him a certaine summe of money, drawne from the collection of those Realmes, which in the assemblies which they call Courts, had refused to contribute money to the Emperour.

The Cardinall of Yorke in France.

At this time about the end of Iuly, the Cardinall of *Yorke* passed to *Calice* with twelue hundred horse: to meet whom, the *French* King, who desired to receiue him very honourably, sent the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, and went afterwards in person to *Amiens*, where the Cardinall of *Yorke* made his entrie the day after with very great pompe: and that which much augmented his reputation, was that he had brought with him three hundred thousand crownes, for the expences occurring, and to lend to the *French* King if need were. They debated betweene them as well of matters appertaining to peace, as of occasions tending to warre: and albeit the intentions of the *French* King were different from the purposes of the King of *England*, for that to haue his children restored, he would haue left the Pope and all *Italy* in prey; yet by necessitie he was driuen to promise to make no accord with the Emperour without the deliuery of the Pope: and therefore the Emperour hauing sent to the King of *England* the articles of the peace, he was answered in the behalfe of both the Kings, that they would accept the peace with the restitution of the children, for whom there should be payed two millions of duckats within a certaine time, with the diliuery of the Pope and the State Ecclesiastike, together with the conseruation of all the gouernments and Estates of *Italy*, as they were at that present; and finally with an vniuersall peace: and it was agreed betweene them, that the Emperour accepting these articles, the daughter of the King of *England* should be maried to the Duke of *Orleans*, to the end the mariage of the *French* King to the Emperours sister might continue; but if the peace succeeded not, the King himselfe should take her to wife. These conditions being sent, they refused to giue safeconduct to a man whom the Emperour would send into *France*, answering that they had done enough to haue sent him the said articles: the which being not accepted by the Emperour, the peace and confederation betweene the two Kings was sworne and published solemnly the eight day of August: and they determined to employ all their forces in the warre of *Italy*, hauing for their principall obiect the deliuery of the Pope: and for the maner of proceeding in that warre, they reposed themselues vpon *Monsieur Lautrech*, to whom they gaue full power; and before he tooke his leaue to depart, he obtained of the King all his demands, for that the King purposed to vse his vttermost endeuour. The Cardinall of *Yorke* desired that the Knight *Casale* might go to the campe on the behalfe of his King, and that the thirtie thousand duckats that were to be payed monethly should be deliuered to him, to the end to be assured that the number of *Almaines* were there complete. Thus after they were resolued of the meanes to make warre in *Italy*, the Cardinall of *Yorke* returned, and at his departure he sent the Pronotarie *Gambaro* to the Pope, to perswade him to make him his Vicar generall in *England*, *France* and *Germanie*, so long as he was in prison: whereunto the *French* King made demonstration to consent, but in secret he was against it.

In this meane while there passed but few actions of warre in *Italy*, the expectation of the coming of *Monsieur Lautrech* being very great, for as much as the Imperiall armie being in disorder, and yeelding no obedience to their Captaines, and being chargeable to their friends and the townes that were rendred, stirred not at all, nor gaue any feare to their enemies: and the footbands of *Spaniards* and *Italians* flying from the infection of the plague, lay dispersed about the confines of *Rome*: and the Prince of *Orange* with an hundred and fiftie horsemen was gone

to *Sienna*, as well to eſchue the plague, as to keepe that Citie in the deuotion of the Emperour, whither he had ſent before certaine bands of footmen, for that the people being drawne into commotion at the incenſing of certaine ſeditious Chieftaines, had tumultuouſly ſacked the houſes of ſuch Citizens as were of the family of *Montenouo*, and ſlaine *Peter Borgueſi* a Citizen of authoritie, together with one of his ſonnes, and ſeuenteene or eighteene others. There remained within *Rome* onely the Lanceknights, full of infection, who being with very great difficultie ſatisfied by the Pope of the firſt hundred thouſand duckats, partly with money, and partly with agreements made with the Merchants of *Genes* for the tenths of the Realme of *Naples*, and for the ſale of *Beneuent*, required for the reſidue of the mony that was due, other ſureties, and other aſſignation then the impoſition of the State Eccleſiaſtike; matters impoſſible to the Pope, being a priſoner. By reaſon whereof, after many threatnings made to the hoſtages, whom with great crueltie they kept in chaines, they led them ignominiouſly to the field of *Flora*, where they ſet vp a gibbet, as though they would haue executed them preſently: and afterwards iſſued all out of *Rome* without any Captaines of authoritie, to lodge abroad, and to refreſh themſelues, rather then to execute any exploit of importance: and when they had ſacked the Cities of *Terni* & *Narni*, *Spoleto* agreed to giue them paſſage and victuals. Therefore the armie of the Confederates, for the ſuretie of *Perouſa*, went to lodge at *Pontenouo* beyond *Perouſa*, which incamped before vpon the lake of *Perouſa*, but was much diminiſhed in numbers in regard of the obligation of the Confederates. For the Marquis had with him three hundred Lances, and three hundred *French* archers, three thouſand *Swiſſers*, and a thouſand *Italians*. The Duke of *Vrbin* had with him, fiue hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, a thouſand footmen *Almaines*, and two thouſand *Italians*. The *Venetians* alleaged for their excuſe, that they ſupplied their promiſe with the bands of ſouldiers whom they held in the Duchie of *Millan*. The *Florentines* had foureſcore men at armes, an hundred and fiftie light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen; and were conſtrained to be better prouided then all the reſidue, for a continuall feare they had leſt the Emperours armie ſhould aſſaile *Tuſcan*: and for this reſpect they failed not to pay their ſouldiers in due time, which the others did not. But the Duke of *Vrbin*, beſides his ancient difficulties, was in great griefe and almoſt deſpaire, knowing that the *French* King and *Monſieur Lautrech* ſpake not honorably of him, but much more for that the *Venetians* had a very ill opinion of him: who being entred into ſuſpition either of his fidelitie or his inconſtancie, had ſet a diligent guard vpon his wife and his ſonne that were at *Venice*, leſt they ſhould depart without their leaue: and reproued openly his counſell, which was, that *Monſieur Lautrech* ſhould draw directly to *Rome*, without attempting any thing in *Lombardie*.

Therefore all matters of action lay aſleepe in that armie, holding it a ſpeciall grace that the Imperials paſſed no further, who a litle after hauing receiued two crownes a peece of the Marquis of *Guaſt* that came to the armie, the Lanceknights (who agreed not well with the *Spaniards*) returned to *Rome*, and the *Italians* and *Spaniards* were diſperſed to *Aluiano*, *Tigliano*, *Chaſtillon de Teuerino*, and *Bolſena*, but ſo much diminiſhed in numbers, ſpecially the Lanceknights by reaſon of the plague, that it was thought there remained in the whole armie of the Emperor not aboue ten thouſand footmen. But before their departure, the Captaines of the League committed an act ſtained with perpetuall infamie. For when *Gentil Baillon* was returned to *Perouſa* with the will and conſent of *Horacio*, who affirming that the diſcords betweene them were hurtfull to euery one, had made ſhew that he would be reconciled to him; *Federike de Boſſolo* went thither with conſent of all the Captaines, to ſignifie vnto *Gentil*, that foraſmuch as they had diſcouered that he practiſed ſecretly with the enemies, they would be aſſured of his perſon; and notwithſtanding that he iuſtified himſelfe, & promiſed that he would go to *Chaſtillon* of the Lake, he was left in the guard of *Gigante Corſo* Colonell of the *Venetians*: but he was ſlaine the ſame night with two of his Nephewes, by ſome of *Horacio* his guard, and by his commiſſion: who at the ſame time cauſed *Galeotto* brother to *Braccio* and one of the nephewes of *Gentil*, to be ſlaine without *Perouſa*. After this the Confederates ſent ſouldiers to enter into *Camerino*, by reaſon they had aduertiſement that the Duke was dead; but *Sforce Baillon* preuented them in the name of the Imperials: and afterwards *Serra Colonno* made his entrie on the behalfe of *Rodolph* his ſonne in law, baſtard to the late Duke. After that, the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and *Federike* with many horſemen and a thouſand footmen aſſaulted by night the Abbey of Saint *Peter*, which is neare *Terni*, wherein were *Peter-Maria Roſſa* and *Alexander Vitelli* with two hundred horſemen

A wicked act.

and

and foure hundred footmen: which enterprise, rash of it selfe, (for there being such a garrison, it was not pregnable without artilleries) succeeded well to them, either by fortune, or by the indiscretion or couetousnesse of the Captaines, who hauing sent out the same day an hundred & fiftie harquebuziers to make pillage of a towne fast by, had made themselues destitute of men sufficient to defend it: in so much as after they had made defence for certaine houres, they yeelded to discretion, but with reseruation of the persons and goods of *Peter Maria Rossa* and *Alexander Vitelli*, who had receiued hurts with the bullet, the one in the leg, and the other in the hand. About this time the riuer of *Tyber* surmounting the bankes in two or three places, ouerflowed with great detriment the campe of the League, which went to lodge at *Asceſi*, the Imperials being as yet betweene *Terni* and *Narni*: and then passing further, the Duke of *Vrbin* lodged at *Narni*, the *French* men at *Beuagna*, and the blacke bands commanded by *Horacio Baillon* Captaine generall of the infantery of the *Florentines*, seeing there was no lodging prepared for them, entred into the towne of *Montfalcon* and sacked it. Shortly after certaine bands of those footmen assailed *Presse*, whither were retired *Rodolfo de Varano* and *Beatrice* his wife, who hauing no meanes to defend themselues, yeelded to discretion, and yet not long after recouered their libertie, for that *Sero* being not able to remaine longer within *Camerino* for the displeasures he receiued of the armie, agreed to abandon it, vpon condition to recouer his sonne in law and his daughter. The Marquis of *Saluſſa* and *Federike* assayed againe with the *French* horsemen & two thousand footmen to surprise and strip the *Spanish* horsemen who were lodged at *Monte Rotondo* and *Lamentano* without guard and without Sentinels, as *Maria Vrsin* reported: and to come thither it was three dayes marching. But being discouered (for they proceeded with small order) they returned without doing any thing, notwithstanding they had determined, the better to take from the *Spaniards* all meanes to flie away, to breake downe at the same time the bridge of *Teutrone*.

During the whole time of the Sommer, the actions of the souldiers that were in *Lombardie* were not much different from these. The band of the *Venetians* and the Duke ioyned together neare *Millan*, with intention to cut and carry away the corne of that country, had ouerthrowne the conuoy of victuals, where they slue an hundred footmen, tooke thirtie men at armes and three hundred horse, as wel of seruice as others: but they proceeded no further against the corne, for that the bands of the *Venetians* (according to their custome) diminished presently. *Andrew Dore* was retired with his fleet towards *Sauona*. The *Genowayes* by this occasion had recouered *Spetia*. But afterwards the affaires of *Lombardie* began to be more hote, by reason of the descending of *Monsieur Lautrech* into *Piemont* with part of the armie: who hauing no mind to remaine idle whilest he expected the residue of his forces, went to incampe in the beginning of August afore the towne of *Bosco* in the countrey of *Alexandria*, wherein there was a garrison of a thousand footmen, the most of them Lanceknights, who defended their liues with so much the more obstinacie & resolution, by how much *Monsieur Lautrech* made angrie for that they had slaine certaine *Swissers*, would not receiue them to rendring, vnlesse they would referre themselues wholly to his discretion; and *Lodowike* Count of *Lodron*, to whose charge *Alexandria* was committed, sent to them oftentimes aduertisements, and encouraged them, for that his wife and children were shut vp within *Bosco*. At last, for that they were tormented night and day with the artilleries, and that they were fearfull of mines, when they had for the space of ten dayes endured so great trauell, they referred themselues to the will of *Monsieur Lautrech*, who retained the Captaines prisoners, and saued the life of the footmen, but with this condition, that the *Spaniards* should returne into *Spaine* through *France*, and the Lanceknights into *Germanie* by the countrey of *Swisserland*, and euery of them (according to the brauery of warre) to issue out of *Bosco* without armes, with a white staffe in his hand: but he restored freely to the Count *Lodron* his wife and his children. This conquest was accompanied with a happie successe of the affaires of *Genes*. For fiue ships, whereof foure were laden with corne, and the fifth with merchandize which went to *Genes*, being arriued at *Portofino*, and to the end they might passe in safetie, nine Galleys being sent out of *Genes* to accompanie them; it happened by reason of an aduertisement that was giuen that *Cæsar Fregosa* approched to *Genes* by land with two thousand footmen, that almost all those that were at *Portofino* went to *Genes*, leauing the fleete abandoned, which gaue occasion to *Andrew Dore* to inclose it with his galleys in the same port: at which place the *Genowayes* knowing that they were not able to resist, disarmed their Galleys, and set

their ſouldiers on land: and by that meanes the nine Galleys (one being burned) the others fell into the power of the enemies, together with the ſhips laden with corne, and the Caricke *Iuſtinian*, which being come out of *Leuant*, was ſuppoſed to haue lading worth an hundred thouſand duckats. At this exploit were alſo the other *French* Galleys, who hauing taken before fiue ſhips laden with corne which were bound for *Genes*, were afterwards drawne behind *Codemont*, betweene *Portofino* and *Genes*: and alſo at the ſame time certaine bands of footmen which the *Adorneys* had leuied to put into *Genes*, were ouerthrowne at *Priacroce*, a place in the mountains. This calamitie ioyned to infinite other loſſes of money and ſundry veſſels, tooke from the *Genoueſes*, being now reduced to extremitie, all hope to make any further reſiſtance, notwithſtanding at the ſame time *Cæſar Fregoſa* being drawne neare to Saint *Peter de Rene*, was conſtrained to retire. But famine aſtoniſhing them more then the forces of the enemies, and ſeeing themſelues conſtrained by a laſt neceſſitie, they ſent Embaſſadours to *Monſieur Lautrech* to capitulate; *Anthoniot Adorney* who was Duke of *Genes*, retired into the Caſtle: and the tumults being appeaſed principally by *Philippin Dore* who was priſoner there, the Citie returned vnder the obedience of the *French* King, who deputed Gouernour there *Theodore Triuulce*. This being done, *Monſieur Lautrech* drew neare to *Alexandria*, hauing in his armie eight thouſand *Swiſſers* (who diminiſhed continually) the ten thouſand footmen commanded by *Peter* of *Nauarre*, three thouſand *Gaſcons* whom the Baron of *Bear* had newly brought into *Italy*, and three thouſand footmen of the Duchie of *Millan*. There were within *Alexandria* fifteene hundred footmen, who for the loſſe of the *Almaines* that were in *Boſco* were much abated in courage, but fiue hundred footmen being entred afterwards by the hils neare the Citie, guided by *Alberig de Belgioioſo*, they reſumed courage, and made a valiant defence. Neuertheles the batterie being redoubled in many places, becauſe of the artilleries and *Venetian* bands that were arriued in the armie (but not in ſuch numbers as they were bound vnto, either by land or ſea) and thoſe within being at the ſame time much trauelled with the trenches and mines which *Peter* of *Nauarre* caſt, they were compelled to yeeld with ſafetie of goods and life. The conqueſt of *Alexandria* bred among the Confederates a beginning of ſome contention. For *Monſieur Lautrech* laying his plot to leaue there in garriſon fiue hundred footmen, to the end that in all euents, his companies might haue a ſure retrait there, and ſuch as ſhould come out of *France* might haue the commoditie to reaſſemble and reorder themſelues in that Citie: the Embaſſadour of the Duke of *Millan*, fearing leſt that would be a beginning to ſeeke to occupie that Eſtate for his King, oppoſed againſt it with many proteſtations and words full of efficacie: and the Embaſſadour of *Venice* oppoſing againſt it no leſſe then he, and the *Engliſh* in like manner interpoſing, *Monſieur Lautrech* agreed (albeit with great indignation) to leaue it freely to the Duke of *Millan*; a matter haply of great preiudice to the enterpriſe: for that, according to the opinion of many, he caried himſelfe the more negligently in the conqueſt of *Millan*, either through diſdaine, or elſe to referre it to a time, when without regard of others, he might make his profit of it. After the loſſe of *Alexandria*, it being out of doubt that *Monſieur Lautrech* would addreſſe himſelfe either to *Millan* or to *Pauie*, it was ſuppoſed that *Anthonie de Leua*, who had there with him an hundred and fiftie men at armes and fiue thouſand footmen *Spaniſh* and Lanceknights, diſtruſting to be able to defend *Millan* with ſo ſmall forces, and amid ſo many difficulties, would retire his companies to *Pauie*: neuertheleſſe conſidering there was ſmall ſtore of victuals in *Pauie*, and that in that Citie the armie could not be maintained with robberies and extortions, as it had bene at *Millan*, he determined in the end to ſtay at *Millan*, and ſent for the guard of *Pauie Lodowike Belgioioſo*, and to the *Millanois* that with money would buy libertie, he gaue leaue to depart. *Monſieur Lautrech* notwithſtanding he was much diminiſhed in numbers of *Swiſſers*, marching on tooke *Vigeuena*, and afterwards hauing made a bridge vpon *Theſin*, and by the aide of the ſame paſſed his armie ouer, he drew towards *Benerola*, which is a village within foure miles of *Millan*, making ſhew as though he would incampe before the Citie, as the *Venetians* aduiſed him, but being reſolued indeed to follow that courſe which ſeemed vnto him moſt eaſie: and becauſe he vnderſtood when he was within eight miles of *Millan*, that *Lodowike Belgioioſo* had ſent thither the night before foure hundred footmen, ſo that there remained no more then eight hundred within *Pauie*; altering his way, he went the day following, which was the eight and twentieth of September, to the Monaſterie of the Charterhouſe, and then with great celeritie he incamped before *Pauie*, to the ſuccours whereof *Anthonie*

Genes returneth to the obedience of the French king.

Alexandria taken.

thonie de Leua as ſoone as he heard that *Monſieur Lautrech* had changed his way, diſpatched three Enſignes of footmen, who could not enter: in ſo much as for the ſmall number of men of warre that were there, it ſeemed the towne could make no great reſiſtance. And yet *Belgioioſo* being intreated by the people that he would ſuffer them to make ſome compoſition to auoide the ſacke and deſtruction of the Citie, he refuſed to grant it. But *Monſieur Lautrech* hauing continued his battery for the ſpace of foure dayes, and reuerſed ſo much of the wall, that the ſmall number of men that were within ſufficed not to reenforce it; at laſt *Belgioioſo* ſent a Trumpet to *Monſieur Lautrech*, who hauing no ſpeedie acceſſe to him, by reaſon that he was by chance gone to the *Venetian* campe, the ſouldiers approching neare the towne, entred into it by the breach: which *Belgioioſo* perceiuing, he cauſed the gate to be ſet open, and iſſued out to yeeld himſelfe to the *French* men, who ſent him priſoner to *Genes*. The Citie was ſacked, in which action the *French* men ſpent eight dayes with great crueltie, ſetting on fire diuers houſes, for the memory of the battell which they loſt in the Parke. Then they drew into counſell, whether they ſhould execute the enterpriſe of *Millan*, or draw towards *Rome*. The *Florentines* made inſtance to paſſe further, for feare leſt *Monſieur Lautrech* ſtaying in *Lombardie*, the Imperiall armie would iſſue out of *Rome* to endomage them. The *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan*, who was expreſly come from *Millan* to make inſtance, impugned it, alleaging what great oportunitie there was to take *Millan*, and the profite that would alſo riſe by it for the enterpriſe of *Naples*: for that *Millan* being taken, there remained no hope to the Imperials to haue ſuccours out of *Germanie*, but ſuch a gate remaining open, it was alwayes to be feared leſt a great armie coming from that part, would either put *Monſieur Lautrech* in danger, or diuert him from the enterpriſe of *Naples*: who anſwered, that he muſt neceſſarily paſſe further, by the commandements of his King and the King of *England*, who had ſent him into *Italy* chiefly to deliuer the Pope: to which reſolution it was thought he might be induced by ſuſpition, leſt if the Duchie of *Millan* were wonne, the *Venetians* thinking themſelues aſſured from all danger of the greatneſſe of the Emperour, would be negligent to aide the King in the enterpriſe of the Realme of *Naples*: and haply no leſſe for that the King ſuppoſed it would be for the benefite of his affaires, not to ſuffer *Francis Sforce* to recouer wholly that Eſtate, to the end that retaining the power to offer to the Emperour to leaue it, he might the eaſier obtaine the deliuerie of his children by meanes of the accord, which continually was negociated with the Emperour by the Embaſſadours of *France*, *England* and *Venice*. But in the negociation thereof appeared many difficulties; for the Emperour made inſtance, that the cauſe of *Francis Sforce* might be referred to the ſentence of the law, and that during the triall, the Eſtate of *Millan* might be holden by him, promiſing whatſoeuer happened, not to appropriate it to himſelfe. He required that the *Venetians* ſhould pay to the Archduke the reſidue of the two hundred thouſand duckats which were due to him by the capitulations of *Wormes*, which the *Venetian* Embaſſadours refuſed not, ſo farre forth as the Archduke would accompliſh the ſaid capitulations, and render ſuch places as he was bound to reſtore. He demanded of the *Venetians* that they ſhould giue to their exiles (according to couenant) an hundred thouſand duckats, or elſe aſſignation for fiue thouſand duckats of reuenue: That they ſhould pay that which they ought him for the confederation made with him, which he wiſhed might be renewed: That they ſhould render *Rauenna* to the Church, and wholly giue ouer all that they held in the Duchie of *Millan*. He required thirtie thouſand duckats of the *Florentines*, in recompence of the expences made, and the domages receiued by reaſon of their inobſeruancie. He conſented that the *French* King ſhould pay for him to the King of *England* the debt of foure hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats, and for the reſidue, amounting to two millions, he demanded hoſtages. He required the twelue Galleys of the *French* King to conuey his perſon into *Italy*, demanding neither horſemen nor footmen: and that aſſoone as the accord ſhould be reſolued, all the *French* regiments ſhould depart out of *Italy*; which the King refuſed, vnleſſe his children were firſt reſtored. And when it was hoped that he would mitigate theſe demands, for the loſſe of *Alexandria* and *Pauie*, he ſtood then more firme and reſolute, following his cuſtome, not to yeeld to difficulties: in ſo much as the Auditor of the Chamber being come out of *England* the fifteenth day of October to ſolicite the Popes deliuerie in the name of the King of *England*, he anſwered, that he had taken orden for that by the Generall; and that touching the accord, he would not either for loue or force alter the conditions he had propounded before. But indeed it was well diſcerned that

The ſacke of Pauie.

Demãds which the Emperour made to the Confederates if the accord went on.

the Emperour was not much inclined to peace, for that many things gaue him courage againſt the puiſſance of his enemies. For he was confident that he might make reſiſtance in *Italy* by the vertue of his armie, and the facilitie to defend the townes: that he could alwaies with ſmall difficultie cauſe new ſupplies of Lanceknights to paſſe: that the *French* King and the *Venetians* were drained of money with long expences: that their prouiſions (according to the cuſtome of Leagues) were defectiue and diminiſhed: and that he could draw out of *Spaine* ſufficient ſtore of money, ſeeing he bare out the warre with farre leſſe expences then did the Confederates, by meanes of the pillage and robbery of the ſouldiers. He hoped alſo by ſome meanes to diſunite the Confederates, and to make them negligent: and laſtly, he promiſed himſelfe much of his great felicitie, proued by the experience of many yeares, and which had bene ſhewed him from his infancie by many predictions.

But at this time *Monſieur Lautrech* ſolicited that the armies by ſea prepared to inuade either *Sicilia* or the Realme of *Naples*, ſhould aduance: of which, the fleete of the *Venetians* (whoſe prouiſions were not anſwerable to their obligations either by ſea or land) was at *Corfu*, and ſixteene galleys were to ioyne with *Andrew Dore*, who expected in the riuer of *Genes Ranſe de Cere*, appointed with footmen for y enterpriſe. Afterwards *Monſieur Lautrech* ſent backe into *France* foure hundred Lances and three thouſand footmen, and contracted with the *Venetians* (whom he counſelled to render *Rauenna* to the Colledge of Cardinals) and with the Duke of *Millan*, that to defend that which had bene conquered, they ſhould retaine their bands (with whom were *Ianus Fregoſa* and Count *Caiazze*) in a place well fortified at *Landriano*, which is a village within two miles of *Millan*: by reaſon of whoſe vicinitie, when the companies within *Millan* could not go abroad, it was ſuppoſed they might eaſily guard *Pauie*, *Monce*, *Biagraſſa*, *Marignan*, *Binaſquo*, *Vigeuena* and *Alexandria*. And when he had eſtabliſhed theſe things, he paſſed the riuer of *Po* the eighteenth day of October, ouer againſt the borough of Saint *Iohn*, with fifteene hundred *Swiſſers*, as many Lanceknights, and ſixe thouſand as wel *French* men as *Gaſcons*, with intention to attend there the coming of the Lanceknights, of whom till that day was arriued but a very ſmall number, and another regiment of footmen of the ſame nation, which the *French* king had newly ſent to leuie in place of the *Swiſſers*, who were almoſt all gone away: from which place he was driuen to ſend backe ouer *Po*, *Peter* of *Nauarre* with the *Gaſcon* and *Italian* footmen, to the ſuccours of *Biagraſſa*, before which towne, guarded by the Duke of *Millan*, *Anthonie de Leua* vnderſtanding that it was ill prouided, was gone to incampe the eight and twentieth day of October with foure thouſand footmen, and ſeuen peeces of artilleries; and hauing gotten it the ſecond day by accord, he prepared to paſſe into *Lomellina*, to the end to recouer *Vigeuena* and *Nouaro*: but being aduertiſed that *Peter* of *Nauarre* was come with greater forces, he returned to *Millan*, ſo that it was eaſie to *Peter* of *Nauarre* to get againe *Biagraſſa*, wherin *Francis Sforce* beſtowed better prouiſions. It was now manifeſtly diſcerned that *Monſieur Lautrech* deferred cunningly to depart: & although he alleaged that he was retained by tarrying for the Lanceknights, of whom one band being at laſt arriued vnder the charge of *Monſieur Vaudemont*, the reſidue were expected, and he complained euery where of the ſlender prouiſions of the *Venetians*; yet it was ſuppoſed that the cauſe hereof was, that money was not ſent out of *France*: but the trueſt and moſt ſtrong reaſon was, that the *French* King hoping in the peace, the negociation whereof was continued very earneſtly with the Emperour, had giuen him in charge, that diſſembling this matter, he ſhould proceed ſlowly: whereupon alſo it came to paſſe, that the King had not bene ready to pay his part of the *Almaines* which were leuied in place of the *Swiſſers*, nor thoſe that were appointed before to go with *Monſieur Vaudemont*. With theſe neceſſities or rather excuſes, *Monſieur Lautrech* ſoiourning at *Plaiſance*, and his companies being lodged betweene *Plaiſance* and *Parma*, the difficultie which before was had of the Duke of *Ferrara*, was now taken away, to whom *Monſieur Lautrech* (as ſoone as he entred *Italy*) had made great inſtance to enter into the League, which was a matter deſired on the one ſide by the Duke, for the alliance with the *French* King that was offered him, and wherefrom on the other ſide he was retained, for a diſtruſt he had of the forces of the *French*, and for doubt leſt the King for the recouery of his children, would at laſt accord with the Emperour: but fearing the threats of *Monſieur Lautrech*, he demanded that his affaires might be negociated at *Ferrara*, for that he would in his owne perſon manage a cauſe that imported him ſo much. Therefore the Embaſſadours of all the Confederates went to *Ferrara*, together with Cardinall

Cibo

Cibo in the name of the Cardinals that were aſſembled at *Parma*: and the Duke being moued in the end, for the aduancing of *Monſieur Lautrech*, after he had laboured to perſwade Captaine *George* and *Andrew de Burgo* (who being much honoured and entertained by him, were at *Ferrara*) and made knowne vnto them the neceſſitie that compelled him to compound, at laſt he accorded; but with conditions well ſhewing, either his induſtrie and knowledge how to negociate, and that it was not in vaine that he ſought to draw the action into his preſence, or the great deſire the others had to draw him into the confederation: whereinto he entred with obligation to pay monethly for the ſpace of ſixe moneths, ſix or ten thouſand crownes, according to the declaration of the *French* King, who reſolued afterwards vpon ſix thouſand, and that he ſhould be bound to deliuer to *Monſieur Lautrech* a companie of an hundred men at armes payed: and on the other ſide, the Confederates bound themſelues to the protection of him and his Eſtate: To deliuer to him *Cotignola* (which a litle before the *Venetians* had taken frō the *Spaniards*) in exchange for the ancient and almoſt deſolate Citie of *Adria*, which he inſtantly demanded: To render vnto him the Pallaces which before time he had poſſeſſed in *Venice* and *Florence*: To permit him to win from *Albert Pio* the Caſtle of *Nouy*, ſtanding vpon the confines of *Mantua*, which he then held beſieged: That they would pay the fruites of the Archbiſhopricke of *Millan* to his ſonne, who was Archbiſhop there, if the Imperials would not ſuffer him to receiue them. The Cardinall *Cibo* in the name of the Cardinals that promiſed the ratification of the Colledge, bound the Pope to renew the inueſtiture of *Ferrara*: To renounce the rights of *Modena*, in regard of the purchaſe of it made with *Maximilian*: To diſanull the obligations made for the Salts: To conſent to the protection which the Confederates tooke of him: To promiſe by Buls Apoſtolike to ſuffer as well him as his ſucceſſors to poſſeſſe all that they now enioyed: And that the Pope ſhould create his ſonne Cardinall, and beſtow vpon him the Biſhopricke of *Modena*, vacant by the death of the Cardinall *Rangon*: to which confederation was added, that *Reney* the daughter of King *Lewis* ſhould be giuen in mariage to *Hercules* his eldeſt ſonne, with the Duchie of *Chartres* for dowrie, and other honorable conditions. The Marquis of *Mantua* alſo at the inſtance of *Monſieur Lautrech* entred the league, although before he had put himſelfe into the pay of the Emperour. But at this time the armie of the Confederates was very weake, and lay many dayes without doing any thing; betweene *Fuglino*, *Montfalcon* and *Beuagna*: and the Duke of *Vrbin* who had aduertiſement of the guard that was ſet vpon his wife and children at *Venice*, being departed from the armie againſt the commiſſion of the Senate, to go in poſt to *Venice* to iuſtifie himſelfe, was aduertiſed by the way of their deliuerance, and that the Senate being well ſatisfied of him, deſired him not to paſſe further: by reaſon whereof he returned to the armie, whereīn the *Swiſſers* and the footbands of the Marquis were not payed: neither did the *Venetians* either there or in *Lombardie*, where they were bound to maintaine nine thouſand footmen, aduance the third part. Afterwards they retired to the territory of *Tody* & the confines thereabout: and the *Spaniards* vpon the end of Nouember were gone vp towards *Corneto* and *Toſcanello*, and the Lanceknights to *Rome*, to whom the Prince of *Orange* was returned from *Sienna*, where he had made but ſmall abode, for that he perceiued he could not reorder that gouernment at he thought he might. And it was not doubted, if the Emperours armie had aduanced, but the Duke of *Vrbin* and the Marquis of *Saluſſa* had retired with their forces neare the wals of *Florence*, although they often vaunted, that to ſtop them from entring into *Tuſcan*, they would plant a campe either within *Oruietta* and *Viterba*, or vpon the territorie of *Sienna* towards *Chiuſi* & *Sartiano*. But *Monſieur Lautrech* notwithſtanding the bands of Lanceknights were arriued, proceeding, for the expectation of the practiſe of the peace, as ſlowly as he was wont, ſtayed within *Parma*: of which Citie albeit the Caſtles were reduced into his power, and that he had drawne from thence and from *Plaiſance* and their territories abour fiftie thouſand duckats, it was beleeued that he had an intention not onely to keepe in his power *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, but alſo, to the end *Bologna* might depend vpon the authoritie of his King, to conuert the iuriſdiction of that Citie into the family of the *Peppolies*: which deuices ſorted to no effect, by reaſon of the Popes deliuery: whereunto albeit it ſeemed at the firſt, that the Emperour would not eaſily condeſcend (for ſince the newes of his taking, he had ſtayed more then a moneth to make any deliberation,) neuertheleſſe vnderſtanding that *Monſieur Lautrech* was paſſed into *Italy*, and how ready the King of *England* ſhewed himſelfe to the warre, he had ſent into *Italy* the Generall of the gray Friers & *Very de Miglian*, with commiſſion to

The Duke of Ferrara entrub into the league.

to the Viceroy to debate that matter. But the Viceroy being dead at *Caietta* when the Generall arriued, he was to transferre the negociation of that affaire to *Don Hugo de Moncada*, to whom the Emperours commiſſion did alſo extend, and whom the Viceroy had ſubſtituted in his place vntill the Emperour ſhould take ſome other order for the gouernment of the Realme: and when the Generall had communicated with *Don Hugo*, he went to *Rome* in the companie of *Miglian*, who was come out of *Spaine* with the like commiſſions. This buſineſſe contained two principall articles; the one, that the Pope ſhould ſatisfie the armie, to whom was owing a very great ſumme of money; and the other, that the Pope being deliuered, ſhould not adhere to his enemies: and herein he propounded very hard conditions, of hoſtages and townes for aſſurance. By reaſon of theſe difficulties the matter was long in debating, the which to make more eaſie, the Pope had often ſolicited *Monſieur Lautrech*, and continually did ſolicite him (although ſecretly) to aduance, aſſuring him that his intention was to promiſe nothing to the Imperials, but by force; and that in that caſe, being once out of priſon he would obſerue nothing, ſo ſoone as his perſon were once come into a place of ſuretie, which he ſought to bring to paſſe, in giuing to them the leaſt oportunitie he could: but in caſe he did accord, he beſought him that the compaſſion of his aduerſities and neceſſities might ſerue him for excuſe; which matter whileſt it was in ſolicitation, the hoſtages ſtole away ſecretly from *Rome* in the end of Nouember, not without the great indignation of the Lanceknights.

Long was the diſputation vpon this matter, thoſe alſo that were to determine it being not of one opinion. For *Don Hugo*, although he had ſent to *Rome Serenon* his Secretarie, together with others, yet what for his ill nature, and the litle loue he bare to the Pope, he had no great inclination thereunto: and the Generall quite contrary, for the deſire he had to be Cardinall. *Miglian* impugned it, as a matter moſt dangerous for the Emperour; and being not able to reſiſt, he went to *Naples*; of which impietie he bare the puniſhment, for that at the firſt beſieging of *Naples*, in skirmiſhing he was ſlaine with the ſhot of an harquebuze. The Pope alſo was not wanting to himſelfe, for he allured to his opinion, and wonne on his ſide *Ierom Moron*, whoſe counſels were of great authoritie with the Imperials in all their deliberations. The meanes was, that he conferred the Biſhopricke of *Modena* vpon his ſonne, and promiſed him certaine corne which he had at *Cornetta*, which was worth more then twelue thouſand duckats: and he made the Cardinall *Colonno* tractable thereunto with no leſſe induſtrie, promiſing him the legation of *la Marqua*, and giuing him to vnderſtand, at ſuch time as he came to viſite him in the Caſtle, that he would be beholding principally to him for ſo great a benefite: and artificially diſtilling into his eares that he could deſire no greater glorie and felicitie, then to make knowne to all the world that it was in his power to pull downe Popes, and in his hand, when they were deiected and brought to nothing, to cauſe them to returne to their former greatneſſe: with which inſinuations this Cardinall being moued, who by nature was very much puffed vp and haughtie, did readily helpe forward his deliuerance, beleeuing that it would be as eaſie for the Pope being deliuered to forget ſo many iniuries, as it had bene eaſie for him with prayers and teares humbly to commend vnto him his deliuerance. But the difficulties were ſomewhat eaſed by a new commiſſion from the Emperour, by the which he gaue expreſſe order, that the Pope ſhould be deliuered to his contentment as much as was poſſible, adding that it ſufficed him, that being at libertie, he would be no more for the Confederates then for him. But it was beleeued that the matter that wrought his deliuerie, aboue all other things, was a neceſſitie they had, for feare of the coming of *Monſieur Lautrech*, to leade their armie to the defence of the Realme of *Naples*: which was a matter impoſſible, vnleſſe they were firſt aſſured of the payes that were due to them, in recompence whereof they refuſed to admit ſo many pillages and great gaines they had made at the ſame time. This neceſſitie to prouide payes, was the cauſe alſo why there was made leſſe account to be aſſured of the Pope in time to come. At laſt, after long negociation, there was concluded in *Rome* the laſt day of October, a concluſion of accord with the Generall and *Serenon*, in the name of *Don Hugo*, who ratified it afterwards: That the Pope ſhould make no enterpriſe againſt the Emperour, as well in regard of the affaires of *Millan*, as thoſe of the kingdome of *Naples*: That he ſhould accord vnto him the Croyſado in *Spaine*, and a tenth of the reuenues Eccleſiaſtike through all thoſe Realmes: That for aſſurance of the obſeruation, *Oſtia* ſhould remaine in the hands of the Emperour,

Accord betweene the Pope and the Emperours Agents.

Emperour, and *Ciuitauecchia* which *Andrew Dore* had left to him before: That he should consigne vnto him *Ciuita Castellana*, which towne had refused to receiue the Imperials; *Mario Perusquo* Proctor of the fiske being entred within the Rocke by secret commission from the Pope, notwithstanding he made semblance of the contrary: That he should also deliuer vp to him the Rocke of *Furly*, and giue for hostages *Hippolito* and *Alexander* his nephewes, and vntill they were come from *Parma*, the Cardinals *Pisani*, *Triuulce* and *Gaddi*, whom they led to the realme of *Naples*: That he should presently pay to the Lanceknights threescore and seuen thousand duckats, and to the *Spaniards* fiue and thirtie thousand: That in so doing they should release him together with all the Cardinals, and they should go out of *Rome* and the Castle, accounting it libertie when they should be conueyed in safetie to *Oruietta*, *Spoleto*, or *Perousa*: That within fifteene dayes after their going out of *Rome* he should pay the like quantitie of money againe to the Lanceknights, and that he should pay the rest afterwards within three moneths to the *Spaniards* and Lanceknights, according to their portions, which residue together with the summes payed, amounted to more then three hundred & fiftie thousand duckats. Which things that the Pope might the better obserues & to the end to get his liberty, he had recourse to those remedies which he would not vse before to keepe him out of prison: in so much as he created for money certaine Cardinals, of whom the most part were vnworthy of so great honour; and for the rest he agreed for the tenths of the Realme of *Naples*, with power to alienate the goods of the Church: in so much as that which was dedicated to the seruice of God (so deepe and profound are his iudgements) was conuerted to the vse and entertainment of Heretickes, & that by the permission and consent of the Vicar of Christ. With which meanes hauing assured them of the payments at the times promised, he deliuered also in hostage for the suretie of the souldiers, the Cardinals *Gesti* and *Vrsin*, who were led by the Cardinall *Colonno* to *Grottaferrata*. All things being performed, and resolued that the tenth day of December the *Spaniards* should accompanie him into a place of suretie, he fearing some variation, either for the ill mind which he knew *Don Hugo* bare to him, or for any other accident that might happen, the night before he stole secretly out of the Castle in the closing of the euening, in the habite of a Merchant: and *Lewis de Gonsaga* who was in the pay of the Imperials, and taried for him in the medowes with a strong companie of harquebuziers, accompanied him to *Montfalcon*, where dismissing almost all his footmen, the same *Lewis* accompanied him euen to *Oruietta*, into which Citie he entred by night, without the companie of any of the Cardinals; an example certainly very considerable, and perhaps neuer happened since the Church was great, that a Pope should fall from so great a puissance and reuerence, to lose *Rome*, himselfe to be in captiuitie, and his whole estate reduced to the disposing of another, and within few moneths after, to be set at libertie, and all that had bin taken from him restored, to returne almost as sodainly to his former greatnes: so great is the authoritie of the Pope with Christiã Princes, & such the respect which all men beare to him. *The Pope goeth out of prison.*

At this time when *Monsieur Lautrech* was departed from *Plaisance*, *Anthonie de Leua* sent out of *Millan* the bands of *Spanish* and *Italian* footmen, to feed and refresh themselues, and also to recouer such places of the country as were most weak, to the end to open a way to bring victuals to *Millan*: and they tooke that part of the country which is called *Sepri*. He sent also *Philip Torniello* with twelue hundred footmen and certaine horsemen to *Nouaro*, in which Citie was a garrison of foure hundred footmen of the Duke of *Millan*. *Torniello* made his entrie by the Rocke, which had bene alwayes holden in the name of the Emperour, and finding a very slender defence, he made himselfe maister of the towne, and the footmen being stripped and sent home to their houses, he remained within *Nouaro* to ouerrunne the countrey thereabouts. But part of the Lanceknights were got into *Arona*, and others into *Mortara*, to whom the Duke hauing sent other footmen for the defence of *Lomellina* and the countrey adioyning, *Torniello* could not make his incursions farre off: so that doing no other exploits that Winter then many skirmishes, both parts made pillage as well of their friends as their enemies, to the vniuersall ruine of all the countrey. In like sort at that time were ioyned and reassembled at *Liuorne* the galleys of *Andrew Dore*, and foureteene *French* galleys, with the sixteene galleys of the *Venetians*: who after they had receiued in *Ranse de Cere* with three thousand footmen to put on land, they departed the thirteenth day of Nouember from the port of *Liuorne*: and albeit it was determined before, that they should inuade the Ile of *Sicile*, yet changing counsell, they turned to the enterprise of *Sardignia*, at the perswasion (as was supposed) of *Andrew Dore*, who haply had in his mind other con-

conception. *Monſieur Lautrech* conſented to this enterpriſe, hoping that *Sardignia* being taken, the conqueſt of *Sicile* would be of leſſe difficultie. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, the galleys being horribly toſſed with a very violent ſtorme, were ſeparated, and went floating vpon the ſea. One of the *French* galleys periſhed neare the ſhores of *Sardignia*, & foure of the *Venetians* being ſore weather beaten, returned to *Liuorne*. The other *French* galleys were driuen into *Corſica* by the rage of the winds, where afterwards foure *Venetian* galleys ioyned with them in *Portouecchio*: and the other eight of the *Venetians* were tranſported to *Liuorne*. Finally the enterpriſe was to no purpoſe. *Andrew Doria* and *Ranſe de Cere* remaining at great diſcord together. But *Monſieur Lautrech*, who whileſt he was in *Reggio*, being aduertiſed of the Popes deliuerie, leauing the Caſtle of *Parma* to the officers of the Church, he went to *Bolognia*, and ſtayed there, expecting the comming of the bands of the Lanceknights, who within a few dayes after arriued in the country of *Bolognia*, not fiue thouſand in number, as was appointed, but onely three thouſand. And neuertheleſſe after they were arriued, *Monſieur Lautrech* ſoiourned twentie dayes within *Bolognia*, attending the Kings aduertiſement for the laſt reſolution touching the negociation of the peace: and vſing in the meane while great diligence (wherein was alſo interpoſed the authoritie of the King of *England*) to induce the Pope to adhere to the Confederates: at whoſe firſt coming to *Quietta*, the Duke of *Vrbin*, the Marquis of *Saluſſa*, *Federike de Boſſolo*, who died a litle after at *Telo*, and *Lemio Piſano* the *Venetian* Commiſſarie, coming thither to congratulate him, he inſtantly intreated them to retire their companies from off the lands of the Church, aſſuring them that the Imperials had promiſed him to depart thence, if the Confederates would do the like. He wrote alſo a letter to *Monſieur Lautrech*, wherein he gaue him thankes for that which he had done for his deliuerance, and in that he had counſelled him to free himſelfe in any ſort whatſoeuer: and he expreſſed in the ſaid letter, that his actions had bene of ſo great conſequence to conſtraine the Imperials to reſolue vpon his deliuerie, that he acknowledged himſelfe no leſſe bound to the King and to him for it, then if he had bene freed by the force of their armies: the proceedings whereof he would willingly haue attended, had not his neceſſitie compelled him, for that the conditions that were propounded were alwayes changed from ill to worſe, and for that he perceiued plainly that he could not obtaine his deliuerie by any other meanes then by accord: the which by how much the more it was deferred, by ſo much the more was the authoritie and eſtate of the Church troden vnder foote: but the chiefeſt matter that had induced him, was the hope that he might be a fit inſtrument to ſolicite with his King and the other Chriſtian Princes the common good. Such were at the firſt his ſpeeches, plaine and ſimple, as well became the office of a Biſhop, but eſpecially a Pope, who had receiued at the hands of God ſo ſeuere and ſharpe admonitions. Neuertheleſſe retaining his accuſtomed nature, and hauing not left for his impriſonment, either his ſubtilties or his couetouſneſſe, when the Agents which *Monſieur Lautrech* ſent, together with *Gregorie Caſale* Embaſſador of the King of *England*, were come vnto him to intreate him to confederate with the reſidue (which was in the beginning of the yeare 1528,) he began to giue them diuers anſwers, ſometimes giuing them hope, and ſometimes excuſing himſelfe, that hauing neither men, money, nor authoritie, it would do them ſmall pleaſure to haue him ioyne with them, and yet might be very preiudiciall to himſelf, for that he ſhould giue cauſe to the Imperials to offend him in many places: and ſometimes making ſhew that he would ſatisfie their demands, if *Monſieur Lautrech* would aduance; a matter that was deſired greatly, to the end the Lanceknights might be compelled to depart out of *Rome*, who conſuming the remainder of that miſerable Citie, and of all the countrey confining, and yeelding no obedience to their Captaines, and raiſing tumults oftentimes among themſelues, would not depart thence, but demanded new payes.

8. But from the end of the yeare precedent, and much more in the beginning of this yeare, the ſolicitations of peace began manifeſtly to appeare vaine, by reaſon whereof the minds of Princes and States began to be much more incenſed. For all the difficulties being in a maner reſolued, ſeeing the Emperour refuſed not to render to *Francis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*, and to compound with the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and the other Confederates, there reſted onely in queſtion, which of theſe two things ſhould be firſt put in execution, either the withdrawing of the *French* kings armie out of *Italy*, or the reſtitution of his children: the King would not be bound to reuoke his armie out of *Italy*, if he recouered not his childrē firſt, offering to put hoſtages into the hands of the King of *England*, to aſſure the obſeruation of the penalties where-

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in he was bound, if when he ſhould haue receiued his children, he did not preſently retire his armie. The Emperour made inſtance to the contrary, offering the ſame cautions into the King of *Englands* hands: and diſputing among themſelues which of them ought moſt firſt to truſt the other, the Emperour ſaid, he could not truſt him that had once deceiued him: whereunto the *French* Embaſſadours anſwered, that by how much more he pretended to be deceiued by their King, by ſo much ẏ leſſe could their King repoſe confidence in him: and that the Empetors offer to conſigne into the hands of the King of *England* the ſame aſſurances which their King offered, was no equall offer: for that the caſe alſo was not alike, ſeeing that which the Emperour promiſed to do, was of farre greater conſequence then that which the King promiſed, and therefore the ſame cautions aſſured him not: and at the laſt they added, that the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours, who had authoritie fron their King to bind him to obſerue whatſoeuer the *French* king ſhould promiſe, had no commiſſion to tie him to obſerue that which the Emperour promiſed: and that their faculties being limited, and reſtrained to time, they could neither exceed nor attend: vpon which diſputation there was found no reſolution. For the Emperour had not the ſame inclination to peace which his Counſell had, by reaſon of the opinion he had, that though he ſhould loſe the kingdome of *Naples*, yet he could recouer it by rendring the children of *France*: and it was much imputed to the great Chancellor, who long before was returned into *Spaine*, that he had troubled the practiſes of peace with cauillations and ſophiſticall interpretations. At length the Embaſſadors of *England* and *France* determined (following their commiſſions in caſe they deſpaired of the accord) to demand leaue of the Emperour to depart, and then immediatly to cauſe warre to be denounced againſt him: with which concluſion preſenting themſelues the xxj. day of Ianuarie before the Emperour, his Court being then at *Burgos*, and being followed by the Embaſſadours of *Venice*, of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Florentines*, the *Engliſh* Embaſſadours demanded of him the foure hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats which their King had lent him, and ſixe hundred thouſand for the penaltie he had incurred becauſe he had refuſed his daughter, together with fiue hundred thouſand, for the penſions of the *French* king and other cauſes. Which demands being propounded for the greater iuſtification, all the Embaſſadours of the Confederates asked leaue to depart: to whom he ſaid, he would ſpeake with his Counſell to conſider of an anſwer, but withall it was neceſſary before their departure, that his Embaſſadours were in places of ſuretie. Now when the Embaſſadours were departed from his preſence, the Heralds of *England* and *France* entred preſently to denounce warre againſt him, which he willingly accepting, gaue direction that the Embaſſadours of *France*, *Venice* and *Florence* ſhould be conueyed to a towne fifteene leagues from the Court, where a guard of archers and halberdiers being ſet ouer them, they were forbidden to communicate or write any thing whatſoeuer: and touching the Duke of *Millans* Embaſſadour, he impoſed vpon him a commandement, as vpon his ſubiect, not to depart from his Court: but on the behalfe of the Embaſſadour of *England*, there was nothing innouated.

War denounced againſt the Emperour by the kings of England and France.

Thus all treatie of peace being broken off, the fire kindled, & men thought now of nothing elſe but war, which was prepared and acted all in *Italy*; where *Monſieur Lautrech* incited by his King, but much more by the King of *England*, ſince the hope of peace began to diminiſh, was departed from *Bologna* the ninth day of Ianuarie, to go to the Realme of *Naples* by the way of *Romagna* and the *Marque*: which way, after long conſultation, was choſen by him, contrary to the inſtance of the Pope, who deſired by the occaſion of his marching, to reſtore into *Sienna*, *Fabio Petrucci* and the *Monte Nouoes*: and alſo againſt the inſtance of the *Florentines*, who deſired him to take that way, to the end his armie might be more readie to ſuccour them in caſe the Imperials, to diuert him, came to inuade *Tuſcan*. But *Monſieur Lautrech* choſe rather to make his entrie into the Realme of *Naples* by the way of *Tronto*, becauſe that way was more commodious to leade the artilleries, and yeelded more plentie of victuals: and to the end alſo not to giue occaſion to the enemies to make head at *Sienna*, or in any other place, deſiring to enter the Realme of *Naples* before he ſhould meete with any impediment. Now when he was departed from *Bologna*, *Iohn Saſſatello* rendred to the Pope the Rocke of *Imola*, whereof he had made himſelfe Lord in the time of his impriſonment: and afterwards drawing neare to *Rimini*, *Sigiſmund Malateſta* ſonne to *Pandolfe*, contracted with him to giue vp that Citie to the Pope, vpon condition that he ſhould be bound to ſuffer his mother to enioy her dowrie, to giue his ſiſter which was not maried ſixe thouſand duckats, and to aſſigne for his father and for him two thouſand duckats of reuenue:

That *Sigiſmund* ſhould depart immediatly out of *Rimini*, and his father to remaine there vntill the Pope had ſent the ratification: and that in the meane while the Rocke ſhould abide in the hands of *Guido Rangon* his couſin, who being in the pay of the *French* king, followed *Monſieur Lautrech* in the warre. But the Pope deferring to accompliſh theſe promiſes, *Sigiſmund* occupied againe the Rocke, though not without great complaint of the Pope againſt *Guido Rangon*, as though he had ſecretly ſuffered him, and not without ſuſpition alſo that *Monſieur Lautrech* and the *Venetians* had conſented thereto, as if they had deſired to keepe him in continuall difficulties; the *Venetians*, becauſe of *Rauenna*, the which when the Pope as ſoone as he was deliuered out of the Caſtle, had ſent to demand of the Senate by the Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, he was anſwered with generall words, referring the matter to the arbitration of *Iaſper Contarin* Embaſſadour elect reſident with him. For notwithſtanding they had before aſſured that they retained it for the Sea Apoſtolike, yet they had no deſire to reſtore it, being moued as well by publike as priuate intereſts, becauſe that Citie was very conuenient to augment their iuriſdiction in *Romagnia*, fertill of it ſelfe in graine, and which for the fertilitie of the countries adioyning, gaue opportunitie to draw to *Venice* euery yeare good quantities of corne: many of the Citie of *Venice* hauing alſo in that territorie great poſſeſſions. Touching *Monſieur Lautrech*, the Pope ſtood in doubt of him, for that *Monſieur Lautrech* beſides many inſtances which he had made vnto him before, had ſent vnto him after he was come from *Bologna*, *Monſieur Vaudemont* Captaine generall of all the Lanceknights, together with *Monſieur Longueuille*, whom the King ſent to ſolicite him earneſtly to declare againſt the Emperour: the which though he might ſafely haue done, by reaſon of the armie which approched; yet he could not obtaine it of him, the Pope not refuſing expreſly, but deferring and excuſing himſelfe: for which cauſe he offered to the *French* King to giue his conſent, but vnder this condition, that the *Venetians* ſhould render to him *Rauenna*; which condition he knew could not take effect, for that it behoued not the *Venetians* to be induced thereto by the Kings perſwaſions, and the time not ſuffering that the King ſhould make them his enemies to ſatisfie the Pope. Hereunto was added, that he gaue no eare to the inſtance which *Monſieur Lautrech* made vnto him to ratifie the accord made with the Duke of *Ferrara*; for he alleaged, that it was a matter very vnworthy, for him to approue in his life time, conditions made in his name whileſt he was dead; but he would not refuſe to contract with him. By reaſon whereof the Duke of *Ferrara* taking this occaſion, made difficultie (notwithſtanding the King and the *Venetians* had receiued him into their protection) to ſend to *Monſieur Lautrech* the hundred men at armes and the money which he had promiſed: as he who doubting the iſſue of affaires, endeuored not to adhere ſo much to the *French* king, as to leaue himſelf meanes to appeaſe in all euents the mind of the Emperour, to whom he had excuſed himſelfe by his neceſſitie: and he entertained continually at *Ferrara*, *George Fronſpergh* and *Andrew de Burgo*. Yet for all this the armie ceaſſed not to aduance, which vnder the leading of *Monſieur Lautrech* arriued the tenth day of Februarie vpon the riuer of *Tronto*, which ſeparateth the Eſtate Eccleſiaſtike from the kingdome of *Naples*.

But in *France* when the King had aduertiſement of the retaining of his Embaſſadour, he cauſed the Emperours Embaſſadour to be reſtrained within the Caſtle of *Paris*, and commanded that all the Merchants ſubiect to the Emperour ſhould be ſtayed through the whole Realme of *France*. The King of *England* did the like by the Emperours Embaſſadour reſident with him, whom notwithſtanding he redeliuered, when he vnderſtood that his had not bin retained. And the warre being now publiſhed in *France*, *England* and *Spaine*, the *French* king vrged, that the warre might be made in *Flanders*: to giue beginning whereunto, he ſent certaine bands of ſouldiers to make incurſions in that countrey. The *Flemings* ſtirred not for all that, but onely to defend themſelues; for that the Ladie *Margaret* of *Auſtria* labouring to auoide all occaſions to enter warre with the *French* king, would not ſuffer her people to iſſue out of their countrey. But it was a matter very aduerſe to the King of *England* to haue warre with the people of *Flanders*; for that notwithſtanding there were to be conſigned to him as ſoone as they ſhould be conquered, certaine townes promiſed before by the Emperour for aſſurance of the money he had lent him, yet he held it a matter no leſſe preiudiciall, as well for his particular reuenues, as for his Realme, to breake the commerce of his Merchants in that Prouince. Notwithſtanding for that by reaſon of the contract made, he could not openly refuſe it, he deferred it as much as he could, alleaging that according to the capitulations of the obligation, it was lawfull for him to ſtay

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fortie dayes after the ſummons made, to the end to giue time to the Merchants to retire themſelues: which deſire and cauſe being well knowne to the *French* king, he ſolicited him to inuade the ſea coaſts of *Spaine* with an armie by ſea, in ſtead of the warre of *Flanders*, aſſuring him that he had intelligences in thoſe quarters. Whereupon it happened in the end, that the King of *England* hauing ſent to the *French* king the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to perſwade him to giue ouer the enterpriſe of beyond the Mounts, and to increaſe and make ſtrong the warre of *Italy*; by his counſell and perſwaſions there was an order taken, that for the ſpace of eight moneths next enſuing, there ſhould be done no vexation by the *French* and *Engliſh* vpon the countries of *Flanders*, nor any of the Eſtates confining that were ſubiect to the Emperour. And to the end the *French* king might the more eaſily condeſcend to this couenant, the king of *England* bound himſelfe to pay thirtie thouſand duckats monethly for the warre of *Italy*; for the which the contribution promiſed before for ſixe moneths, was determined.

But by how much the preparations of the warre were continually augmented, by ſo much the more were kindled the hatreds betweene the Princes, each of them taking all occaſions to wrong one another, and to contend no leſſe with ſpite and malice, then with armes. For the Emperour about two yeares before, hauing ſpoken in the towne of *Grenado*, when in like ſort the peace was ſolicited betweene the *French* king and him, to the Preſident of *Grenoble* the *French* Embaſſadour, certaine words which inferred that he would willingly put an end to all quarrels betweene the King and him by ſingle combat of both their perſons, to the end that Chriſtian people and innocent perſons ſhould not ſuffer ſo much; and ſince that time hauing alſo replied to the Herald the laſt time he ſignified the warre to him, the ſame words, adding further; that the *French* king had dealt with him villanouſly and cowardly in falſifying the faith he had giuen to him: the King when he heard theſe ſpeeches, and ſuppoſing he could not paſſe them ouer in ſilence without ignominie, although the challenge might haply better beſeeme Knights then ſuch Princes as they were; the ſeuen and twentieth day of March he cauſed to be aſſembled in a great hall of his Pallace at *Paris*, all his Princes, all the Embaſſadours, and all the Court, whither he himſelfe coming afterwards with very great pompe of ſumptuous attire, and braue companie, being ſet in his royall ſeate, he called for the Emperours Embaſſadour who ſued for his diſpatch, for that it was determined that being conueyed to *Bayon*, he ſhould be deliuered at the ſame time that the Embaſſadours of the Confederates were ſet at libertie; who for that purpoſe were brought to *Bayon*. The Embaſſadour being come, the King ſpake to him, excuſing himſelfe in that the Emperour had bin principally the cauſe of his reſtraining, for that he had by a new and inhumane example kept retained his Embaſſadour and the Agents of his Confederates: but ſeeing he was now to go to *Bayon*, to the end they might all be deliuered at one time, he deſired him to carry from him a letter to the Emperour, and to deliuer a meſſage from him, of this tenour: That whereas the Emperour had told his Herald that he had falſified his faith, he had ſaid an vntruth, and that as often as he had ſpoken it, ſo many times he had lied; and that in ſtead of anſwer, to the end not to deferre the triall of their quarrels, that he ſhould aſſigne him the place where they might together performe the combat. And the Embaſſadour refuſing to carry the letter, and to deliuer the meſſage, the King ſaid he would ſend to ſignifie no leſſe to him by an Herald: and that albeit he was not ignorant that he had ſpoken words againſt the honour of his brother the King of *England*, yet he would ſay nothing of that; for that he knew the King was well able to defend himſelfe: but if through the indiſpoſition of his bodie he had any lawfull impediment, he offered to put his perſon in hazard for him. Not many dayes after the King of *England* gaue the ſame defiance, with the ſame ſolemnities and ceremonies. But this was a matter not much for the honour of the Princes of Chriſtendome, that hauing among them a warre of ſo great importance, and ſo preiudiciall to all the common wealth of Chriſtendome, they ſhould alſo trouble their minds with ſuch thoughts. And yet in this great heate and furie of warre, the order of our ſtorie draweth into diſcourſe ſome report of the King of *England* touching the refuſing of the Ladie *Katherine* of *Aragon*.

The lie giuen by the French king to the Emperour.

The ſaid King had to wife the ſaid Ladie *Katherine* daughter to *Ferdinand* and *Elizabeth* Kings of *Spaine*; a Queene certainly worthy of ſuch parents, and for her vertues and prudence was much beloued and reuerenced of the whole eſtate of the Realme: and in the time of the father of that King, had bin firſt maried to *Arthur* his eldeſt ſonne, but being almoſt no ſooner maried then ſhe became a widow, ſhe was eſtſoones by the conſent of her father and father in law,

For what occaſion the king of England refuſeth his wife the Lady Katherine of Aragon.

law, maried to *Henrie* the yonger brother, but with diſpenſation of Pope *Iulio*, in regard of the affinitie that was neare and ſtrait: of which mariage was procreated a ſonne, who died immediatly, and afterwards there ſucceeded no other generation of children then a daughter: the ſame giuing occaſion to many of the Court to murmure, that for the vnlawfulneſſe of the mariage, being not diſpenſable in the firſt degree, they were miraculouſly depriued of iſſue male. This occaſion was aptly taken and managed by the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who knowing the Kings deſire to haue ſonnes, began to perſwade him, that refuſing his firſt wife, who iuſtly was not his wife, he ſhould marry another: whereunto he was not induced by conſcience, or of a ſimple deſire that the King might haue iſſue male, but by an opinion that he could induce the King to take *Reney* the daughter of king *Lewis*, a matter which he extremely deſired, for that knowing he was generally hated of all the Realme, he ſought to prepare remedies againſt all accidents that might happen, both during the life and after the death of the king. And he was hereunto induced alſo by the great hatred he had conceiued againſt the Emperour, for that he ſatisfied not his incredible pride either in demonſtration or with effects: and he doubted not for the great authoritie the king and he had with the Pope, to diſpoſe him to publiſh a iudiciall diuorce. The king hearkned to this counſell, not regarding that end which the Cardinall of *Yorke* had propounded to himſelf; but being moued (as many haue reported) not ſo much by the deſire to haue a ſon, as for the loue which he bare to a Ladie of the Queenes traine, whom he determined to take to wife, his purpoſe being not knowne either to the Cardinall of *Yorke* or to any other: the which when it began to be diſcouered or coniectured, the Cardinall of *Yorke* had no meanes to diſſwade him frō the diuorce: neither ſtood it with his authoritie to counſel him contrary to that which he had perſwaded him before. And now the king hauing demanded the opinions of Diuines, Lawyers, and men religious, many anſwered him that his mariage was not lawfull, either for that they beleeued ſo, or elſe (according to the cuſtome of men) to gratifie their Prince. Therefore when the Pope was deliuered out of priſon, he ſent Embaſſadors vnto him to perſwade him to enter the League, and to labor, according to his direction, the reſtitution of *Rauenna*, but chiefly to the end to obtaine facultie to proceed in the diuorce; which he ſought not by way of diſpenſation, but by declaration, that the mariage with *Katherine* was of none effect: and the king perſwaded himſelfe that the Pope, for that he was weake in force and reputation, and hauing no ſtay of the puiſſance of other Princes, and moued alſo with the late benefite of the great fauour receiued of him for his deliuerie, he would eaſily conſent, knowing withall, that the Cardinall of *Yorke*, who had alwayes fauoured his affaires, and afore him the doings of Pope *Leo*, was very gracious with him. And to the end the Pope might not alleage excuſes of feare for any offence he might giue the Emperour, being the ſon of the ſiſter of *Katherine*; and to draw him on with that gift, he offered to wage for his ſafetie a guard of foure thouſand footmen. The Pope hearkned vnto this propoſitiō, and though he conſidered the importance of the matter, and the great infamie that might redound to him thereby, yet being at *Oruietta*, and in the condition of a Newter betweene the *French* king and the Emperour, and of litle confidence with either of them, and in that regard eſteeming much to preſerue the amitie of the king of *England*, he had not the courage to gainſay this demand: but making ſhew that he deſired to ſatisfie the king, and yet holding things in ſuſpence, for the difficultie that he made of the meanes that were propounded, he kindled ſo much the more the hope and importunitie of the King and his Agents: which wel-ſpring of many aduerſities, tooke augmentation and increaſing dayly. But when the Pope had heard *Monſieur Vaudemont* and *Monſieur Longueuille*, and anſwered them with generall words, he ſent to the King together with *Monſieur Longueuille*, the Biſhop of *Piſtoya*, to ſignifie vnto him, that foraſmuch as he was without money, force and authoritie, his declaration would profit the Confederates nothing: That he might onely helpe to ſolicite a peace, and that to this end he had giuen commiſſion to the Biſhop to go to the Emperour to exhort him thereto with ſharpe words and rigorous; a matter which the King, although he was not much diſcontented for the neutralitie, yet doubting leſt he ſent to negociate ſome further matter, would not conſent vnto: neither did the Emperor complaine of the Pope if he remained Newter.

Lautrech entreth into the realme of Naples: Andrew Dore retireth from Genes.

But now it was determined, that at ſuch time as *Monſieur Lautrech* marched on, the armies by ſea ſhould do the like; but many difficulties gaue impediment thereto. For the twelue galleys of the *Venetians*, which before were retired to *Liuorne*, hauing ſuffered much in the exploit

of

of *Sardigna*, both by the rage of the sea, and for want of victuals, they departed the tenth day of Februarie from *Liuorne* to go to *Corfo*, to be repaired and renewed: neuertheleſſe the *Venetians* promiſed to ſend twelue other galleys in their place to ioyne with the *French* armie by ſea; which alſo had their difficulties, as well for the perplexities they had paſſed, as for the controuerſies happening betweene *Andrew Dore* and *Ranſe de Cere*: for the which, albeit *Ranſe* remained ſicke at *Piſa*; yet it was ſet downe that *Andrew Dore*, who with all the galleys was come to the ſhores of *Liuorne*, ſhould with his fleet of galleys ſet his courſe for the Realme of *Naples*: and *Ranſe* with the other *French* galleys and the foure of Frier *Bernardine*, together with the ſquare of the *Venetians*, which were all aſſembled together, ſhould aſſaile *Sicile*. But *Andrew Dore* with his eight galleys, and eight other of the *French* kings, retired to *Genes*, ſaying it was neceſſarie both for himſelfe and his galleys to take ſome reſt, either for that ſuch was the true cauſe thereof, or for that the intereſts of the affaires of *Genes* inclined his mind to new enterpriſes. For, the *Genowayes* hauing demanded of the King that he would ſuffer them to be gouerned abſolutely by themſelues, offering him for that gift of libertie two hundred thouſand duckats, and the King refuſing it; it was beleeued that it was not pleaſing to *Andrew Dore*, who was either the author, or at leaſt the ſoliciter of theſe demands, that the King ſhould conquer *Sicile*, if he would not conſent to the libertie of the *Genowayes*: and there was alſo publiſhed another cauſe of controuerſie, which was of importance. For the King hauing diſmembred the Citie of *Sauona* from the *Genowayes*, it was doubted leſt the moſt part of commerce and traffike of merchandizes being transferred in ſhort time to *Sauona*, in fauour of the King; and for the oportunitie of the ſituation, the kings nauie retiring thither, and ſhips built there for his ſeruice, the Citie of *Genes* would be depriued of her abundance of inhabitants and plentie of riches: and therefore *Andrew Dore* vſed all his endeuour to induce the king to reſtore *Sauona* to the ancient ſubiection of the *Genowayes*. But farre better ſucceſſe followed the enterpriſes of *Monſieur Lautrech*, then the expeditions at ſea; for when he was arriued at *Aſcoly*, he ſent *Peter* of *Nauarre* with his footbands to *Aquila*, *Teramo* and *Iulianoua* being rendred to him at the firſt braite of his comming. The Marquis of *Saluſſa* followed him with his regiments by the way of *Leonеſſa*: and laſt of all ſucceeded *Horacio Baillon* with an hundred and fiftie light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen of the black bands of the *Florentines*. The *Venetians* had alſo promiſed to ſend vnto him without the perſon of the Duke of *Vrbin*, foure hundred light horſemen and foure thouſand footmen, of thoſe bands which they had in the territorie of the Church: and in ſupply of the others which they were bound to adminiſter to the warres of *Naples*, they had accorded to pay three and twentie thouſand duckats for euery moneth: and they aſſured that in regard of the nauie at ſea, they would aduance ſixe and thirtie veſſels, to giue aide to the enterpriſe of *Sicile*. Neuertheleſſe it appeared manifeſtly that they were wearie, for that they proceeded very ſlowly in the expences, the *French* king alſo doing the like: ſeeing that at the ſame time newes came to *Monſieur Lautrech* that the aſſignation for an hundred and thirtie thouſand crownes a moneth for the charges of the warre, which the king had made to him at his departure out of *France* (of which there was yet about two hundred thouſand to receiue) was reduced onely to threeſcore thouſand crownes the moneth, and that but for three moneths to come; which brought him into great deſpaire, complaining that the king was moued neither with reaſon, nor his faith, nor the memorie and example of his owne domage: for he ſaid, that foraſmuch as the king had conuerted to the enterpriſe of *Fontarabi* his treaſures and forces which ought to haue ſerued him for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, it had bin the cauſe to make him loſe that Eſtate. The enterpriſe of *Aquila* ſucceeded happily, for that *Peter* of *Nauarre* being approched neare vnto it, the Prince of *Melfe* went out of it, and there entred for the *French* king the Biſhop of the towne, ſonne of the Count *Montoire*. In like ſort the Lanceknights of the *Venetians* tooke by compoſition *Ciuitella*, which was a ſmall but ſtrong towne, ſituate ſeuen miles beyond *Tronto*: which happened by the preuention of two hundred *Spaniſh* harquebuziers who were ſent for the defence of it. All *Abruzza* followed the example of *Aquila*, and the whole reſidue of the Realme of *Naples* had ſoone done the like, had not the Imperiall armie iſſued out of *Rome*; which armie after many difficulties and tumults ariſing, for that the ſouldiers would be payed for the time that had paſſed ſince the deliuery of the Pope, departed from *Rome* the ſeuenteenth day of Februarie; a day which had bene moſt ioyfull and of ſpeciall reſpiration to the long miſeries of the people of *Rome*, if preſently after their departure the Abbot of *Farfa* and others

Peter of Nauarre taketh Aquila.

The Imperiall armie iſſueth out of Rome.

of the *Vrsins* had not entred with the paisants of their dominions, who did very great domages there for many dayes together. *Rome* was spoyled by the armie not onely of a great part of her inhabitants, with the desolation and ruine of many houses, but also depriued of statues, pillars, excellent stones, and of many ornaments of antiquitie: and yet the Lanceknights refusing to depart without money for two payes, (for the *Spaniards* consented to be gone without any more money,) the Pope, who desired to cleare the towne of such people, was constrained to giue them twentie thousand duckats, which he payed vnder colour to deliuer the two Cardinals that were hostages: and afterwards they receiued twentie thousand more in the name of the people of *Rome*, doubting that this pay was also made by the Pope, but vnder that name, to the end to giue the lesse occasion of complaint to *Monsieur Lautrech*, who notwithstanding complained much, that the Pope with that money had bene the cause that the Imperiall armie went out of *Rome*, by reason whereof the victorie, which before was manifest and certaine, was now reduced to the doubtfull euents of warre. There issued out of *Rome* (as the report went) fifteene hundred horse, foure thousand *Spanish* footmen, two or three thousand *Italians*, & fiue thousand Lanceknights: so much had the plague diminished their number.

The remouing of the Imperiall armie out of *Rome* constrained *Monsieur Lautrech*, who otherwise had gone to *Naples* by the neerest way, to fetch a circuite more long by *Pomilla*, along the sea coast, for the difficultie to draw the artilleries if in those mountainous places he should haue found any impediment of enemies, and much more to make prouision of victuals, to the end he might not want if haply he were driuen to stay the course of the victorie before the walls of *Naples*. Therefore he went to *Ciuita di Chieta* the capitall towne of the hithermost *Abruzza*, (for the riuer of *Pescaire* makes separation of the hithermost *Abruzza* from the furthermost) where *Sermona* with many other townes of the country rendred vnto him, & in that inclination, either for the affection they bare to the *French* name, or for hatred to the *Spaniards*, there was almost no towne which sent not out at least fiue and twentie or thirtie miles before, to yeeld themselues. And yet, because he would passe with the greater suretie and stabilitie, he aduanced not with such diligence as he might haue done: and it was beleeued, to the end to gather in safetie, during the moneth of March, the reuenue of the tribute of *Pomilla* amounting to foure-scare thousand duckats, which was leuied in fiue townes, that he would send thither *Peter* of *Nauarre* with his regiments, for whose frowardnesse (which *Monsieur Lautrech* was compelled to endure) there was litle good order in the armie. But being departed from *Guast*, and vnderstanding that part of the enemies armie, to whom the Prince of *Melfe* was ioyned with a thousand of those Lanceknights which the Viceroy *Don Charles* had brought out of *Spaine*, and two thousand *Italian* footmen come out of *Aquila*, was arriued at *Nocera*, which is 40. miles frō *Termini*, drawing towards the sea; and another part at *Campo Basso*, which is thirtie miles from *Termini*, vpon the ordinary way to *Naples*; when he had sent *Peter* of *Nauarre* before with his regiments of footmen, he went the last day of Februarie to *Serrata*, which is twelue miles from *Termini*, from whence the fourth day of March he arriued at Saint *Seuero*. But *Peter* of *Nauarre* passing further, entred one day into *Nocera*, and the other into *Foggia*, making his entrie at one gate when the *Spaniards* who were retired to *Troya*, *Barletta* and *Manfredonia*, would haue entred by the other: and this conquest serued greatly for the reuictualling of the armie.

The contents of Monsieur Lautreches armie.

There was in all with *Monsieur Lautrech* foure hundred lances, and twelue thousand footmen, which were men not very well trained for the warre: but there were to ioyne with him, the Marquis of *Saluſſa* who marched before all the residue, the regiments of the *Venetians*, and the black bands of the *Florentines*, whom *Monsieur Lautrech* desired much: for that hauing the name to be a band of footmen as apt and resolute for assaults as any infanterie that then was in *Italy*, they serued as spurres and prouocations to his armie, wherein were men strong and able for the fight. But when he vnderstood by the report of *Peter* of *Nauarre*, whom he had sent to view the situation, ỳ there were within *Troya* and the confines thereof fiue thousand *Almaines*, fiue thousand *Spaniards*, and fifteene hundred *Italians*; and when for the bitternesse of the cold, it was not possible to keep the field, *Monsieur Lautrech* went the eight day of March to *Nocera* with all the footmen and light horsmen, and the Marquis of *Saluſſa* being newly arriued, put into *Foggia* with the men at armes and a thousand footmen: and *Monsieur Lautrech* gaue out, that he would giue battell if occasion were offered, as well for other reasons, as for that the assignations which the King had giuen to him, being diminished, he could not long sustaine the expences of the

warre:

warre: and he left within Saint *Seuero* with a ſlender guard all the Embaſſadours and other people that were not apt for the warre; for ſo he ſeemed to be there in ſuretie, without any neceſſitie to giue battell, vnleſſe with aduantage, neither had he want of victuals, though he lacked grinding. Afterwards he iſſued out the twelfth day of March, and tooke the field three miles beyond *Nocera*, and within fiue miles of *Troya*: for *Nocera* and *Barletta* which are diſtant one from another twelue miles, are not paſt eight miles from *Troya*. Touching the Imperials, who had aſſembled together almoſt all the companies that were within *Manfredonia* and *Barletta*, and had plentie of victuals within *Troya*, they iſſued out to skirmiſh, though all the bands of footmen except the Lanceknights were not payed; and the day following, they tooke the field without artilleries, in a ſtrong place vpon the hill of *Troya*: but *Monſieur Lautrech* the fourteenth day enuironed y hill on the vpper part that looketh toward the South drawing towards the mountaine; and turning his face to *Troya*, he began to aſcend, and when he had wonne the hill in a hote skirmiſh, he incamped in a place that commanded them, and compelled them with his artilleries to retire ſome into *Troya*, and ſome behind *Troya*, making himſelfe maiſter of their tents: ſo that both *Troya* and the Imperiall armie remained betweene the *French* armie and Saint *Seuero*; which made it vneaſie for them to haue any ſuccours from *Naples*, and alſo ſtopped for the moſt part the victuals that might be brought to them, notwithſtanding they conſumed not much, as being diſcharged of the baggage and vnneceſſarie people: and on the other ſide, the traffike of victuals that paſſed from Saint *Seuero* to the *French* campe, was ſtopped by them, and alſo they held Saint *Seuero* in feare, which they might aſſault with part of their people, and not be perceiued by the *French*.

The armies lying incamped in this ſort, that is to ſay, the *French* men beyond *Troya* towards the mountaine, and the Imperials on this ſide towards *Nocera* aboue the towne, vpon a pendent very wel fortified, and the moſt part of the places thereabouts being commanded by the *French*, they remained in that order vntill the nineteenth day, all the nights being ſpent in alarmes, and the dayes running out in skirmiſhes, in one of which was taken priſoner *Martio Colonno*: and the Imperials oftentimes gaue impediment to the victuals that went from Saint *Seuero* and *Foggia* to the *French* army, which for that impediment felt ſome incommoditie, hauing need of a ſtrong conuoy to defend them. At this time the Imperiall Captaines conſulting among themſelues what was to be done, the Marquis of *Guaſt* perſwaded to offer battell, ſeeing the *French* armie increaſed and theirs diminiſhed. But the counſell of Captaine *Alarcon* caried more authoritie, who ſaid there was more hope of the victorie in ſtanding vpon their defence, and letting time runne, then by referring themſelues to the arbitration of fortune. The nineteenth day the Imperials retired into *Troya*, for that they were much endomaged by the artilleries of the enemies: but afterwards hauing rampiered their campe againſt the furie of the ſhot, they repaired thither againe in good ſeaſon, and returned in euill time within *Troya*. But the one and twentieth day at the appearing of the morning they brake vp, and went towards the mountaine to *Ariano*, making a great dayes march. They found into *Troya* a great quantitie of victuals, farre ſurmounting that which the *French* men beleeued before, by reaſon whereof hauing ſtopped all paſſages by the which victuals might be brought them, they promiſed themſelues the victorie. It was beleeued that they brake vp, either to draw the *French* into a place where they might find want of victuals, or for that they had intelligence that the day following they expected the blacke bands in their campe, who as they came on, being lodged in *Aquila*, had leudly ſacked that Citie, no man offering them any wrong, nor being any way prouoked, but onely for a deſire to make pillage. The two and twentieth day *Monſieur Lautrech* incamped at *Lioneſſa* vpon the riuer of *Ophanto*, which the *Latins* call *Aufidum*, ſixe miles from *Aſcoli*, hauing ſent the blacke bands and *Peter* of *Nauarre* with his regiments and two cannons to take *Melfe*: where when they had made a ſmall breach, the *Gaſcons* preſented themſelues to the wall, and the blacke bands with more furie, againſt the direction of their Captaines, did the like: but the harquebuziers beating them in flanke, they were repulſed with the death of many *Gaſcons*, and about threeſcore of the blacke bands: and the ſame euening in another aſſault which they gaue, after the batterie had continued, they were handled almoſt in the ſame maner. But in the night there came to the campe a ſupply of artilleries ſent by *Monſieur Lautrech*, with the which hauing made two great batteries the next morning, the paiſants within *Melfe*, whereof there was a great number, began in their feare to draw into tumult: for feare of which tumult the ſouldiers who

were about fixe hundred, being much troubled, abandoned the defence: in so much as those of the campe entring the towne, they slue all the paisants and the men of the towne: but the souldiors retired into the Castle with the Prince, and yeelded soone after, as was said by those of the campe, to discretion, notwithstanding they pretended that their liues were excepted. The Prince was saued with a very few of his souldiers, and all the residue put to the sword, and the towne sacked, wherein there were slaine in all three thousand bodies; where there was found great store of victuals, to the great commoditie of the *French* men, who, by reason of their hard prouision, had great want in *Powilla* of that whereof there was great plentie in this place. The foure and twentieth day the *Spaniards* departed from *Ariano*, and incamped at *Tripalda*, which is fiue and twentie miles from *Naples* vpon the high way, and fortie miles from *Ofanto*; with whom ioyned the Viceroy, the Prince of *Salerne*, and *Fabricio Maramus* with three thousand footmen and twelue peeces of artilleries: and it was said that Captaine *Alarcon* issued out of *Naples* with two thousand footmen to defend the Tribute. Neuertheless *Monsieur Lautrech* stayed vpon the territories of *Ofanto* to make first great prouision of victuals, and al his cõpanies were incamped betweene *Ascoly* and *Melfe*: and after the accident of *Melfe*, were rendred *Barletta*, *Trany*, and all the townes thereabouts except *Manfredonia*, wherein was a thousand footmen: and hauing sent *Peter of Nauarre* with foure thousand footmen to take the Rocke of *Venosa*, which was guarded by two hundred and fiftie *Spanish* footmen, who defended it valiantly, he had it at discretion, and retaining the Captaines prisoners, he sent away the others without weapons: hauing set downe such order, that the reuenue of the Tribute of *Powilla* should be receiued for him; the which for the impediments which the warre brought, arose not to halfe so much as was wont to be gathered. In this place the Commissarie *Pisano* with the *Venetian* regiments containing about two thousand footmen, came to *Monsieur Lautrech*, who was still busied to prouide that he might be assured of victuals and prouisions; which was also made more easie to him, when he had got into his power *Ascoly* by the meanes of the *Venetian* regiments. At which time taking courage by the happie euent of his affaires, he vrged the Pope with haughtie words to declare himselfe for the League: who, notwithstanding those of *Viterba* would not at first before receiue his Gouernour (whereof *Octauian Spirito* was the cause,) yet afterwards yeelding for feare, he transported the Court to *Viterba*: and *Vespasian Colonno* being dead at the same time, who ordained by his testament that *Isabel* his onely daughter should be maried to *Hippolito de Medicis*, the Pope got possession of all those places which he held in the territories of *Rome*, notwithstanding *Ascanio* pretended that they appertained to him by the ceassing of the line masculine of *Prosper Colonno*. About this time *Monopoly* was rendred to the *Venetians*, for whom, according to the last couenants made with the *French* king, were gotten all those ports of the Realme of *Naples* which they possessed before they were ouerthrowne by king *Lewis* the twelfth in *Guiaradadda*.

These prosperities of the *French*, induced the Duke of *Ferrara* to send his sonne into *France* to accomplish the mariage; which he had before industriously deferred, refusing euen to be Captaine of the League. But the Emperour who sent no men out of *Spaine* to relieue the great dangers of the kingdome of *Naples* (for that he sent from thence onely fixe hundred footmen into *Sicile*, and those not very seruiceable) had giuen order that the Duke of *Brunswich* should passe out of *Germanie* into *Italy* with new supplies of Lanceknights for the succour of that kingdome; who were prepared with so much the more care, by how much they vnderstood the necessitie to rescue it was great, by reason of the proceedings of *M. Lautrech*. But to the end the aduancing of those supplies should not trouble the hope of the victorie, it was agreed by the consent of the King of *England*, the *French* king, and the *Venetians*, that the Lord *Francis* of Saint *Pol*, descended of the house of *Bourbon*, should passe into *Italy* with foure hundred lances, fiue hundred light horsemen, fiue thousand footmen *French*, two thousand *Swissers*, and two thousand Lanceknights, to the end to follow them if they went to the Realme of *Naples*, but otherwise to make warre in the Duchie of *Millan* together with the regiments of the *Venetians* and of *Francis Sforce*: and the King of *England* was to contribute thirtie thousand duckats a moneth towards the expences of this armie, for the entertainment whereof threescore thousand duckats were to be payed for euery moneth; & the *Venetians* had resolued in the Councel of the *Pregati*, to wage ten thousand footmen. At this time the inhabitants of *Millan* were reduced to an extreme & miserable subiection by the intollerable exactions imposed vpon them by *Anthony*

Monsieur S. Pol appointed to the warres of Italy.

The miserable condition of the citie of Millan.

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de Leua, who the better to prouide for the payes of his ſouldiers, had drawne into his owne hands all the victuals of the Citie, and hauing beſtowed them in publike ſtore-houſes and garners, and ſelling them in his owne name, he ſet them at what price he thought good; the inhabitants being conſtrained to buy them, vnleſſe they would die for hunger: and many poore people which had no meanes to buy them, died in the ſtreets. And yet the money that he got by this means, not ſufficing to pay the Lanceknights that were lodged in the houſes, they daily ranſomed their hoſts, and kept ſuch in chaines as would giue them no money: and becauſe many to auoide this crueltie and intollerable charges were fled and did continually flie out of the Citie notwithſtanding the rigor of the commandements and diligence of the warders, they confiſked the goods of ſuch as were abſent, who were ſo many in number, that to auoide the labour to ſet them downe in writing, they cauſed them to be put in print: and the Nobles that remained there, were ſimply apparelled, and very poore: and thoſe places of the Citie that were wont to be moſt frequented, full of nettles and brambles: and yet all things ſucceeded happily to him that was the author of all theſe cruelties. For Captaine *Mus* being incamped at *Lecquo* with ſixe hundred footmen as ſouldier of the League, and hauing taken away the barkes to the end the *Spaniards* that were within *Coma* might not ſuccour it by the Lake, *Anthonie de Leua* hauing ſent for the bands of footmen that were within *Nouaro*, iſſued out of *Millan*, and incamped fifteene miles off with the Lanceknights: and after he had taken the Rocke of *Olgina* ſtanding vpon the ſhores of *Adda*, which Captaine *Mus* had taken before, he ſent *Philip Torniello* with the bands of footmen *Spaniſh* and *Italians*, to giue ſuccours to *Lecquo* which is vpon the other ſhore of the Lake, where Captaine *Mus* with the aide of the ſouldiers whom he had drawne from the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan*, and with the artilleries which he had gotten from the *Venetians*, had taken, and fortified all the paſſages, of themſelues very difficult for the roughnes of the wayes and ſteepneſſe of the mountaines. But the Imperials who tooke the mountaine oppoſite that commandeth *Lecquo*, after they had in vaine attempted to paſſe in many places, at laſt they forced that place where the *Venetian* ſouldiers guarded; whom the Captaine, either for that he had litle confidence in their vertue, or at leaſt to beſtow them where was leaſt danger, had put in places moſt ſteepe and inacceſſible. Then Captaine *Mus* with his ſouldiers and artilleries, being mounted vpon the barkes, ſaued himſelfe, not without ſuſpition that the *Venetians* had made a light defence to gratifie the Duke of *Millan*, to whom it was not pleaſing that he ſhould take *Lecquo*: and ſoone after, to the end to carry by accord that which he could not win by armes, turning to the ſeruice of the Imperials, he obtained of *Anthonie de Leua* by way of accord, both *Lecquo* and many other places: and obtained alſo of *Ierome Moron*, who by letters had bin the author of this practiſe, ceſſion of his rights. By reaſon of this accord *Anthonie de Leua* who before had bene much afflicted by hunger, was much relieued both with victuals and money. For the Captaine, who aſpiring to greater things, tooke vpon him afterwards the title of Marquis, payed thirtie thouſand duckats, and ſent into *Millan* three thouſand ſackes of corne.

Monſieur Lautrech in this meane while marched towards *Naples*, and by the third day of Aprill was come to the Rocke *Manarda*, hauing left for the guard of *Powilla* (where onely *Manfredonia* held for the Emperour) fiftie men at armes, two hundred light horſemen, and fifteene hundred or two thouſand footmen, all bands of the *Venetians*. But the Imperiall armie who had reſolued, abandoning all the plaine countrey, to looke to the defence of *Naples* and *Caietta*, after they had ſacked *Nola*, to cut off victuals from the enemies, and caried to *Naples* all the victuals that were within *Capua*, they incamped vpon the hill of Saint *Martin*, and the day following entred into *Naples* with ten thouſand footmen as well *Spaniſh* as Lanceknights, hauing diſmiſſed the *Italian* bands (except ſixe hundred who were vnder *Fabricio Maramus*) for that *Sarra Colonno* was gone to *Abruzza* with his bands of footmen. There remained in *Naples* very few of the inhabitants, for that almoſt all men of qualitie, and ſuch as had any meanes, were retired into *Iſchia*, *Capri*, and other Ilands confining. It was ſuppoſed that there was corne enough for more then two moneths, but of fleſh and other victuals a ſmall quantitie. *Capua*, *Nola*, *Acerra*, *Auerſa*, and all the places thereabout yeelded to *Monſieur Lautrech*, who remained foure dayes with his armie in the Abbey of *Acerra* which is ſeuen miles from *Naples*: and he had marched & did march ſlowly, to tarry for the victuals, which could not follow, becauſe of the foule wayes and raines, which had made all the countrey full of waters. Beſides, it behoued him to make great pro-

prouiſions of victuals, for that the bruite ranne, that in his armie (according to the corruption of the diſcipline of warre at this day) there were more then twentie thouſand horſes and foure-ſcore thouſand men, of whom two third parts were vnprofitable for ſeruice. From this place he ſent to the enterpriſe of *Calabria*, *Simon Roman* with an hundred & fiftie light horſemen, and fiue hundred *Corſikans* not payed, but were come from the campe of the Imperials. And now *Philippin Dore*, who with eight galleys of *Andrew Dore*, and two ſhips was come into the roade of *Naples*, had taken a ſhip laden with graine and with his artilleries, compelled the Imperials to diſlodge from *Magdelaine*: and although ſhortly after he tooke two other ſhips laden with graine, and brought vpon the enemies many other diſcommodities, yet his galleys onely ſufficed not to hold the port of *Naples* wholy beſieged. By reaſon whereof *Monſieur Lautrech* ſolicited that the ſixteene galleys of the *Venetians* might be ioyned with the fleete of *Philippin*: the which when they were repaired by leyſure at *Corfu*, were come to the port of *Trany*, although the Cities of *Trany* and *Monopoly* were already rendred vnto them, yet preferring their particular profite before the intereſts of others, (notwithſtanding all theſe things depended on the victory of *Naples*) they ſtayed, to the end to take alſo *Pulignano*, *Ottronto*, and *Brunduſium*. The ſeuenteenth day of April *Monſieur Lautrech* incamped at *Cauiano*, within fiue miles of *Naples*; and the ſame day the Imperials who had many light horſemen (their care & diligence being far greater then the negligence of the *French* men) tooke from the *French* a great quantitie of victuals, whereof they were ill prouided: and had alſo fortified Saint *Hermo*, which is on the top of the mount Saint *Martin*, to the end to take from the *French* men (for that it commands the towne of *Naples*) all commoditie to vexe it with their artilleries: and for that being maiſters of that mountaine, they might hinder the *French* for approching the moſt parts of the Citie. The *French* men tooke ſome hope by the diſcords that were among the enemies, of whom the Marquis of *Guaſt* for ſome particular quarrell, hurt the Count *Potenſa* and ſlue his ſonne. But the one and twentieth day the *French* armie came to *Caſoria*, within three miles of *Naples* vpon the way of *Auerſa*, on which day they skirmiſhed vnder the wals of *Naples*, where was ſlain *Migliau*, he who had impugned with all his induſtrie the deliuerie of the Pope, for the which he himſelfe had brought to the Captaines the Emperours Commiſſion. The two and twentieth day the armie incamped within a mile and an halfe of *Naples*, where *Monſieur Lautrech* forbad his ſoldiers to skirmiſh, as a matter vnprofitable: there was *Pozzuolo* rendred to him. Finally, the laſt day but one of Aprill the armie being arriued neare the Citie of *Naples*, incamped betweene *Poggio Royall*, which is a ſtately houſe of pleaſure, and builded by *Alphonſo* of *Aragon* the ſecond, when he was Duke of *Calabria*, and the hill of Saint *Martin*. The companies extended euen within halfe a mile of *Naples*, and the perſon of *Monſieur Lautrech* lay ſomewhat beyond *Poggio Royal* at the farme houſe of the Duke of *Monte Alto*, in which place he had fortified himſelfe, enlarging his campe towards the way of *Capua*. It was a place of very good ſituation, and aptly ſeruing to cut off from them of *Naples* the commoditie of water pipes that come from *Poggio Royal*: and he made his reckoning to plant another lodging ſomewhat before that, aboue the hill that is beneath the mount Saint *Hermo*, to the end to cut off more commodities from thoſe of *Naples*, and to vexe the towne more nearely: of which things to haue the more perfect information, it ſeemeth neceſſarie to deſcribe the ſituation of the Citie of *Naples*, and the countrey about it.

The French beſiege Naples

The end of the eighteenth Booke.

THE

THE XIX. BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Lautrech beſiegeth Naples. In the meane while Anthony de Lena taketh Pauie, and beſiegeth Lode. Andrew Dore leaueth the pay of the French. Monſieur Lautrech dieth. The French breake vp from before Naples. Monſieur de Saint Pol reconquereth Pauie. Andrew Dore taketh Genes. The Genoueyes take Sauona, and ſet themſelues at libertie. Monſieur de Saint Pol is taken by Anthony de Lena. The Emperor falleth to accord with the Pope. Peace is made at Cambray betweene the Emperor and the French King. The Emperour paſſeth into Italy, where warre is made againſt the Florentines, and peace ſolicited with all others.

MOnſieur *Lautrech* being lodged with his armie neare the wals of *Naples*, the firſt thing he drew into conſultation was, whether it were beſt to attempt the expugnation of that towne with the furie of artilleries and the valour of men, as many aduiſed him, who were of opinion that for the performance hereof the numbers of footmen ſhould be increaſed. Theſe men alleaged many difficulties, in regard whereof there could be no hope to remaine long before the towne: to wit, the difficultie of victuals, for that the enemies who had a great number of light horſemen, were ready to giue impediments: the hope being vncertaine that *Naples* would render for famine, for that the galleys of *Philippin Dore* being not ſufficient to hold the port reſtrained, and thoſe of the *Venetians* not arriuing, notwithſtanding they were dayly promiſed, there came from *Caietta* to *Naples* where there was want of grinding, foure galleys laden with meale, and other veſſels entred the towne dayly: the cold prouiſions of the *Venetians*, who of the two and twentie thouſand duckats which they were to pay monethly to *Monſieur Lautrech*, were already behind with him for threeſcore thouſand: the ſlender reliefe of money that came out of *France*: and the maladies and diſeaſes that generally reigned in the armie, which notwithſtanding proceeded not ſo much by the ordinarie thickneſſe of that aire, which by cuſtome beginneth to be dangerous in the end of Sommer, as through the great quantities of raines that fell, and withall many of the ſouldiers lay in the open fields. Neuertheleſſe *Monſieur Lautrech* conſidering that in ſo great a multitude and vertue of defendants, and for the fortification of the mount Saint *Martin*, which might be ſuccored, it was a hard matter to take either the hill or the towne; and haply being vnwilling to expend his money with ſmall hopes, fearing to want it for the furniſhing of ordinarie expences, he determined not to aſſault the towne, but to beſiege it: hoping that in a ſhort time the enemies would fall into the want of victuals or money. Therefore he turned his mind and all his prouiſions to the beſieging of *Naples*, hauing ſpeciall regard to cut off all acceſſe of victuals by land, and ſoliciting the coming of the *Venetian* galleys, to depriue them of all reliefe by ſea: and yet altering his reſolution, he gaue libertie to skirmiſh, leſt the ſouldiers remaining idle ſhould loſe courage: in ſo much as there were many skirmiſhes, to the great commendation of the blacke bands, who being moſt reſolute & ready in that kind of fighting by the diſcipline of *Iohn de Medicis*, had not as yet made any ſhew of their valour in the plaine field in any battel pitched and ranged, where they were to keepe their ground. At this time came to the armie foureſcore men at armes of the Marquis of *Mantua*, and an hundred from the Duke of *Ferrara*, who notwithſtanding he had bene amply receiued into the protection of the *French* king and the *Venetians*, yet had deferred as long as he could to ſend them, to order his deliberations according to that which might be coniectured of the euent of the warre.

In this eſtate of affaires the Imperials gathered ſome hope to be able to ouerthrow *Philippin Dore*, who was with his galleys in the gulfe of *Salerne*: in which enterpriſe they repoſed not

The resolution of the Imperials within Naples

not so much confidence in the number and goodnesse of their vessels, as in the valour of their souldiers. For they furnished sixe Galleys, foure Foists, and two Brigantines, with a thousand harquebuziers *Spanish*, of the most valiant and best choise of the armie: with whom entred *Don Hugo* Viceroy, and almost all the Captaines and personages of authoritie. To this armie by sea, governed by the counsell of *Gobbo*, a skilfull and famous Captaine for sea service, were adioyned many barkes of fishermen, to astonish the enemies a farre off, through the appearance of a greater number of vessels: which fleete being all departed from *Posilipo*, arriued in the Ile of *Capri*, where *Don Hugo* to the great preiudice of that exploit, lost time to heare a *Spanish* Hermit, who preaching vnto them, inflamed them to fight according to the glorie of that nation gotten in so many victories. From thence, leauing on the left hand the Cape of *Minerua*, they entred into the maine sea, and sent before two Galleys with this direction, that when they approched the enemies, they should make shew as though they would flie, to the end to draw them into the maine sea to fight. But *Philippin Dore* being aduertised the day before by very faithfull and assured espials of the intention of the enemies, had with diligence intreated *Monsieur Lautrech* to send to him forthwith three hundred harquebuziers, who being commanded by Captaine *Croch*, were arriued a litle before the Nauie of the enemies was discouered. Which being discerned a farre off, although *Philippin* had before with great courage aduanced all necessary prouisions to fight, yet being moued with the great number of vessels that were discouered, he stood long in suspence: but he was speedily deliuered of that doubt, when at the approch of the enemies, he discerned that there were not aboue sixe vessels of helme. Therefore with a resolute courage, and as a Captaine well experienced in sea fight, he caused three other Galleys of his to enlarge and cast off, as though they would flie, to the end that in fetching a compasse, they might with a good wind assaile the enemies both in side and in poupe: and touching himselfe, he went with fiue galleys to meet the enemies, who had determined to discharge their artilleries, to take from him by the thicknes of the smoke, both his leuell and view: but *Philippin* gaue fire to a very great Basiliske of his gally, which pierced through the gally Admirall of the enemie, wherein was *Don Hugo*, and at the first shoote killed fortie men, of whom was the Captaine of the galley, and many officers: then he discharged the other peeces, which slue and hurt many of them. And on the other side, the artillerie that was discharged from the galley of *Don Hugo*, slue the Captaine, and hurt the Patron of the galley of *Philippin*: and when they were approched, there began with the small shot and other weapons, a furious assault: but the *Genowayes* who were experienced in such encounters, auoided the perill better, fighting low, and standing vpon their guards within the bodie of the pauishes or couerts. Now as these two galleys fought together with wonderfull furie and astonishment, three other galleys of the Imperials closed with two of the *Genowayes*, and were already far their superiours: but when the three first galleys of *Genes* that made as though they fled, were got into the main sea, returning vpon the enemies, they played in flank vpon the galley Admiral; & of the three, that which was called the *Neptune*, brake her maine yard, which did her great domage. There, *Don Hugo* who was hurt in his arme, whilest he was labouring to encourage his souldiers, being ouerwhelmed with stones and wildfires which were throwne from the tops of the enemies galleys, died in fighting: here the Admirall of *Philippin* and the galley called the *Moore* rent in peeces the Admirall of *Don Hugo*; and the other two with their artilleries sunke the galley of *Gobbo* wherein *Fieramosquo* died; and in the meane while the other galleys of *Philippin* had rescued and recouered two galleys of their companie oppressed by the *Spaniards*, and tooke their Foists: and onely two of the *Spanish* galleys, who had bene very shrewdly handled, hardly escaped, seeing the victory of their enemies. At which time the Marquis of *Guast* and *Ascanio*, their galley being almost drowned and on fire, their oares broken, their souldiers almost all dead, and themselues being hurt, were made prisoners, the shining of their armour, which was gilt, preseruing their liues. In this battell *Philippin* was much holpen by certaine captiues whom he deliuered, who were for the most part *Turkes* and *Moores*, who fought valiantly. *Don Hugo* being dead was cast into the sea, and *Fieramosquo* in like sort. The prisoners were the Marquis of *Guast*, *Ascanio Colonno*, the Prince of *Salerne*, *Saint Crosse*, *Camille Colonno*, *Gobbo*, *Serenon*, with many other Captaines and Gentlemen. There were more then a thousand footmen slaine: and of the *Spaniards* very few who were not either slaine or hurt. The prisoners with three galleys were sent by *Philippin* to *Andrew Dore*; and one of the two galleys that escaped, went soone after to the seruice of the *French*.

Fight at sea betweene the Imperials and the French.

The death of Don Hugo de Moncada Viceroy of Naples.

This

This victorie gaue to the *French* men great hope of the ſucceſſe for the whole enterpriſe, and haply more then was neceſſarie, for that it made *Monſieur Lautrech* ſomewhat more ſlacke in making prouiſions; but it filled the Imperials with much aſtoniſhment, for feare leſt they ſhould fall into great want of victuals, ſeeing they were abſolutely depriued of all commandement by ſea; and by land reſtrained many wayes, ſpecially ſince the loſſe of *Pozzuole*, from whence there came great ſtore of victuals to *Naples*; and the towne of *Naples* was already fallen into great want of meale and fleſh, their ſtore of wine being well waſted: by reaſon whereof, the day after the ouerthrow, they put out of the Citie no ſmall number of vnprofitable mouthes, and taking order for the diſtribution of victuals, they ordered the matter ſo, that the Lanceknights ſhould haue leſſe want then the other ſouldiers. By which actions the hope of *Monſieur Lautrech* being nouriſhed, was alſo well increaſed by the ſurpriſe made of a Brigantine the ſeuenth day of May, with certaine letters of the Captaines to the Emperour, whereby they ſignified vnto him that the flower of the armie was loſt: that there was no meale in *Naples* for any longer time then a moneth and a halfe: that they were driuen to grind their meale with the force of their hands: that the Lanceknights began to incline to tumult: that there was no money to furniſh their pay: and that there remained no remedy for his affaires, vnleſſe there came a ſpeedie prouiſion of money, and ſuccours both by ſea and land: whereunto was added, that the plague was begun in *Naples*, which is very contagious where Lanceknights do frequent, by reaſon they forbeare not to conuerſe with ſuch as are infected, nor to handle any thing that was theirs. On the other ſide, the *French* armie wanted water, for that from *Poggio Royall*, euen to the front of the armie, the campe was ſerued onely with ciſternes: the maladies increaſed, and the enemies being farre their ſuperiours in light horſemen, made continuall ſallies, eſpecially by the way that leadeth to *Somma*, and not onely brought into the towne much fleſh and ſtore of wine, but oftentimes ſeized vpon the victuals that came to the *French* campe. Many of the Captaines perſwaded *Monſieur Lautrech* to wage more light horſemen, to oppoſe againſt thoſe of the enemie, which he did not onely refuſe to do, but ſuffered the moſt part of the *French* horſemen to lie diſperſed within *Capua*, *Auerſa*, and *Nola*; which made the foreſaid enterpriſes eaſie to the enemies: others aduiſed him, for that diſeaſes had diminiſhed the infanterie of the armie, to entertaine ſeuen or eight thouſand footmen, as well for a ſupply thereunto, as to be more ſtrong, according to their deſire in the beginning; which he alſo refuſed, alleaging that he had no money, notwithſtanding he had at that time receiued from *France* a good ſumme, and had gathered the Tribute of the cattell of *Powilla*, together with the taxation of the townes which he had taken; and that the Barons of the Realme that were with him, were readie to lend him a large ſumme of money: wherefore it is a worke worth the labour, to conſider what diſorders are bred by the obſtinacie of thoſe that haue the managing of great affaires. *Monſieur Lautrech*, without doubt the principall Captaine of the Realme of *France*, who had long experience in matters of warre, and very great authoritie in the armie, and was by nature haughtie and imperious, whileſt he beleeued himſelfe onely, and deſpiſed the counſell of others, whileſt he would not heare others, but eſteemed it a diſhonour vnto him that men ſhould perceiue that he gouerned not alwayes by his owne iudgement, neglecting thoſe prouiſions, which if they had bene made and employed, might haply haue bene the cauſe of the victorie, but being reiected, were the cauſes that the enterpriſe begun with ſo great a hope, fell to extreme ruine. The ſouldiers of the blacke bands who were lodged in the front of the armie, skirmiſhed dayly, and being tranſported with too great courage, they approched ſo neare the walls of *Naples*, that from thence they receiued hurt by the harquebuziers; and becauſe in their retiring they had not horſemen to back them, they were ſlaine by the horſemen of the enemies: which was the cauſe that knowing what great diſaduantage it was to them to make skirmiſhes without horſemen vnder the wals of *Naples*, they began to forbeare to skirmiſh ſo often. After the victory by ſea, the towne of *Stabia* ſtanding vpon the ſea ſide, yeelded to *Monſieur Lautrech*, but not the Caſtle. In like ſort Saint *Germain* rendred: and the garriſons that were within *Caietta*, hauing recouered *Fondy* and the countrey thereabouts; *Monſieur Lautrech* ſent thither *Don Ferrand* of *Caietta*, ſonne to the Duke of *Traetta*, and the Prince of *Melfe*, who had newly contracted with the *French* men, for that the Imperiall Captaines were careleſſe to deliuer him, ſo that *Fondi* was eaſily recouered. Moreouer, *Simon Renzin* aduanced much in *Calabria*, by the forwardneſſe of the people to acknowledge the name of the *French*. But theſe things ſufficed not to obtaine the victorie of the warre,

Diſcommodities as well of the Imperials as the French during the ſiege of Naples.

The obſtinacie of Monſieur Lautrech.

which depended wholly either vpon the conqueſt or defence of *Naples*. By reaſon whereof *Monſieur Lautrech* applying himſelfe chiefly to the ſiege, and not altogether deſpairing to be able to take the towne by force, ſeeing ſo many of the *Spaniſh* footmen were loſt in the battell at ſea, he ſolicited the coming of the *French* and *Venetian* Nauie, wholly to depriue that Citie of the victuals that might come thither by ſea: and cauſed the campe to remoue, and planted it in front vpon a litle hill more neare to *Naples* & the Mount Saint *Martin*: where the blacke bands caſt a trench, not onely to draw from that hill a trench, which extending euen to the ſea ſide, and hauing in the end thereof towards the ſea a baſtillion, cloſed vp the way of *Somma*; but alſo immediatly after the ſea armies were come, to aſſay to take by force the mount Saint *Martin*, hauing cut out before another trench betweene the Citie and the Mount, to ſtop them from ſuccouring one another: and then at one and the ſame time to aſſaile *Naples* by ſea with the galleys, and by land beating into the Towne from the front of their campe, and aſſailing it without with one part of the armie: and with the other part to inuade the Mount, to the end that the enemies being conſtrained to deuide their forces into ſo many ſeuerall places, they might be the more eaſily ouercome in ſome place: and yet they abandoned not *Poggio Royal*, though the front of the campe were farre off, to the end that if the enemies did recouer it, they ſhould not cut from them the commoditie of waters, but cloſed vp their campe in the taile. To which counſels and deuices well conſidered, were oppoſed many difficulties, for that the trenches containing more then a mile in length, euen to the ſea, could not be caſt with ſpeed, as well for want of pioners, as for the diſeaſes of the ſouldiers: neither came the armies by ſea (as had bin neceſſarie for the beſieging and inuading of the towne,) for that *Andrew Dore* with his galleys that were at *Genes* ſtirred not, neither was there any news of the coming of the Nauie prepared at *Marſeilles*, and the *Venetian* fleet regarding more particular profit then the common good, or rather, ſmall and accidentall matters, then principall intereſts, were in the expedition of *Brunduſium* and *Ottranta*: of the which *Ottranta* had couenanted to yeeld, if within ſixteene dayes it were not reſcued; and notwithſtanding *Brunduſium* had receiued the *Venetians* by accord, yet the Caſtles held ſtill for the Emperour, whereof that which is ſituate vpon the ſea, was ſo ſtrong, that there was ſmall hope to take it; but the other ſtanding within the towne, which is the greater, ſeemed not able to make any long reſiſtance, for that it had loſt two litle Rocks. The twelfth day of May *Monſieur Lautrech* cauſed the artilleries to be planted vpon the litle hil, to batter a great tower that vexed not a litle the field. They ſhot oftentimes alſo into the towne, but to very ſmall purpoſe, and ſometimes they skirmiſhed at Saint *Anthonies*. The ſixteenth day the artilleries being planted vpon the top of the mountaine, played vpon certaine turrets betweene Saint *Gennaraes* gate and the gate of *Capua*, and kept them from erecting a baſtillion which the defendants had begun. Within *Naples* the moſt part liued with ſodden corne, many people departing dayly from thence: and the Lanceknights notwithſtanding they ſuffered leſſe then others, proteſted oftentimes, for want of bread, but much more of wine and fleſh, whereof there was great neceſſitie: and yet beſides other meanes, they were often entertained with falſe letters of ſuccours. The nineteenth day they wrought at the new trenches, by meanes whereof planting two cannons vpon the baſtillion as ſoone as it was made, they reuerſed two mils neare to *Magdaleine*, that were guarded by two enſignes of Lanceknights, againſt whom they neuer addreſſed themſelues, for that they had ſuccours from *Naples*.

The affaires of the Frenchmen begin to decline.

Hitherto the affaires of the *French* men proceeded in a happie courſe, but they began to decline, for many cauſes as yet vnknowne. For *Philippin Dore*, by the ſecret direction (as was known afterwards) of *Andrew Dore*, was retired with the galleys to lie about *Pozzuolo*, ſo that within *Naples* (where were left few other people then ſouldiers) there arriued dayly ſome quantitie of victuals in barkes. And albeit the *Venetian* Nauie, after they had conquered *Ottranta*, gaue continuall hope that they would come to *Naples*, yet they deferred, hoping to get ſpeedily the great Caſtle of *Brunduſium*. Furthermore, diſeaſes increaſed dayly in the armie; and whereas the blacke bands were wont to be in all actions three thouſand ſtrong, now there were ſo many of them hurt, ſicke and dead, that they hardly amounted to the number of two thouſand. The two and twentieth day the *Spaniards* aſſailed thoſe without that defended the new trenches, where was continuall labouring, in hope to finiſh them within ſixe or eight dayes: and *Horatio Baillon* who was there in a dangerous place with very ſmall companie, was ſlaine in fighting: a death

more

more worthy of a ſimple ſouldier, then a Captaine: and by reaſon of this diſorder the Imperials conceiuing hope of better ſucceſſe, made againe a great ſally, but the whole campe putting themſelues in armes, and the ſouldiers running to the trenches, they retired. *Philippin* returned in the end to the gulfe of *Naples*, by reaſon of the great inſtance that was made vnto him: & the ſeuen and twentieth day the trenches that had bene begun, to cloſe vp the way towards *Somma*, were not as yet finiſhed: and the *Spaniards* made incurſions daily, and infeſted the wayes, bringing into the Citie a great quantitie of fleſh; whereunto the horſemen of the campe gaue but litle impediment, for that they went rarely to the field: and *Monſieur Lautrech* beginning to deſire a ſupply of footmen (but not yeelding wholly to the counſell of others) ſolicited that ſixe thouſand footmen might be ſent him out of *France* by ſea, becauſe that for the want of victuals, and by reaſon of diſeaſes, many departed from the campe: and in ſo many difficulties he began to be the onely man that had hope of the victorie, repoſing himſelfe wholly vpon the famine of that Citie.

In this time things fell out well in *Calabria* with *Simon Roman*, who had with him two thouſand footmen, as well *Corſikans* as people of the countrey: wherein albeit the Prince of *Biſignan* and one of the ſonnes of Captaine *Alarcon* had oppoſed againſt him with fifteene hundred footmen of the countrey, yet they hardly withſtood him, inſomuch as the ſonne of *Alarcon* retired to *Tarentum*, leauing the Prince in the field: and ſhortly after *Simon Roman* got *Coſenſa* by accord; and after that, he tooke in a towne thereby, the Prince of *Stiliano*, and the Marquis of *Laino* his ſonne, with two other of his children. But in *Pouilla* the garriſon that held *Manfredonia* for the Emperour, ouerran all the countrey without any reſiſtance of the horſemen and footmen of the *Venetians*, who were gone to the conqueſt of that countrey. Moreouer, in the quarters about *Rome*, things were not fully appeaſed, for that *Sarra Colonno* hauing taken *Paliano* notwithſtanding he was forbidden in the Popes name on the behalfe of the daughter of *Veſpaſian*, the Abbot of *Farfa* recouered it, making priſoners *Sarra*, and *Proſper de Gany*, though afterwards *Sarra* made eſcape by the helpe of *Lewis Gonzaga*. But whileſt about *Naples* they were trauelled with theſe difficulties and hopes, *Anthonie de Leua* being aduertiſed that the towne of *Pauie* was negligently guarded, wherein was *Peter Lungena* with foure hundred horſemen, and a thouſand footmen *Venetians*, and *Hannibal Piſſinard* Captaine of *Cremona* with three hundred footmen, which he had led thither to maintaine the countrey beyond *Po* on the Dukes ſide: he went thither one night, when men doubted nothing, and hauing ſcaled the towne with ladders in three places, he tooke it by aſſault before the ſouldiers were aware: and there remained priſoners *Peter Lungena*, and one of the ſonnes of *Ianus Fregoſo*. *Anthonie de Leua* went afterwards to *Biagraſſa*, and thoſe within rendred vnto him after they had endured a few ſhot of the cannon; and from thence preparing to go to *Arona*, *Federike Boromei* compounded with him, binding himſelfe to follow the Emperours faction.

Anthonie de Leua retaketh Pauie.

About this time the Duke of *Brundſwike* being iſſued out of *Trent* the tenth day of May, had paſſed the riuer of *Adice* with an armie of ten thouſand footmen, ſixe hundred horſe well armed, and amongſt them many Gentlemen, which armie being repulſed from *Chiuſa*, deſcended vpon the countrey of *Veroſe*: and albeit (for that it was knowne long before that he would come) there was a reſolution ſet downe that *Monſieur Saint Pol* ſhould go to meete him, yet making no greater ſpeed in this expedition then in others, the Lanceknights were in *Italy* before *Monſieur Saint Pol* could be in order to match; who was driuen afterwards to abide many dayes in *Aſt*, both to reaſſemble his companies, and for the difficultie of victuals, whereof there was a great dearth and ſcarcitie through all *Italy*, but chiefly in *Lombardie*. And there was no hope of any more great or readie ſuccours for the generall affaires, then of the Senate of *Venice*; who though they had aſſured that their army ſhould take the field with twelue thouſand footmen, neuertheleſſe the Duke of *Vrbin* who was within *Verona*, diſpoſed himſelfe to no other enterpriſe then to defend the townes of moſt importance of their Eſtate: ſo that the Lanceknights who were deſcended vpon the Lake of *Garda*, had *Peſquiero* by accord, and likewiſe *Riuolta* and *Lunata*: inſo much as being Lords almoſt of the whole Lake, they drew money from many places, burning ſuch places as had no meanes to buy their ſafetie. *Anthoniot Adorno* being come to this armie, perſwaded them to march towards *Genes*, but foraſmuch as they were without money, and had many difficulties, and for a deſire to haue conference with *Anthonie de Leua* who was iſſued out of *Millan* to that end, they marched ſlowly along the countrey

The Duke of Brundſwike in Italy for the Emperour.

of *Breſſia*, whither went to meete them *Andrew de Burgos* and Captaine *George*: by whoſe meanes it was feared leſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, who in ſo great a feare of others made no preparation, entertained with them ſome ſecret practiſe. After this the Lanceknights addreſſed themſelues towards *Adda*, to ioyne with *Anthonie de Leua*, who hauing paſſed the riuer of *Adda* the ninth of Iune, with ſixe thouſand footmen, and ſixteene great peeces of artilleries, and being incamped neare thoſe companies that were within three miles of *Bergama*, in which Citie, and alſo in *Breſſia* and *Verona*, the Duke of *Vrbin* had diſtributed his bands of ſoldiers; he perſwaded them, for the great deſire he had to reconquer *Loda*, to endeuour to recouer the Eſtate of *Millan*, before they paſſed to *Naples*. So they incamped the twentieth day of May before *Loda*, out of which iſſued the Duke of *Millan*, who retiring to *Breſſia*, left there *Iohn Paul* his baſtard brother, and with him about three thouſand footmen: and when the artillery had played, which was planted in two ſeuerall places, and had made a great breach, *Anthonie de Leua* to whom the firſt aſſault appertained, brought his *Spaniſh* footmen neare the place where the ruine was greateſt. There they fought brauely for the ſpace of three houres, but the conſtancie and valour of the *Italian* footmen that were within, being nothing inferiour to theirs, they were repulſed, ſo that diſtruſting any more to be able to take it by aſſault, they had no other hope to get it but by famine: for that the haruеſt being not yet come, there was within *Loda* ſuch want of victuals, that bread being diſtributed to none but ſouldiers, thoſe of the towne muſt of neceſſitie either die for hunger, or iſſue out, to the great perill of their liues. But the plague was now come amongſt the Lanceknights, and the armie withall ſuffering want of victuals, many returned into their countries by the lands of the *Swiſſers* and *Griſons*; wherewith the Duke of *Brundſwike* their Captaine was not much diſpleaſed, for that hauing conceiued great hopes in *Germanie* by the example of thoſe footmen which *George Fronſpergh* had brought, he found by proofe the matters of *Italy* to be farre more difficult then he had imagined: and his money falling ſhort, it was almoſt impoſſible for him to keepe his footmen before *Loda*, much leſſe to leade them to the kingdome of *Naples*: neither did *Anthonie de Leua* relieue him with money, but put him out of all hope of remedie that way, complaining continually of the pouertie of *Millan*. For when he had loſt the hope to recouer *Loda*, he deuiſed all the waies he could to giue them occaſion to breake vp and go away, fearing leſt they would ſtay in the Duchie of *Millan*, and by that meanes he ſhould haue companions in the gouernment, and in the ſpoile: and whileſt they loſt time, he tooke order to threſh out the corne through all the Eſtate of *Millan*, and to carry their haruеſt to the towne of *Millan*. At laſt, as they were going the thirteenth day of Iuly to giue a new aſſault to *Loda*, the Lanceknights fell into mutinie, and a thouſand of them went towards *Coma*, and the reſidue, who remained in great diſorder, retired the artilleries from before *Loda*: by reaſon where of fearing leſt they would returne into *Germanie*, the Marquis of *Guaſt* whom *Andrew Dore* ſuffered to go for twelues dayes vpon his faith, came to *Millan* to perſwade the Duke of *Brundſwike* not to ſuffer his ſouldiers to returne into *Germanie*: but they, who could not be reclaimed with words, went all by the way of *Coma*, except two thouſand that remained with *Anthonie de Leua*, to whom in thoſe dayes *Mortara* was rendred: and it was not doubted, if the Lanceknights had continued before *Loda* a few dayes more, but they had taken the towne for want of victuals. In which expedition many deſired the forwardneſſe of the Duke of *Vrbin*, to approch and come (whileſt they lay about *Loda*) to *Crema* or *Piſqueton*, or at leaſt to keepe there ſome number of light horſemen to vexe them, although whileſt they were vpon the countrey of *Breſſia*, he did ſometimes both accoaſt and moleſt them; but neuer comming within three miles of them, and contenting himſelfe to defend the eſtate of the *Venetians*, he paſſed not the riuer of *Oglio*. And *Monſieur Saint Pol* alſo was not much more diligent to aduance, who, notwithſtanding all the reſolutions and promiſes made by the King, to ſend for his part bands of ſouldiers againſt the Lanceknights, arriued not in *Piemont* vntill ſuch time as the Lanceknights departed; and yet with a farre leſſe number then they were reported to be. Neuertheleſſe the Confederates forbare not for all this to ſolicite the Pope againe to declare himſelfe for them, and that proceeding againſt the Emperour with ſpirituall armes, he would depriue him of the Empire and the Realme of *Naples*: but when he had excuſed himſelfe, that if he ſhould declare for them, he could no more be a conuenient meanes for peace; and that his declaration would ſtirre vp a greater combuſtion amongſt the Princes of Chriſtendome, without any profit to the Confederates, as well in reſpect of his pouertie as his weakneſſe; and that the

Loda beſieged by the Imperials.

The bands of Lanceknights vnder Brunſwik do mutiny

The Popes excuſes to the Confederates.

the priuation of the Emperour would set all *Germanie* in an vproare, for suspition lest he should appropriate to himselfe the authority to elect the Emperour, and lest he would chuse the *French* king: he shewed the imminent danger of the *Lutherans*, whose number increased continually: and in the end being no more able to resist, he offered to ioyne with them, if the *Venetians* would restore to him *Ravenna*, which condition he propounded as a matter impossible, and offered likewise to be bound not to molest the Estate of *Florence*. Vpon which occasion the Embassadours of *England* came to *Venice* the twentieth day of Iune, to solicite the Senate to render *Ravenna*, protesting for the Pope to assure the obseruation of his promises: but when they could not obtaine that of the Senate, they were away ill contented. In this time the Pope recouered the Citie of *Rimini*, which *Iohn Sassatello* hauing before assayed in vaine to recouer, was at last yeelded vp with reseruation of life and goods. But now his deepe and most secret thoughts, which were before hidden with great art, could no longer be dissembled. For hauing fixed in his mind a desire to restore to his house the greatnesse which anciently it had in *Florence*, he endeuored, in publishing the contrary, to perswade the *Florentines* that he had not any such thought, and that he desired no more, but that that Commonweale, according to the examples of other Christian Princes, would acknowledge him for Pope, and that in token particular they would forbeare to persecute such as depended vpon him, or to deface the armes and ornaments proper to his house. With which commissions hauing sent to *Florence* as his Embassadour, when he was deliuered, a *Florentine* Prelate, and the *Florentines* giuing him no audience, he made great instance, euen by the solicitation of the *French* king, that they would send to him an Embassadour, seeking by taking away their iealousie, and making himselfe familiar with them, to draw them the more easily into his ambushes. But these deuices sorting to no effect, he began to perswade *Monsieur Lautrech*, that such as gouerned *Siena* being dependants of the Emperour, it was conuenient for his affaires to place there *Fabio Petrucci*: but though *Monsieur Lautrech* tooke this matter well, and found it good, yet in regard of the contradiction of the *Florentines*, he forbare to put it to effect. And when the Pope saw he could effect nothing by this meanes, he so wrought by secret threatnings, that *Pirrhus de Castello*, pretending that the inhabitants of *Siena* had done him wrong, made himselfe Lord of *Chiusa* with eight hundred footmen, by the helpe of certaine exiles of that towne, to trouble by that meanes the gouernment of *Sienna*. But the *Florentines* hauing shewed to the Vicount of *Turaine* Embassadour of the *French* king, that the Pope had no other end, then by the opportunitie of *Siena* to trouble the affaires of *Florence*, the Embassadour procured of the Pope, that the action of *Chiusa* should ceasse.

Cardinal Cam. pens Legate in England.

The Popes intention touching Florence

In this meane while the affaires of the kingdome of *Naples* proceeded diuersly; for that the Count of *Burella* was passed from *Sicile* into *Calabria* with a thousand footmen, and was ioyned with the residue: and on the other side, *Simon Romain* with the fauour of mines had gotten the Castle of *Cosenza* at discretion, although a wound which he receiued in his shoulder by the shot of an harquebuze somewhat stayed the course of the victory: and he ioyned afterwards with the Duke of *Somma*, who with the bands of footmen of the country, held besieged *Catanzaro*, a very strong towne, but in necessitie of victuals, wherein was the sonne in law of *Alarcon* with two hundred horse and a thousand footmen: the which being taken, they should remaine maisters of the whole country euen vp to high *Calabria*: but necessitie constrained them to turne against the companies that had vnited themselues with the succors come frō *Sicile*, who had now somewhat aduanced. But *Simon* being abandoned of part of his footmen leuied in the country, was driuen to retire himselfe into the Castle of *Cosenza*, and his other footbands not without the slaughter of many of them, dispersed themselues, the *Corsikans* retiring themselues towards the armie, in so much as not onely *Calabria* remained in danger, but it was feared lest the victors would addresse their forces to *Naples*. But on the contrary, the affaires of the *French* men succeeded happily in *Abruzza*, for that the Bishop *Colonno* being approched within twelue miles of *Aquila* to stirre vp *Abruzza* to commotion, was ouerthrowne and slaine by the Abbot of *Farfa*, foure hundred footmen being slaine, and about eight hundred taken prisoners. In the confines of *Caietta* the *Spaniards* went retiring, because of the arriuall of the Prince of *Melfe*, and those of *Manfredonia*, through the small diligence and valour of the *Venetian* bands, committed many domages. At this time the Pope perseuered in his resolution, to declare himselfe for neither partie: but because he entertained many practises, the *French* king held him now sus-

pected, and alſo he was not agreeable to the Emperour, though for no other cauſe, yet for that he had ſent as Legate into *England* the Cardinall *Campeius*, to debate there the controuerſie delegated to him and the Cardinall of *Yorke*. For the King of *England* making inſtance for the publication of the inualiditie of the firſt mariage, the Pope who was very liberall in words with his Agents, for that finding himſelf in litle credit with other Princes, he laboured to keepe himſelf in his protection, made very ſecretly a Bull decretall, by the which he pronounced the mariage to be of no force, and gaue it to the Cardinall *Campeius*; and charged him, that ſhewing it to the King and the Cardinall of *Yorke*, he ſhould tell them that he had commiſſion to publiſh it, if in iudgement the knowledge and information of the cauſe ſucceeded not well, to the end they might with more facilitie conſent to haue the cauſe iudicially debated, and endure with better temperance of mind the longneſſe of the iudgement, which he had enioyned the Cardinall *Campeius* to deferre as long as he could: and not to deliuer the Bull vntill he had receiued new commiſſion from him, but that he ſhould labour to perſwade him (which alſo it is very likely he then purpoſed) that his intention was to deliuer it to him in the end. Of which appointment of the Legate, and delegation of the cauſe, the Emperours Embaſſadours that were at *Rome* complained not a litle, though with the leſſe authoritie, for the ill termes of the Emperours affaires in the Realme of *Naples*.

Cardinall Campeius Legate in England.

Now about *Naples* many difficulties were happened both to the one and to the other partie, but ſuch as in all diſcourſe of reaſon, gaue more hope of the victory on the *French* ſide, though it was hindred by the vertue and obſtinacie of the enemies. For within *Naples* the want of victuals increaſed daily, eſpecially of wine and fleſh, nothing coming in any more by ſea, for that the *Venetian* galleys which had bin ſo long expected, were at laſt arriued the tenth day of Iune in the gulfe of *Naples*, to the number of two & twentie. And albeit the horſemen y were within *Naples* iſſued out daily, not towards the armie, but into thoſe quarters where they thought to find victuals, & brought daily ſome prey of fleſh, by meanes wherof the towne was ſomewhat relieued: yet the proviſions brought in in that ſort, were not ſuch, as being deprined of the commoditie of the ſea, might ſuffice to entertaine them long: and beſides, their money began to faile, the plague afflicted them much, and they had much ado to entertaine the Lanceknights, whom they could no longer abuſe with vaine hopes and promiſes; of whom many went dayly by troupes to the *French* armie, notwithſtanding the authoritie and grace which the Prince of *Orange* (who by the death of *Don Hugo* commanded as Viceroy) had with them, was of great force to retaine them: who committed priſoner Captaine *Chat* a *Gaſcon* with many of his ſouldiers, being of the remainders of the regiments of the Duke of *Bourbon*; and afterwards he did the like for ſuſpition to *Fabritio Maramus*, whom notwithſtanding he ſet at libertie preſently. On the other ſide, diſeaſes increaſed dayly in the *French* campe, the ſame being the cauſe that *Monſieur Lautrech*, to the end not to haue ſo great a circuite to guard, would not ſuffer the laſt trenches to be finiſhed, the which alſo could not eaſily be accompliſhed for the impediment of certaine waters. And withall there was want of victuals in the campe, more through the ill order that was vſed, then for any other occaſion. Neuertheleſſe *Monſieur Lautrech* hoped more in the neceſſities that were within *Naples*, then he feared his owne difficulties: and for this cauſe perſwading himſelfe he ſhould ſoone obtaine the victory, or elſe for want of money, he forbare to make new leuies of footmen, as all the armie deſired, by reaſon of the great diminution which was found by reaſon of death and diſeaſes, not onely of meane perſons and ſimple ſouldiers, but now alſo euen of perſonages of authoritie, ſeeing there died the fifteenth day the Popes Nuncio, and *Lewis Piſano* the *Venetian* Treaſurer. He hoped alſo to allure to the campe either all or the moſt part of thoſe Lanceknights that were within *Naples*; a practiſe wherein the Marquis of *Saluſſa* firſt, and himſelfe afterwards had a long time in vaine bene confident. Theſe cauſes then, together with the hope that was giuen him to draw to the armie certaine of the light horſemen that were within *Naples*, retained him from entertaining of light horſemen, which had bin very neceſſary, of whom if he had waged but foure hundred, they had ſtood him in good ſtead, and the horſemen of the towne had not runne ſo freely: although one day as they returned to *Naples* with a great prey of cattell, being encountred by the blacke bands, who were the ſinewes and ſtrength of the armie, and without whom they could not haue ſtayed before *Naples*, the bootie was taken from them, with the loſſe of about threeſcore horſemen, notwithſtanding the *Spaniards* iſſued out of the towne, but too late, to reſcue them. *Monſieur Lautrech* hoped

that the enemies would ſhortly be conſtrained to depart from *Naples*, and therefore to depriue them of all meanes to retire to *Caietta*, he gaue order to guard *Capua*, and the ſea towne of *Vulturno*: and to take from them alſo the meanes to retire into *Calabria*, beſides that he cut off certaine paſſages, he recontinued the working at the trench, many times begun, but left off againe for ſundry accidents, and raiſed it ſo high, that the waters which gaue impediment were now beneath the worke: and withall he purpoſed to fortifie a certaine houſe very neare to *Naples*, and to guard it with a thouſand footmen, which he would leuie to that end, making vſe alſo of the benefite of the *Venetian* galleys, which rode right ouer againſt the trench; which ſerued alſo to cauſe victuals to come more eaſily to the armie from the ſea coaſt, and to cut off the paſſage of the enemies if they returned that way with their booties. For, by reaſon of the great ditches and water-courſes at *Poggio Royall* that had bin cut vp, the way from the campe to the ſea contained a great and dangerous circuite. The Imperials endeuoured to hinder thoſe that wrought at the trench, againſt whom the Pioners being one day iſſued out in great troupes, according to the direction of *Petro* of *Nauarre* who ſolicited that worke, made as though they fled, ſo that the Imperials who purſued them, doubting nothing, were drawne into an ambuſh, wherein were hurt and ſlaine more then an hundred of them. Neuertheleſſe the trench was not as yet halfe finiſhed, as well for want of Pioners, as for other cauſes; for that negligence oftentimes hindred the good directions that were giuen, the execution whereof if it had bin continued, many were of opinion (ſeeing thoſe of *Naples* were reduced to ſuch a ſtrait) that vndoubtedly *Monſieur Lautrech* had obtained the victory. At the ſame time was offered a faire occaſion and of great conſequence, if the matter had bin as well executed as it was directed. *Monſieur Lautrech* had intelligence that the ſouldiers of *Naples* were iſſued out in great troupes by the way of *Pedegrotto* to boot-hale and forrage: therefore to vanquiſh them, he ſent out the fiue and twentieth of Iune by night, the ſouldiers of the blacke bands, the horſemen of *Florence*, and three ſcore *French* lances, with a band of *Swiſſers* and Lanceknights, towards *Belueder* and *Pedegrotto*, to encounter them; and to hinder their retrait he appointed that Captaine *Burio* with the *Gaſcon* footmen ſtanding vpon the hill which is aboue the *Grot*, ſhould deſcend as ſoone as he ſhould heare the alarme, to keepe the enemies from entring the *Grot*. The beginning of this exploit ſucceeded well, for that the companies of *Monſieur Lautrech* meeting with the Imperials, they charged them and put them to flight, more then three hundred of them remaining priſoners and ſlaine, beſides an hundred horſes of ſeruice and great ſtore of baggage: and *Don Ferdinand* of *Gonzaga* being ſtricken from his horſe as he fought, and made priſoner, was recouered by the fury of the Lanceknights. But Captaine *Burio*, either through negligence or feare, came not to the place appointed; which if he had done, it was held for certaine, they had bin all ouerthrowne. *Monſieur Lautrech* had alſo ſent to *Caietta* ſixe galleys of the *Venetians*, and two others to the mouth of *Garillan*, to ſuccour the Prince of *Melfe*. And becauſe the galleys could not let the Fregots from bringing ſome reliefe into *Naples*, he put to the ſea certaine ſmall barks to hinder them: and gaue order alſo that the heards of cattell ſhould be driuen fifteene miles compaſſe from *Naples*, to the end it might not be ſo eaſie for the Imperials to fetch them in.

But a new accident being now diſcouered, whereof long before certaine ſignes had bin diſcloſed, troubled much the affaires of the *French*: For *Andrew Dore* determined to leaue the pay of the *French* king, to whom he was bound till the end of Iune; and by that which might be coniectured, he had an intention many moneths before ſo to do: and hereupon it came to paſſe that he retired to *Genes*, and would not go vp with his galleys to the Realme of *Naples*, and that the *French* king offering to make him Captaine generall of the army by ſea which he prepared at *Marſeilles*, he refuſed it, alleaging onely that in regard of his age he was no more able to endure ſo great trauell. The originall of this deliberation was afterwards attributed, as well by himſelfe as others, to diuers cauſes. Touching himſelfe, he complained that the *French* king whom he had ſo faithfully ſerued for the ſpace of fiue yeares, had made Admirall and giuen the charge of the ſea to *Monſieur Barbeſieux*, a place which though he had refuſed, yet he thought it reaſonable that after his refuſall the King ſhould haue requeſted him againe to take it: That the King had not payed him the twentie thouſand duckats due for the time paſt, without the which he was not able to entertaine his galleys: That he would not ſatisfie his iuſt requeſts, to reſtore to the *Genowayes* their accuſtomed iuriſdiction of *Sauona*; yea, that it had bin debated in the Kings Counſell to cut off his head, as one that vſed his authoritie too arrogantly. Others ſaid,

Andrew Dore leaueth the pay of the French.

that his discontent grew first of the controuersies betweene him and *Ranse de Cere* in the enterprise of *Sardigna*, touching the which he was of opinion that the King hearkened more to the reports of *Ranse*, then to his iustifications: and that he was much offended with the great instance made vnto him by the King to deliuer vp his prisoners, whom he desired much, as a matter of great importance, but especially the Marquis of *Guast*, and *Antonio Colonno*, neuertheless with offer to pay him their ransome. These causes and many others were alleaged: but it was beleeued afterwards, that the true and principall cause was, not so much the disdaine, that the *French* held him not in such reputation as he thought he had deserued, or for some other discontentment, as the desire he had to deliuer *Genes*, to make himselfe great vnder colour of the liberties of his country, and that when he could not obtaine his desire by any other meanes, he resolued to follow no more the *French* king, nor to aide him with his galleys to conquer *Naples*, as is was also beleeued that to hinder the conquest of *Sicile*, he had propounded the enterprise of *Sardigna*. So that hauing taken this resolution, he solicited by the meanes of the Marquis of *Guast*, to put himselfe into the play of the Emperour, notwithstanding the profession of great hatred, which for the memory of the facts of *Genes*, he had made many yeares against the *Spanish* nation, and the rough dealing which he had vsed towards them, when any of them fell into his hands. But for that he vsed dissimulation, his purpose was yet vnknowne to the *French* king, who for that cause had not looked to remedy an euill of so great importance, although he had conceiued some suspition hereof, by reason of the surprise of a gally, which came into *Spaine* a *Spaniard*, who was sent thither vnder the colour to ransome certaine prisoners, with whom was found a letter of credence from *Andrew Dore* to the Emperour, to whom notwithstanding (on his great complaints) it was permitted to continue on his way, without being examined. At last *Monsieur Barbisieux* being arriued at *Sauona* with fourteene galleys, *Andrew Dore* being in feare of him, retired with his galleys to *Genes*, and afterwards with his prisoners to *Lerice*; which when the *French* king vnderstood, knowing the danger, which was now become remediless, he sent vnto him *Peter Frances* of *Nocera*, to retaine him in his pay, by whom he offered him to satisfie his desire touching *Sauona*, to pay in the twentie thousand duckats that were due before, and to giue him twentie thousand more for the ransome of the Prince of *Orange* whom he had formerly taken, and the King had afterwards set at libertie, at such time as he made peace with the Emperour at *Madril*: and in case he would deliuer him the prisoners, to pay him their ransome before they came out of his hands; and that if he would not deliuer them, the King would not take it ill. But *Andrew Dore* gaue no care to these offers, but iustified with complaints his going from the King: in so much as *Monsieur Barbisieux* was constrained, to the great preiudice of the affaires of *Naples*, to stay at *Sauona*: and yet afterwards passing further, he left for the guard of *Genes* fiue hundred footmen within ten miles of the Citie, for that the plague was very hote within: And for the same cause he put on land thirtie miles from *Genes* twelue hundred Lanceknights newly arriued, who had receiued their first pay of the *French* men, but for that the *Venetians* had not payed the second, according to their bond, *Triuulce* Gouernour of *Genes* was driuen to prouide it. Vpon this reuolting of *Andrew Dore*, the Pope being aduertised that he entertained practise with the Emperour, signified the same to *Monsieur Lautrech* the one and twentieth day of Iune, whom he required to consent that he might retaine him in his pay, to the end to depriue the Emperour of his seruice, assuring him that *Philippin Dore* would depart from *Naples* within ten dayes: for which cause *Monsieur Lautrech* restored to *Philippin*, for that he would not incense him, the Secretary *Seremon*, whom he had alwaies retained with him, to haue knowledge by his meanes of many secret things: and yet for the suspition he had already conceiued of the Pope, he interpreted sinisterly the aduertisement he had sent him. At last *Andrew Dore*, notwithstanding that *Monsieur Barbisieux*, in passing further with his Nauie, containing nineteene Galleys, two Foists, and foure Brigantines, wherein was the person of the Prince of *Nauarre*, had spoken to him; dissembling no more the thing he intended to do, he sent one of his men to the Emperour in the company of the Generall of the gray Friers (who was created Cardinal & went thither frō the Pope) to establish his confederatiō with the Emperour, which was: The libertie of *Genes* vnder the protection of the Emperour: The subiection of *Sauona* to the *Genowayes*: Pardon to himselfe, who had bin so great a persecutor of the *Spanish* name, entertainment into the seruice of the Emperour with twelue galleys, and 60000 duckats pay by the yeare, with many other very honorable conditions. In regard here-

Couenants betweene the Emperour and Andrew Dore.

of,

of *Philippin* departed the fourth day of Iuly from before *Naples* with all his Galleys: whose going away was nothing preiudiciall to the *French* but onely in reputation, for that he had of late not onely made ill guard, but also his Brigantines had sometimes conueyed victuals into *Naples* by stealth: and besides that he had had conference with some of *Naples*, he had caried the sonnes of *Anthonie de Leua* to *Caietta*, and was a backe for many dayes to the forragers to passe victuals into *Naples*: but if he had done faithfull seruice, as he did in the beginning, they had receiued great domage. *Monsieur Lautrech* for this cause solicited so much the more the coming of the *French* armie, which by the Popes ordinance, was stayed with great indiscretion about the taking of *Ciuitauecchia*. By reason of the departure of *Philippin* with his Galleys, the *Venetian* fleet who had taken the charge of the worke from the sea shore vntill they met with the trenches of *Peter* of *Nauarre*, was driuen to giue it ouer, to guard the sea: which to the end to hold it the more shut vp, there were appointed certaine armed Frigots to scoure the coast day and night; and there was greater diligence vsed also by land, in opposing against the *Spaniards*, who issued daily, but being encountred they fled without fighting: so that *Naples* was reduced to an extreme necessitie, and the Lanceknights protested to go their way if they were not speedily succoured with money and victuals: by reason whereof *Monsieur Lautrech*, who had great hope in these things, perswaded himselfe, that by reason of the long practise holden with them, they would daily come to his armie.

But the fifteenth day of Iuly, the *Venetian* Galleys, except those that were about *Caietta*, returned into *Calabria* to furnish themselues of Bisket: and therefore the hauen lying open, many Frigots passed into *Naples* with victuals of all sorts, except wine; which came well to passe, for that within *Naples* there was not so much store of corne as would last till the end of Iuly. Furthermore, in the campe, whither the plague was also come, by the infection of such as came out of *Naples*, the ordinary maladies increased greatly: *Monsieur Vaudemont* was at the point of death, and *Monsieur Lautrech* lay sicke: by reason of whose sickenesse, things were in such disorder, that the Imperials who ouerran all the countrey without impediment, tooke away the victuals that came to the army, where there was great want: and yet for all that they leuied not new companies of light horsemen; yea, *Valerio Vrsin* who was in the pay of the *Venetians* with an hundred light horsemen, went from the army for that they were not payed, and were in part vnprofitable by reason of diseases: the men at armes of the *French* were bestowed in garrison in the places thereabout: and the *Gascons* being dispersed into seuerall places of the countrey, were busie in gathering in of harueſt and seeking bootie. Neuertheleſſe there was some hope in the bands of footmen which were said to come with the army by sea, which army hauing stayed more then twentie dayes after they parted from the port of *Liuorne*, arriued at last the eighteenth of Iuly, with many Gentlemen, and with money for the army: but there was onely eight hundred footmen, for that the residue that were brought, remained some for the guard of *Genes*, and some for the enterprise of the Castle of *Ciuitauecchia*. At whose coming *Monsieur Lautrech* hauing sent to the sea side bands of souldiers to receiue the money, the Galleys could not come to land because of the swelling of the sea: and therefore the Marquis of *Saluſſa* returned thither the next day with his Lances, and with a great regiment of *Gascons*, *Swissers*, and Lanceknights, accompanied with the blacke bands; but in their returne they were encountred by the Imperials, being issued out of *Naples* in great troupes, who gaue so furious a charge vpon the *French* horsemen, that they turned their backs, and in flying they so rushed vpon their footmen that they disordered them: and *Don Hugo de Peppoly* (succeeding by the death of *Horacio Baillon* to the gouernment of the *Florentine* bands) being on foot with fortie harquebuziers a caliuers shot before the esquadron of the blacke bands, became prisoner to the horsemen: and the fury of the Imperials was such, that if the battalion of the blacke bands had not retained them, they had made a great slaughter, for that they fought admirably, and chiefly the horsemen. There were left dead of the *French* men more then an hundred, and as many taken, amongst whom were many of the Gentlemen of the sea armie that were set on land: and *Monsieur de Ciandale* nephew to the Marquis of *Saluſſa* was also taken; neuertheleſſe the money was preserued. The fault of this disorder was layed vpon the *French* horsemen, being farre inferiour in valour to the enemies; which did not a litle diminish the courage of the footmen of the armie, who knew they could not stand assured of succours by the horsemen. But that which had most endomaged the armie, was the sickenesse of *Monsieur Lautrech*, who albeit he laboured with the vertue

Many difficulties in the French armie.

of

of his mind to ſuſtaine the weakneſſe of his body, yet could he not prouide for many things that continually declined. For the Imperials by their ſallies did not only make prouiſion of all things they ſtood in need of, except wine, which they could not carry, but oftentimes bereaued the armie of their victuals, taking their baggage and forrage euen before their rampiers, & their horſes as they were led to the watering: in ſo much as beſides the generall diminution of the army by diſeaſes, things neceſſary began to faile in the campe, which was almoſt reduced of an armie beſieging, to a campe beſieged, and in danger if the paſſages had not bin guarded, to haue ſeene their footmen runne away. Andon the contrary, within *Naples* commoditie and hope increaſing, the Lanceknights mutined no more, and the reſidue gloried much in that they had ſuffered. By theſe ſo manifeſt dangers, the obſtinacie of *Monſieur Lautrech* being at laſt vanquiſhed, who not many dayes before had ſent into *France* to be ſupplied with ſixe thouſand footmen by ſea, he ſent *Ranſe de Cere*, who was come with the army by ſea, towards *Aquila*, to leuie foure thouſand footmen and ſixe hundred horſemen, giuing him aſſignation for money to the Treaſurer of *Aquila* and *Abruzza*: and *Ranſe* promiſed to bring them to the campe within a few dayes; which prouiſion would haue ſerued to good purpoſe, if they had bin prepared before. The nine and twentieth day the enemies kept the field, and ſo beſet the wayes, that there was no ſafe paſſage, euen to *Capua*, which was at the backe of the army, wherein they were almoſt all ſicke. *Monſieur Lautrech* who ſomewhat before had bin eaſed of his feauer, was fallen into it againe with more danger then before: the men at armes were almoſt all diſperſed in the villages, either becauſe of ſickneſſe, or to refreſh themſelues vnder that excuſe: and the footmen were reduced almoſt to nothing. And within the towne of *Naples* the plague and other diſeaſes being diminiſhed, by reaſon whereof they were reduced to ſeuen thouſand footmen, it was feared leſt they would come to inuade the campe. In which regard *Monſieur Lautrech* countermanded the fiue hundred footmen of *Ranſe*, which he had ſent after the ouerthrow of *Simon Romain*, to ſtop the bands of the enemies who were in *Calabria* from coming towards *Naples*, and ſent to leuie a thouſand footmen in the countrey thereabout: and retained the Duke of *Nola* with two hundred light horſmen, and *Rinuccio Farneſe* with an hundred, whom they promiſed to bring to him forthwith: he countermanded two hundred eſtradiots of the *Venetians*, who were gone to the enterpriſe of *Tarentum*: he reuoked vpon great penalties all the men at armes that were in health: he ſolicited dayly the coming of *Ranſe*, and haſtened (albeit very late) with great vehemencie and efficacie all other prouiſions. By the ſecond day of Auguſt there were ſcarcely an hundred horſe in the *French* campe, and the Imperials made dayly incurſions euen vp to their trenches: and the night before, they had ſcaled and ſacked *Somma*, where there was a band of men at armes and light horſemen. Therefore *Monſieur Lautrech* ſeeing himſelfe almoſt beſieged, ſolicited *Monſieur Saint Pol* to ſend him ſouldiers by ſea, and the *Florentines* to turne vnto him the two thouſand footmen whom they had leuied to ſend to *Monſieur Saint Pol*, which they readily conſented vnto. *Monſieur Ciandale* who was let go vpon his faith, was dead in the campe: the Prince of *Nauarre*, *Vaudemont*, *Camillo Triuulce*, and the old and new Maiſters of the campe, were ſicke: and alſo all the Embaſſadours, all the Secretaries, and all the men of account, except the Marquis of *Saluſſa* and the Count *Guido*: yea, hardly could there be found through the whole campe one body that was ſound. The footmen died of hunger, and almoſt all the ciſternes being drawne drie, there was alſo want of water: and the army could do nothing elſe then ſtand well vpon their guard and defend their campe, expecting ſuccours: and withall negligence increaſed the diſorders. After this, the *Spaniards* brake vp the water conduit of *Poggio Royal*, and notwithſtanding it was recouered, yet they could make no vſe of it without great danger. *Monſieur Lautrech* expected within two dayes the Duke of *Somma* with fifteene hundred footmen, and ſoone after the bands of horſemen and footmen of the Abbot of *Farfa*, which *Monſieur Lautrech* had ſent for when he had defeated the Biſhop *Colonno*.

At this time the galleys of the *Venetians* returned very ill armed, and ſo ſlenderly furniſhed with victuals, that to get wherewith to liue, they were driuen to leaue the guard of the port of *Naples*, and to run all along the ſea ſhores thereabout. The eight day the *Spaniards* being returned to *Somma*, made pillage of it againe, and tooke away all the reſidue of the horſes which Count *Guido* had there in garriſon: they aſſailed alſo the conuoy of victuals, with whom there was two hundred Lanceknights, who flying into two houſes, yeelded themſelues cowardly: by reaſon

reason whereof many times there was nothing to eate in the campe: and that which increased all their incommodities, was the great circuite of the place where the army was incamped, which from the beginning was thought too great, for that it caused danger, and consumed the footmen by too much action: and yet *Monsieur Lautrech* supporting himselfe with the hope of succours, would not heare of restraining it into lesse roome; and being as yet not restored to his former health, he visited all the campe, to maintaine due order of watch and ward, fearing to be assailed. But things declined continually, so that the fifteenth day, by reason of the great puissance of the Imperiall horsemen, there was no more commerce betweene the campe and the galleys, neither could the souldiers of the campe, for want of horses, make any excursions out of the high wayes: and euery night the alarme was giuen twise or thrice; in so much as the souldiers consumed with so many paines and incommodities, could not send out such conuoyes for victuals as was needfull: and that which aggrauated all the disorders, was, that the same night before the sixteenth day, *Monsieur Lautrech* died, vpon whose authoritie and vertue all matters depended; and it was constantly beleeued, that he fell into the relapse of his disease, by taking too much paines. The charge of gouernment remained to the Marquis of *Saluzza*, who was not able to support so great a burthen. And disorders increasing dayly, *Andrew Dore* with twelue galleys arriued at *Caietta* as souldier to the Emperour, in so much as the *French* Nauie began to make no more so good guard as they had wont. At that time the Count of *Sarny* with a thousand *Spanish* footmen, tooke *Sarny*, and chased from thence three hundred footmen that were there in garrison: and afterwards marching by night the two and twentieth of August, to *Nola* with a greater company, he tooke it; and *Valerio Vrsin* who lay there in garrison retired into the Castle, alleaging that he was deceiued by the men of the countrey: and hauing sent to demand succours of the Marquis of *Saluzza*, he sent him two thousand footmen, who as they came by night, were assailed by the bands of *Naples*, and ouerthrowne. The two and twentieth day, the campe being both naked of men and voide of gouernment, stood entertained onely with the hope of the coming of *Ranse*, who was as yet in *Aquila*, and was no more desired for the taking of *Naples*, nor for any hope to be able to resist in that lodging, but onely that they might breake vp with more safetie. *Monsieur Vaudemont* was dead; and the Marquis of *Saluzza*, Count *Guido*, Count *Hugo*, and *Peter* of *Nauarre* were sicke. *Maramus* to the end to depriue them wholly of victuals, issued out of *Naples* with foure hundred footmen, and finding *Capua* almost abandoned, he entred into it, by reason whereof the *French* men forsaking *Pozzuolo*, bestowed the garrison that was there in *Auersa*, a place of very great importance for the campe. But *Capua* and *Nola* being lost, the army knew not where to seeke victuals: so that being no longer able to hold out, & vsing the last remedy, they brake vp in the night, to retire to *Auersa*: but the Imperials had an eye vpon them, & discouering their departure, ouerthrew them in the way, where were taken *Peter* of *Nauarre* with many other Chieftaines and men of qualitie, and the Marquis of *Saluzza* retired with part of the companies into *Auersa*: whither being followed by the Imperials, and being not able to defend himselfe, he sent out the Count *Guido Rangon* to parley with the Prince of *Orange*, and capitulated with him by his meanes: That he should relinquish *Auersa*, with the Castle, artilleries and munitions: That as well he as the other Captaines should remaine prisoners, except Count *Guido*, to whom, in recompence of the accord, was granted libertie: That the Marquis should do all that he could with the *French* men and the *Venetians* to cause them to render the whole kingdome: That the souldiers and such as by the accord were to haue libertie, should leaue their Enfignes, their armes, their horses, and their goods, granting onely to those that were men of qualitie the seruice of mules and cuttals: That the *Italian* souldiers should not beare armes against the Emperour for sixe moneths. Thus all the bands were defeated, all the Captaines either dead, or made prisoners, in flying, or by the accord. *Auersa* was sacked by the Imperiall army, who afterwards retired to *Naples* demanding eight payes. *Ranse* who the day following was drawne neare to *Capua*, with the Prince of *Melfe* and the Abbot of *Farfa*, hearing of the aduenture, returned into *Abruzza*, which country onely, together with certaine peeces in *Powille* and *Calabria*, held good for the Confederates. This was the issue of the enterprise of the kingdome of *Naples*, disordered by many causes, but guided to his last downfall by two principally: The one, for the maladies caused partly by the cutting away of the water-conduits of *Poggio Royall*, to depriue them within *Naples* of the meanes to grind: for the waters being dispersed all ouer the plaines, and hauing no issue, so corrupted the aire, that

The death of Monsieur Lautrech.

Capitulations of the Marquis of Saluzza with the Imperials.

that the *French* men by nature intemperate and impatient of heate, fell ſicke, whereunto was added the plague, the contagion whereof was carried into the body of the army by certaine infected perſons who were expreſly ſent thither out of *Naples*. The other, that *Monſieur Lautrech* who had drawne out of *France* the moſt part of the beſt experienced Captaines, hoping more then was conuenient, and not remembring what little honour it brought to him at ſuch time as he lay at the defence of the Eſtate of *Millan*, to write to his King that he would ſtop the enemies ſon paſſing the riuer of *Adda*, had oftentimes written during this ſiege, that he would take *Naples*: by reaſon whereof not to falſifie his owne iudgement, he ſtood obſtinate not to leuie the ſiege, contrary to the counſell of the other Captaines, who ſeeing the campe full of maladies, perſwaded him to retire in ſafetie to *Capua*, or to ſome other place; for that hauing almoſt all the Realme in his hands, he could haue wanted neither victuals nor money, and might haue conſumed the Imperials, to whom all things were wanting.

The proceedings of Monſieur Saint Pol in Lombardie.

In the meane while *Lombardie* was not at reſt, for that *Monſieur Saint Pol* when he had aſſembled his forces and made prouiſion of victuals, tooke certaine townes and boroughs beyond *Po* commanded before by *Anthonie de Leua*, who the third day of Auguſt was at *Torretta*, labouring to gather into *Millan* as great prouiſion of victuals as he could, for that through the whole Eſtate of *Millan* the harueſts were ſo poore, that it was thought there were ſcarcely ſufficient victuals to feed the people of the countrey for eight moneths: and afterwards he retired to *Marignan*, not being able alſo for want of money to abide long time in that place: at which time the Duke of *Vrbin* was at *Breſſia*, and *Monſieur Saint Pol* at *Newcaſtle* in *Tortona*, from whence being come to *Plaiſance*, they met and had conference together at *Monticella* vpon the riuer of *Po*, and there it was reſolued that the armies ſhould vnite together about *Lode*. Afterwards *Monſieur Saint Pol* paſſed the riuer of *Po* neare to *Cremona*, they of *Plaiſance* ſuffering him without ſaying any thing, to take the barkes to make a bridge: and therefore *Anthonie de Leua* who had at his deuotion the bridge of *Caſſan*, *Cartuaggia* and *Treuy*, he brake down the bridge, and abandoned the places of *Guiaradadda*, as he had before abandoned *Nouaro*, but had put into *Pauie* ſeuen hundred footmen, and fiue hundred into Saint *Angelo*. *Monſieur Saint Pol* had foure hundred lances, fiue hundred light horſemen, and fifteene hundred Lanceknights in his pay, but through his owne negligence, and the deceit of his officers, farre leſſe in number. For theſe forces, and for the other companies of Lanceknights & *Swiſſers* which were expected, the *Venetians* had agreed to pay for euery moneth twelue thouſand duckats to *Monſieur Saint Pol*, who had alſo at *Turea* three hundred *Swiſſers*, payed for nine hundred and three thouſand footmen *French*. The *Venetians* had three hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and ſix thouſand footmen: and the Duke of *Millan* had more then two thouſand footmen of choiſe. *Anthonie de Leua* had foure thouſand Lanceknights, a thouſand *Spaniards*, three thouſand *Italians*, and three hundred light horſemen. The companies of the Confederates paſſed the riuer of *Adda*, and ioyned their forces together the two and twentieth day of Auguſt, *Anthonie de Leua* being yet at *Marignan*. From that place the Duke of *Vrbin* ſent to Saint *Angelo* three thouſand footmen, and three hundred light horſemen, with ſixe cannons, vnder the conduct of *Iohn* of *Nalda*, who as he was in camping was ſlaine with a bullet from the artilleries, by reaſon whereof he went thither in perſon and tooke the towne. The fiue and twentieth day of Auguſt, the army of the Confederates lodged at Saint *Zenon*, vpon the riuer of *Ambra*, which is within two miles and an halfe of *Marignan*. The ſeuen and twentieth day they paſſed ouer *Ambra*, and drew neare to *Marignan*: and as they approched, the *Spaniards* retired into *Marignan* to an old rampier, and when they had skirmiſhed many houres, they iſſued out at large; and it was thought they would haue fought: but after the artilleries had played on both ſides the ſpace of an houre, the night now approching, they retired into *Marignan* and *Riozzo*, and as the army incamped, they aſſaulted it brauely. The day after, *Anthonie de Leua* made his retrait with all his companies to *Millan*, and the Confederates went to *Landriana*. After this, they tooke counſell whether they ſhould attempt to force *Millan*, and during that conſultation, the army marched with intention to enter the towne of *Millan* by ſurpriſe; which enterpriſe was broken by a great ſhowre of raine, which for the foulenеſſe of the way hindered them for going to the gate of *Vercell*, where they ſhould haue entred. Wherefore ſeeing themſelues diſappointed of this deuice, and being informed by him whom they ſent to take a view of *Millan*, that this enterpriſe could not be accompliſhed, they determined to go incampe before *Pauie* by the way of *Biagraſſa*, for that they

they could not execute any other action, and there was hope to carry it easily, becauſe there was no more then two hundred Lanceknights & eight hundred *Italians* within it. Thus keeping that way, they ſent out beyond the riuer of *Theſin* certaine bands of footmen, which tooke *Vigeuena*: and the ninth day of September *Monſieur Saint Pol* arriued at Saint *Alexis*, which is three miles from *Pauie*; where both the armies approching neare together, there came an aduertiſement which made them more doubtful. For the plague being very hot within *Genes*, and for that cauſe being almoſt abandoned of euery one, and in like ſort of almoſt all the ſouldiers, and for the ſame danger, *Theodore Triuulce* who was Gouernour there, being retired into the Caſtle; *Andrew Dore* taking this occaſion, drew neare the towne with certaine galleys, hauing neuertheleſſe very ſmall hope to force it, for that he had with him but fiue hundred footmen: but the *French* Nauie that rode in the hauen, fearing leſt their way to returne into *France* would be cloſed vp, (without taking any care for *Genes*) hoiſed ſaile to go towards *Sauona*, and the firſt veſſell that arriued there, was the galley of *Monſieur Barbeſieux*: ſo that there being but few ſouldiers within the Citie, notwithſtanding *Theodore* was returned to keepe the Pallace, and the people for the iniury of the libertie giuē to the town of *Sauona* being enemies to the name of the *French*, *Andrew Dore* entred the towne without any great reſiſtance. This foule loſſe happened by the negligence and too great confidence of the King: for that ſuppoſing the matters of *Naples* weld not ſo ſpeedily fall to ruine, and perſwading himſelfe that in all accidents the retraite of the Nauie to *Genes* and the neighbourhood of *Monſieur Saint Pol*, would ſuffice to ſaue it, he omitted to make there ſuch prouiſions as were neceſſary. *Theodore* who was retired into the Caſtle, demanded ſuccours of *Monſieur Saint Pol*, giuing him hope to recouer the towne, if there were ſent vnto him forthwith three thouſand footmen: vpon which demand the Captaines of the Confederates conſulting among themſelues, the *French* men were diſpoſed to go thither preſently with the whole campe: but the Duke of *Vrbin* ſhewed, that to prouide boates to make a bridge vpon *Po*, and to prouide neceſſary ſtore of victuals, was a matter of more length then the preſent buſineſſe required: therefore following his counſell, it was determined that *Monſieur Monti-Ian* ſhould turne to *Genes* three thouſand Lanceknights and *Swiſſers* that came out of *France* to the army of *Monſieur Saint Pol*, and were already arriued at *Alexandria*: but if perhaps they would not go thither, that he ſhould bring them to the campe, and in their place ſhould be ſent thither three thouſand other footmen: and that in the meane while they ſhould endeuour to preſſe *Pauie*: and the *Venetians* promiſed, that though they tooke not *Pauie*, yet they would ſuccour *Genes* with all their companies, ſo farre forth as they might be aſſured of the affaires on that ſide. The ſiege of *Pauie* therfore was continued, for the accompliſhment whereof the fourteenth day there were planted on this ſide the riuer of *Theſin*, in the plaine on the lower part, nine cannons which beat vpon a baſtillion adioyning to the Arſenal, which in a few houres was almoſt halfe ruined; and beyond *Theſin* three cannons, to beate (when the aſſault ſhould be giuen) a flanke that anſwered the Arſenall: and vpon a litle hill on this ſide *Theſin* fiue cannons which played vpon two other baſtillions: and at the foote of the ſaid litle hill three other cannons which ſhot at the wall: all which artilleries belonged to the *Venetians*, thoſe of *Monſieur Saint Pol* ſeruing to beate downe the defences. The day following, *Hannibal* Captaine of *Cremona* was come with a trench as farre as the ditch of the baſtillion on that ſide towards the Arſenall, of which two third parts were already reuerſed to the earth; ſo that the ſouldiers within had in a maner abandoned it: on which day *Malateſta Soglians*, one of the Captains of the *Venetians*, was ſlaine with a bullet from the artilleries. When the battery had bin continued all the day and the night following, the army prepared to giue the aſſault, much of the wall on all ſides of the three baſtillions, being caſt downe to the earth. But when they went about in the morning to draine the water out of the ditches, they found ſo ſtrong a wall, that they conſumed there all that day and the day following, by which occaſion the aſſault was prolonged till the nineteenth day, when the ditch was cleared of almoſt all the water: on which day the baſtillion at the corner being wonne betimes in the morning, they began to giue the aſſault, and the companies being deuided into three parts, the firſt action appertained to *Anthonie de Caſtello* with the *Venetian* regiments, the ſecond to *Monſieur de Larges* with the ſouldiers of *Monſieur Saint Pol*, and the laſt to the Captaine of *Cremona*, with the regiments of the Duke of *Vrbin*, being twelue hundred footmen: and the Duke of *Vrbin* came on foote with two hundred men at armes, and aſſronted the baſtillions, which defended themſelues brauely for more then two

The taking of Genes by Andrew Dore.

houres by the valour of two hundred Lanceknights and eight hundred *Italians*, with a very few *Spaniards*, who though they behaued themselues valiantly, yet being but few in number, they defended themselues with great difficultie, chiefly for that the artilleries planted beyond *Thesin*, vncouered all their rampiers. In the assault *Peter Birago* was hurt in the thigh with the shot of an harquebuze, whereof he died within a few dayes, but he would not haue his bodie remoued from the place, to the end his souldiers might not abandon the assault: and in like sort was wounded with an harquebuze *Peter Boticella*, who went from the assault; they were both Captaines of the Duke of *Millan*. At last, two houres before night, they entred the towne with very small hurt, and to the great commendation of the Duke of *Vrbin*. Of those within there were slaine about seuen hundred, almost all Lanceknights: but when the army began to enter, *Galeas Birago* retired into the Castle with all the souldiers that remained, together with many men of the towne, which was deliuered wholly to the sack, but by reason it had bin sacked twise before, there was small prey; and the Castle was receiued to composition, for that there was necessity to batter it, and there was no munition in the camp, and the ditches being very large and deep, could not so soone be filled, and there were within it fiue hundred men of warre. These were the capitulations: That the *Spaniards* with the artilleries and munitions which they could draw with their hands, and with all their baggage, might go to *Millan* together with the Lanceknights, of whom there remained a very small number: and that the *Italians* might go whither they would, except *Millan*.

Pauie being taken, the Duke of *Vrbin* counselled not to thinke to force *Millan*, for that it was needfull to haue an army sufficient for two batteries: but to the end greatly to endomage it, to take *Biagrassa*, Saint *George*, *Monce* and *Coma*; and that care might be had to succour *Genes*. For though the Lanceknights and *Swissers* had made answer to *Monsieur Monti-Ian* that they would go to *Genes*, yet the Lanceknights for that they were not payed, returned to *Turea*, in so much as no succours were gone to the Castle, which *Andrew Dore* laboured to vndermine with all diligence. And for this cause *Monsieur Saint Pol* who had but an hundred Lances and two thousand footmen, prepared the seuen and twentieth day to go to the succours of *Genes*, and passed *Po* at *Portostella* in the mouth of *Thesin*, drawing towards *Tortona*, with promise to turne backe againe, if he perceiued his succours could not helpe: and the Duke of *Vrbin* in the meane while should expect him at *Pauie*, with whom there remained foure thousand *Venetian* footmen and a thousand of the regiments of the Duke of *Millan*. At this time *Anthonie de Leua* who was retired to *Millan*, forbad that no man should make bread or keepe any meale in their houses, except such as had bought the tribute of it, who payed vnto him for the space of nine moneths three duckats for euery measure of meale: with which mony he paied all that time the horsemen, the *Spaniards* and the Lanceknights; which did not onely defend him from the present danger, but entertained him all the Winter following, hauing dispersed his regiments of *Italian* footmen within *Nouaro* and certaine townes of *Lomellina*, and in the villages of the territory of *Millan*; in which places he gaue sufferance to the souldiers all the Winter to spoile and ransome the poore people. The first day of October *Monsieur Saint Pol* arriued at *Gauy*, a place within fiue and twentie miles of *Genes*, hauing left his artilleries at *Noui*. The day following he tooke the Rocke and the borough of *Fornari*, and when he passed further towards *Genes* where there was entred seuen hundred *Corsikans*, he returned againe to the borough of *Fornari*: and by reason of his want of money, he had not with him in all aboue foure thousand footmen, as well of his owne as of the companies of *Monti-Ian*, and a thousand who had bin sent from the campe with *Nicholas Dore*: and those few that were with him, passed away continually into *France*; so that despairing of the enterprise, he sent *Monti-Ian* with three hundred footmen to *Sauona*, before which towne the *Genowayes* were incamped: but they could not enter, for that it was enuironed with trenches, and all the passages taken. The tenth day of October he retired into *Alexandria*, and afterwards to *Senazzara* betweene *Alexandria* and *Pauie*, to haue conference with the Duke of *Vrbin*, but he was almost left without souldiers; and there consulting of the common affaires, and the Duke declaring that of all the souldiers, as well of the *Venetians* as of the Duke of *Millan*, there remained but foure thousand footmen, and that *Anthonie de Leua* had, what without and within *Millan* foure thousand Lanceknights, fixe hundred *Spaniards*, and foureteene hundred *Italians*, it was resolued that the Duke should retire to *Pauie*, and *Monsieur Saint Pol* to *Alexandria*; which was accorded vnto him by the Duke of *Millan*: and there was speech

of

This measure is to be vnderstood to contain about fiue quarters, a combe, and a bushell of London measure.

of entertaining new ſupplies of footmen; and then, if the time permitted, to execute the enterpriſe of *Biagraſſa*, *Mortara*, and the Caſtle of *Nouaro*. But it happened the one and twentieth day of October, that the inhabitants of *Sauona* ſeeing *Monti-Ian* could not enter, they agreed to render the towne, if they were not reſcued within certaine dayes: and therefore *Monſieur Saint Pol* who was deſirous to relieue it, but had no more ſouldiers then a thouſand footmen, required a ſupply of three thouſand footmen of the Duke of *Vrbin* and the Duke of *Millan*, who ſent him onely twelue hundred: in ſo much as hauing no aſſurance to be able to reſcue it with ſo ſmall a number of ſouldiers, he ſuffered it to be loſt: and when the *Genowayes* had obtained it, they filled the hauen with ſtones, to the end to make it vnprofitable. At which time *Theodore Triuulce* deſpairing to be ſuccoured, and being without mony, he rendred the litle Caſtle by compoſition. As ſoone as the Caſtle was conquered, it was (in a popular furie) razed by the *Genowayes*, who with the authoritie of *Andrew Dore* eſtabliſhed in that Citie a new gouernment, ſuch as had bin debated afore vnder the name of libertie: the ſubſtance whereof was, that by a Counſell of foure hundred Citizens ſhould be created all the Magiſtrates and dignities of their Citie, but chiefly the Duke and ſupreme Magiſtrate for the terme of two yeares; abrogating the law whereby the Gentlemen were before excluded therefrom. And whereas the chiefeſt foundation of preſeruing their libertie was, to labour to reconcile the diuiſions of the Citizens, which of long time had bene there more great and hurtfull then in any other Citie of *Italy* (ſeeing there was not onely one diuiſion, but the oppoſite faction of *Guelfes* and *Gibelins*: that betweene the Gentlemen and the populars, which populars alſo were not at vnitie among themſelues: and the moſt mightie faction betweene the *Adorneys* and the *Fregoſoes*: by reaſon of which diuiſions, it might be thought that that Citie, very conuenient to command the ſea, as well for the ſituation as for the knowledge of marine matters, had bin depreſſed, and for a long time almoſt in a continuall ſubiection:) therefore to cure that euill euen to the roote, extinguiſhing the names of all the families & houſes of the Citie, they conſerued & retained onely the name of eight and twentie of the moſt worthy and honourable, except the *Adorneys* and *Fregoſoes*, which they vtterly ſuppreſſed: vnder the name and number of which families, they gathered all thoſe Gentlemen and Yeomen who remained without name of their houſes: and the better to confound the memory of all factions, they ioyned the families of the Gentlemen with the houſes of the populars, and reciprocally the names of the populars with the Gentlemen: ſuch as had bin partners with the *Adorneys*, they coupled with thoſe that had followed the name of the *Fregoſoes*, and ſo of the contrary the *Fregoſoes* with the *Adorneys*. And it was ordained, that there ſhould be no diſtinction betweene them, that might hinder any one of them from aſpiring to honours and magiſtracies: by which mixture of men and names, they hoped to obtaine, that within a few yeares the peſtiferous memory of factions would be extinguiſhed: and in the meane while the authoritie of *Andrew Dore* remaining great among them, without whoſe conſent (for the reputation of the man, and becauſe of the Gallies which he had of the Emperour, the which when they were not in action, remained in the port of *Genes*, and for his other conditions) they would make no deliberation of any matter of great importance: and that which made his puiſſance and greatneſſe leſſe troubleſome, was, that the treaſure was not diſpoſed of by his direction; and he medled not with the election of the Duke and other Magiſtrates, nor with particular and leſſe matters: ſo that the Citizens being peaceable, and more inclined to merchandize then to ambition, remembring chiefly the trauels and ſubiections paſt, they had great cauſe to loue that forme of gouernment. After this, the *French* fleet and the nauie of *Andrew Dore* buckled together betweene *Monaco* and *Nice*, where one of *Dores* gallies was ſunke. After the loſſe of *Sauona*, the Duke of *Vrbin* and *Monſieur Saint Pol* met together againe at *Senare*, betweene *Alexandria* and *Pauie*: where the Duke of *Vrbin* reſolued to paſſe to the other ſide of the riuer of *Adda*, leauing the guard of *Pauie* to the Duke of *Millan*, and counſelling *Monſieur Saint Pol* to ſpend the Winter in *Alexandria*, which was a matter not very pleaſing vnto them, and wherewith not onely the Kings officers were diſcontented, but alſo the King himſelfe (not taking for paiment certaine light excuſes which the *Venetians* made to him) complained much, that they had not ſuccoured the Caſtle of *Genes*, and the Citie of *Sauona*, which the *Genowayes* had deformed. After this, a ſupply of a thouſand Lanceknights came to *Monſieur Saint Pol*, with whom, accounting the thouſand footmen which *Villaceca* had in *Lomellina*, there remained foure thouſand footmen. At this time there happened a tumult

New gouernment eſtabliſhed in Genes.

in the Marquisdome of *Salussa*: for that after the death of the Marquis *Michael Anthonie*, the Lord *Francis* his brother hauing seized vpon the iurisdiction by reason that *Gabriel* the second brother to *Anthonie*, euen in the life of his eldest brother, by direction of the mother, who had managed the gouernment of the children during their minoritie, had bin kept prisoner in the Rocke of *Ranel*, vnder colour that he was as it were mad: it happened that the Captaine of the Rocke deliuered him; by which meanes seizing vpon the mother who had holden him prisoner, and being acknowledged by the people, he conquered the whole Estate, from whence his brother fled, who soone after got into *Carmignola*, where, hauing reassembled his forces, he ouerthrew his brother *Gabriel*.

Monti Lan misseth to surprise Andrew Dore.

There passed no more matters of consequence in *Lombardie* for this yeare, sauing that the Count *Caiazze* ranne vp euen to *Millan*, taking aduantage vpon the negligence of the *Venetians*, who omitted to send *Monsieur Saint Pol* the forces they had promised for the enterprise of *Seranalle*, *Gauy*, and other places of the *Genowayes*. There was also attempted an action of importance: for *Monti-Ian* and *Villacerca* with two thousand footmen and fiftie horsemen, departed in the euening from *Vitade*, to surprise *Andrew Dore* in his Pallace, which standing on that side towards the sea, was close to the walls of *Genes*: but this plot tooke no effect, for that the footmen being wearied with the longnesse of the way, which was two and twentie miles, could not arriue in the night, but when it was now some houres in the day, so that the alarme being raised, *Andrew Dore* conueying himselfe out at the backside, leaped into a barke, and by that meanes auoided the danger: and the *French* men without doing any other thing then sack the Pallace, returned in safetie. Also the Count *Caiazze* hauing layd an ambush betweene *Millan* and *Monce*, ouerthrew fiue hundred Lanceknights and an hundred light horsemen, who went to safe-conduct the victuallers: but being afterwards sent to *Bergama*, he so afflicted that Citie with pillage and robbing, that the Senate of *Venice*, who had established him Captaine generall ouer the infanterie, not being able to endure so great insolencie and auarice, cassiered him, and put him with infamy out of their pay. About this time the *Spaniards* tooke the towne of *Vigeuena*, and *Belgioioso* who was escaped out of the hands of the *French* men, being sent by *Anthonie de Leua* with two thousand footmen to surprise *Pauie*, wherein was a garrison of fiue hundred footmen of the Duke of *Millan*, presented himselfe one night before the walls, but being discouered, he was compelled to retire without doing any thing. There arriued in the countrey of *Genes* two thousand *Spaniards*, whom the Emperour sent out of *Spaine* to defend *Genes*, or to go to *Millan*, according to the occasion of affaires, to whom *Belgioioso* went to conduct them: *Monsieur Saint Pol* prepared himselfe to stop the coming of these footmen, who made shew that they would take the way either of *Casale* or *Plaisance*, and made instance that the *Venetian* bands would make themselues strong at *Loda*, to the end that the bands of *Millan* might not backe them: he laboured also to perswade them to execute ioyntly the enterprise of *Millan*, whereunto he was encouraged by the want of victuals, and the despaire of that people, which the Duke of *Vrbin* disswaded: but the *Venetians* proceeded coldly in great and braue actions, and at that time much more, for that by reason of the report of *Andrew Nauager* their Embassadour who was returned out of *Spaine*, made in fauour of the Emperour, and in regard of a certaine practise and intelligence which was entertained at *Rome* with the Emperours Embassadour, the opinions of the Senate were diuers, many inclining to accord with the Emperour: and yet at last it was resolued to continue the confederation with the *French* King. At which time *Torniello* hauing passed the riuer of *Thesin* with two thousand footmen, tooke *Basignan*, and went towards *Lomellina*: and the Abbot of *Farfa* going with his horsemen to *Cresoentin*, a place belonging to the Duke of *Sauoy*, was defeated by night and taken prisoner: but being deliuered by the meanes of the Marquis of *Montferrat* and the Marquis of *Mus*, he ouerthrew certaine souldiers of *Anthonie de Leua*, and tooke their artilleries. It was doubted lest the Pope adhered to the Emperours part, for that the Cardinall *Saint Crosse* being arriued at *Naples*, caused three Cardinals who were there in hostage to be deliuered, and the rumour ran, that he had commission from the Emperour to cause *Ostia* and *Ciuitauecchia* to be rendred: and by his meanes (the Pope being also solicited) *Andrew Dore* restored *Porthercule* to the *Siennois*. But it was dayly more and more discouered that the Popes mind was inclined to innouation, for that by his meanes (though secretly) *Braccio Baillon* in regard of the affaires of *Perousa*, molested *Malatesta*, notwithstanding he was in his pay: and when he vnderstood that the Duke

of

of *Ferrara* was come to *Modena*, he conspired to take him in his returne to *Ferrara* with an ambush of two hundred horsemen laid by *Paul Lucasso* at the house of the *Coppio*, vpon the confines of *Modena*: but for that the Duke stirred not out of *Modena*, the deuice was disclosed. The Realme of *Naples* at this time was not entirely deliuered of the calamities of the warre notwithstanding the ouerthrow of the *French*: for that *Simon Renzo* hauing assembled new companies, had taken *Mesa*, *Orbi*, and *Amigdalara*, townes standing vpon the sea side at the point of the *Appenine*; and *Federike Caraffa*, whom the Duke of *Vrbino* had sent with a thousand footmen, and many others of the countrey being ioyned with him, he had an army not to be despised: but after the victory of the Imperials about *Naples*, seeing himselfe abandoned of the companies of the Duke of *Grauina*, he tooke *Barletta*, whereinto he entred by the Castle, and stayed there: the *Venetians* holding at the same time *Trany* guarded by *Camilla*, and *Monopoly* defended by *John Conrado*, both of the family of the *Vrsins*. After this *Renze de Cere* and the Prince of *Melfe* came into the kingdome with a thousand footmen, who being reduced betweene *Nocera* and *Gualdo*, and afterwards retiring thence by the commandement of the Pope, who would not offend the minds of the victors, they embarked themselues at *Sinigaly*, & went by sea to *Barletta*, with intention to renew the warre in *Pouille*, a matter determined by common consent of the Confederates, to the end to constraine the Imperiall army to make their abode in the kingdome of *Naples* vntill the Spring time, at what time they spake of making new prouisions for the common good. And for this cause, the *French* king sent to *Renze* succours of money: and the *Venetians* who desired the like, the rather to retaine more easily by the helpe of others, the townes which they had taken in *Pouille*, offered to furnish him of twelue gallies: but when the King vrged them to arme those gallies, and that the expences should be accounted vpon the fourescore thousand duckats wherevnto they were bound by the contribution promised to *Monsieur Lautrech*, they would not hearken to it. The King of *England* promised not to be behind in the ordinary prouisions: and the *Florentines* had contracted to pay the third part of the companies which *Renze* had leuied. The Imperials shewed no great readinesse to quench so great a fire, being busied in getting of money to pay the souldiers that which was due to them for the time past. And to leuie those exactions with more facilitie, and to assure the kingdome with examples of seueritie, the Prince of *Orange* caused *Federike Carraza* some to the Duke of *Trayetto*, and *Henrie Pandon* Duke of *Bouiano*, a descendant of one of the daughters of old *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, together with foure other *Neapolitans*, to be beheaded publikly in the market place of *Naples*, where the plague was very hote, vsing the same punishment in other places also of the kingdome: by which example hauing astonished the minds of all men, he proceeded against the absent that had followed the *French* faction, and made confiscation of their goods, which afterwards he compounded for with money, forgetting no extremitie, to get as much treasure as he could: and all these things were managed by the wit of *Ierome Moron*, to whom was giuen in recompence of his seruices the Duchie of *Bouiano*. To these emotions was added, that in *Abruzza Iohn Iaques Franco* entred for the *French* king into *Matrice*, which is neare to *Aquila*, by reason whereof all the countrey was in commotion, and they were in feare in *Aquila*, where lay sicke *Sarra Colonna* with fiue hundred footmen. Furthermore, the *Venetians* made prouision for the affaires of *Pouille*, and sent by sea certaine light horsemen to furnish *Barletta*, and part of the vessels that carried them perished in the lakes of *Barletta* and *Trany*, where their Treasurer was drowned, who was in a Skiffe: and the horsemen, who had for their Leader *Iohn Conrado Vrsin*, being sore beaten with the rage of the tempest, fell into the hands of the Imperials: and *Iohn Paul de Cere*, who made shipwracke neare *Guasto*, remained prisoner to the Marquis. In the end of the yeare, the region of *Aquila* became for the League, by the meanes of the Bishop of that Citie, and of the Count *Montorio*, with other of the exiles, and the cause was, for that they were hardly vsed by the Imperials.

Executions at Naples.

Now followeth the yeare 1529. in the beginning whereof there appeared on all sides signes of disposition to peace, which in all likelihood was to be negociated in the Popes Court. For when it was knowne that the Cardinall *Saint Croisse* (such was the title of the *Spanish* Generall) was gone vp to *Rome* with warrant from the Emperour to conclude a peace; the *French* King, who had a great desire thereof, sent a commission to his Embassadours, and the King of *England* sent Embassadours to *Rome* for the same cause. Which practises ioyned to the trauell

1529.

and marineſſe of Princes, cauſed the Confederates to proceed ſlowly in the prouiſions of war; and in *Lombardie* their greateſt care was, how the *Spaniards* that were come to *Genes* might paſſeon *Millan*, from whence their Launceknights for want of pay, were almoſt all gone away: and to conclude, there the Duke *Palgioneſe* with an hundred horſemen was gone vp as farre as *Caſa*; and from thence he came to *Genes* in a diſguiſed habite, from whence he led the ſaid *Spaniards* to *Seruia*, with intention to gather together fiue hundred more newly come out of *Spaine*, who were landed at *Hellefranche*. But to the Realme of *Naples* the Imperials doubting leſt the rebellion of *Aquila* and *Matrice*, together with the ſtirres that had bin made in *Powilla*, might breed ſome matter of farre greater importance, they determined to conuert ſuch forces as they had to the ſuppreſſion of thoſe places. Therefore it was reſolued that the Marquis of *Guaſt* with his *Spaniſh* footmen, ſhould go to recouer the townes of *Powilla*: and that the Prince of *Orange* likewiſe with the Launceknights ſhould go to recouer *Aquila* and *Matrice*: who as ſoone as he approached *Aquila*, they that were within iſſued out, and the Prince compounded for the Citie and the countrey for an hundred thouſand duckats, and tooke from them alſo the ſhrine of ſilver which the *French* king *Lewis* the tenth had dedicated to Saint *Bernard*. From thence he ſent ſouldiers to *Matrice*, where lay in garriſon *Camillo Pardo* with foure hundred footmen, who was gone away not many dayes before, with promiſe to returne againe: but either for feare, becauſe there was no wine, the water being cut off, and the townesmen at diſcord with the ſouldiers, or for ſome other reaſon, not onely he returned not, but alſo he gaue them not all the money which the *Florentines* had ſent vnto him to defend that place: ſo that the ſouldiers went their way ouer the walls, and the towne rendred. By reaſon of which happie ſucceſſes it was feared leſt the Prince of *Orange* would paſſe into *Toſcan* at the inſtance of the Pope, who being deliuered of a moſt dangerous, but ſhort diſeaſe, ceaſſed not to ſolicite, and giue hopes to euery one. For he promiſed the *French* men to ſticke to the League, if *Rauenna* and *Seruia* were rendred vnto him: and to compound vnder reaſonable conditions with the *Florentines* and the Duke of *Ferrara*, who at the paiments of the money made before to *Monſieur Lautrech*, had affirmed that he payed it of his liberalitie, and not by vertue of obligation, ſeeing the Pope had not ratified it. On the other ſide, hauing recouered (though with great charges) the Caſtles of *Oſtia* and *Ciuitauecchia*, by vertue of a commiſſion which the Cardinall *Saint Croſſe* had brought, he entertained with the Emperour practiſes more ſecret, and more certaine; and they debated together rather of their affaires particular (with a more ſecret and ſolid foundation then before) then of the vniuerſall, tending to peace. But in *Powilla* the ſtate of affaires was this: *Barletta* was holden for the *French* king, in the which was *Ranſe de Cere*, and with him the Prince of *Melfe*, *Federike Caraffa*, *Simon Romain*, *Camillo Pardo*, *Galeas Farneſe*, *John Conrard Vrſin*, and the Prince of *Stigliano*. The *Venetians* held *Trany*, *Polignany*, and *Monopoly*, and had in theſe places two thouſand footmen, and ſixe hundred light horſemen *Albanois*, whereof two hundred were within *Monopoly*. They held alſo the port of *Biellry*. Now when the *French* king had in the beginning ſent a ſmall ſumme of money to thoſe companies, he made no prouiſion, neither did he accept the welue bodies of gallies offered to him by the *Venetians*, who loſt three gallies in the lake of *Biellry*, with a great Foiſt, as they went to reuictuall *Trany* and *Barletta*: and they had loſt fiue more at ſundry times, whereof notwithſtanding they recouered the artilleries & the other equipage. The *French* men held alſo the Mount Saint *Angelo*, and *Nardo* in the quarter of *Ottranto*, and *Caſtro*, wherein was the Count *Dugento*: and the warre being performed by the men of the kingdome and the forces of the countrey, many rebels to the Emperour were aſſembled in ſundry places, and many alſo who as aduenturers followed the warre for pillage onely: ſo that the condition of the countrey was more miſerable then any man would haue beleeued, being wholly expoſed to robberies, preyes, ranſomes, and burning on all ſides: but the incurſions of *Simon Romain* were more famous then any other, who ouer-running with his light horſemen and a band of two hundred and fiftie footmen all the parts thereabouts, brought oftentimes into *Barletta* cattell, corne, and all other things: and iſſuing ſometimes with a great number of footmen, he ſacked, either by ſurpriſe, or by force, now this towne, and then another, as it happened to *Canoſa*, whereinto being entred in the night by the benefit of ladders, he ſacked it, and tooke away many horſes that belonged to the fortie men at armes that lay in the Caſtle. At laſt the Marquis of *Guaſt* forbearing to attempt any thing againſt *Barletta*, being a ſtrong towne and wel fortified, he incamped in March before the towne of *Monopoly* with foure thouſand *Spaniards*

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and two thousand *Italians* for the Lanceknights being fiue and twentie hundred in number staying in *Abruzzo*, refused to go to *Pouilla*. He incamped in a small valley, so couered with the mountaine, that he could not be endomaged with the artilleries of the towne: wherein were *Camillo Vrsino* and *Iohn Hotterio* Treasurer, to whom *Ranse* sent speedily vpon the gallies three hundred footmen. *Monopoly* being a towne of small circuite, hath the sea on three sides of it, and towards the land there is a wall of three hundred or three hundred and fiftie paces, with a ditch about it. The Marquis caused a bastillion to be made ouer against the wall, within the shot of an harquebuze, and two others vpon the sea shore, on either side one: but these being so far off, beat the sea, and the gate towards the sea, to keepe the gallies from bringing in any succours or victuals. In the beginning of Aprill the Marquis gaue the assault to *Monopoly*, where he lost more then fiue hundred souldiers and many pioners, besides three peeces of artilleries that were broken; and then he retired a mile and a halfe, for that the artilleries out of the towne endomaged him much: so that the *Venetians* in a sally assailed the bastillions which he had made, making slaughter of more then an hundred men, and assured the port with a bastillion made vpon the shore right ouer against that of the enemies. The Marquis approched to *Monopoly* againe, and made two cauallieis to beare into the inner parts of the towne, and trenches, to leade him euen vnto their ditches, to fill them with fixe hundred loades of bauins: but shortly after, two hundred footmen that issued out of *Monopoly* burned that bastillion. Afterwards the Marquis approching with a trench directly to the battery, and hauing made another trench towards the lodging of the *Spaniards* within a stones cast of the ditch, and fortified a bastillion behind, he planted his artilleries vpon it, and beare downe three score fadomes of the next wall within foure fadomes of the earth: but vnderstanding that the same night were entred new companies sent by *Ranse*, he retired his artilleries, and consequently the end of the moneth of May drawing on, he raised his campe. Whilest the campe was before *Monopoly*, and after it was retired from thence, there were diuers factions and emotions, for those of *Barletta* did great harmes and domages; and the souldiers that were in mount Saint *Angelo*, hauing for Commander *Federike Caraffa*, tooke Saint *Seuero*, and succouring the towne of *Vico*, they compelled the Imperials to leuie their campe from thence. After this, *Caraffa* went by sea with fixe and twentie saile to *Lanciano*, where lay an hundred & threescore men at armes, & entring the place by force, he brought away three hundred horse of seruice, and a great bootie, without leauing there any garrison. There were also many exiles who did great harmes in *Basilicata*; by reason of which difficulties the Imperials were much hindred in gathering the taxes and impositions. And it was not to be doubted, if the *French* king had sent money and any succours, but there had happened new difficulties to the Imperials throughout the whole kingdome, by reason whereof the Emperours army would at least haue had worke enough to defend that which they held. But such disordred and tumultuous companies being without any succours or refreshing (for the *Florentines* onely ministred in some sort to *Ranse*) could in the end do no action of great consequence; seeing withall the Duke of *Ferrara* refused to send to *Ranse* by sea foure peeces of artilleries, and the store of money and corne began already to diminish within *Barletta*: and about fixe hundred rebels of the countrey of *Calabria*, besieged by the Viceroy within *Montlion*, being driuen for want of munition and victuals to render the place, were led prisoners to *Naples*. Afterwards the Prince of *Melfe* with the army by sea, and *Federike Caraffa* by land, went to incampe before *Malfetta*, a place aforetime belonging to the Prince, where *Federike* as he fought was slaine with the blow of a stone: for whose death the Prince being wroth, when he had taken the towne by force, he sacked it. A like misaduenture befell *Simon Romain*, for that the *Venetian* army, which from the cape of *Ottranta* vexed all the countrey, being drawne neare to *Brundusium*, they set on land certaine companies of souldiers (with whom was *Simon Romain*) and tooke the towne; but in assaulting the Rocke, *Simon* was slaine with a bullet from the artilleries.

Whilest matters went thus in the Realme of *Naples*, *Lombardie* remained not in rest: for that *Monsieur Saint Pol* about the end of March tooke *Serraualle* by force, and the Castle compounded to stand neuter. But the enemies being secretly entred in the night, he feared he could no longer hinder the *Spaniards* from coming to *Millan*, chiefly for that his numbers diminished dayly for want of money, whereof he receiued but very litle from the King, and that litle being partly employed to his owne vse, and partly imbeaseled by the officers for want of good

The proceedings of Monsieur Saint Pol in Lombardie.

gouernment. The King and the *Venetians* disputed what enterprise were good to take in hand: and the King made instance for *Genes*, for the importance of that Citie, chiefly for that it was holden for certaine, that the Emperour would passe into *Italy* the next Sommer: and for as much as the King saw that the *Venetians* had neuer holpen him either to succour or recouer *Genes*, although they excused themselues vpon the rumour which they said ranne through all *Italy* of the descending of new Lanceknights, he doubted lest they were ill contented with the successe of that enterprise. But the *Venetians* alleaging that there remained but a small number of souldiers with *Anthonie de Leua*, and offering when *Millan* was conquered to send companies to the siege of *Genes*, it was resolued by the Kings consent to embrace the enterprise of *Millan* with sixteene thousand footmen at the common charges. This resolution was made in March, the Duke of *Vrbin* being absent, who, for that the Prince of *Orange* and the Lanceknights were drawne neare the confines of the kingdome, was retired into his owne Estate, almost against the will of the *Venetians*: neuertheless the *Venetians* retained him againe into their pay, with the same conditions which aforetime *Bartholmew Aluiano* and the Count *Petillano* had obtained of them, and sent him three hundred horsemen and three thousand footmen for his defence, as they were bound, and gaue the title of Gouernour to *Ianus Fregoso*. There was in the army of the *Venetians* sixe hundred men at armes, a thousand light horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, notwithstanding they were bound to maintaine twelue thousand: which army tooke *Cassiano* by force the sixt day of Aprill, the Rocke rendring to discretion; and *Anthonie de Leua* and *Torniello* who were come out of *Millan* to diuert the enemies, returned backe without doing any thing. The passage from *Genes* to *Millan* succeeded well to the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding there had bin so many practises and consultations vsed to stop them. For *Monsieur Saint Pol* and the *Venetians* being of opinion that they would endeuour to passe by the territories of *Tortona* and *Alexandria*; at their departure from *Voltaggio* they tooke (according to the direction of *Belgioioso*) the longer way by the mountaine of *Plaisance* and the places subiect to the Church: and being come to *Varsi* in the said mountaine, notwithstanding *Monsieur Saint Pol* caused an hundred and fiftie horsemen to march thither, and sent aduertisement of their marching to *Lodi*, and to the *Venetian* companies, who, that they might hinder them, sent part of their bands to the Duke of *Millan*, but one day later then they should, and in lesse numbers then they promised; yet they passed *Po* by night at *Arena*, vsing the seruice of the vessels of *Plaisance*: so that being no more able to stop their vniting with *Anthonie de Leua*, who for the more facilitie thereof was come to *Landriano*, within twelue miles of *Pauie*, they ioyned with him, and being conducted to *Millan*, so poore and naked of all things, that they bore the resemblance of rogues, they increased the calamities of the *Millanois*, robbing them euen in the streets. Thus the proiects which the *French* and the *Venetians* had layed all the Winter, were to no purpose, which were to stop the passage of these footmen, to take *Gauy*, and the places enuironing in regard of *Genes*, and *Case*, which did great domages to the whole countrey. Moreouer *Anthonie de Leua* tooke *Binasque* also by composition. But because the *Spaniards* had serued their turnes of the Barks of *Plaisance*, & because it was beleeued, they had not remoued but with assurance that in case of necessitie they might retire into that Citie, together with many other apparences, it augmented the suspition of the Confederates (specially when they saw the restitution of the Castle) that the Pope either was accorded, or would accord with the Emperour.

Deuices of the Pope to restore his house into Florence.

Now so it is, that though the Pope, who in his heart desired aboue all things to recouer the Estate of *Florence*, circumuenting the *French* Embassadours, he entertained sundrie practises, and propounded diuers hopes to them and the other Confederates to enter league with them: neuertheles being partly moued with feare of the greatnes of the Emperor and the prosperitie of his successes, and partly through hope to induce him more easily then he could induce the *French* king, to restore his house into *Florence*, he inclined more on the Emperours side then to the *French* king. He had also a vehement desire to make easie this designe, to draw to his deuotion the Estate of *Perousa*; and it was beleeued, that for this cause he entertained *Braccio Baillon*, who managed euery day new practises in those quarters: by reason whereof *Malatesta*, doubting, lest whilest he was in his pay, he should be oppressed with his fauour, thought it necessary to seeke to put himselfe into the protection of some other: and therefore being incited either with that cause, or with the couetousnesse of greater things, or with an ancient hatred,

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he refuſed to reenter into his pay, pretending that he was not bound for the whole yeare, for that, as he alleaged, there was nothing ſet downe in writing, notwithſtanding the Pope maintained that he was bound. He ſolicited therefore to enter into the pay of the *French* King and the *Florentines*, complaining of the practiſes entertained againſt him by the Cardinall of *Cortona*, and of a letter which he had ſurpriſed, written by the Cardinall *de Medicis* to *Braccio Baillon*. But the Pope ſeeking indirectly to ſtop this matter, forbad by publike Edicts, that none of his ſubiects without his leaue, ſhould take the pay of other Princes, vpon paine of confiſcation: and yet for all that *Malateſta* forbare not to proſecute his deuice: to whom the *French* men bound themſelues to giue him two hundred horſemen, two thouſand crownes penſion, the Order of Saint *Michael*, and two thouſand footmen in time of warre: and the *Florentines* gaue him the title of Gouernour, two thouſand crownes penſion, a thouſand footmen in time of warre, fiftie horſemen for his ſonne, and fiftie for the ſon of *Horacio*, with fiue hundred crownes for the maintainance of them both. They tooke vpon them the protection of his Eſtate of *Perouſa*; and the *French* king and they together, gaue him an hundred crownes a moneth in time of peace, to entertaine ten Captaines: and alſo the *Florentines* payed him for two hundred footmen for the guard of *Perouſa*. And for his part, he bound himſelfe to march for their ſeruice with a thouſand footmen when their affaires ſo required, yea though he ſhould not haue the bands promiſed him by the *French* king. The Pope complained much hereof to the *French* king, as a matter done directly to let him for diſpoſing according to his owne will, of a Citie ſubiect to the Church, inſomuch as the King (not to prouoke the Pope) deferred to ratifie it: and therefore the Pope hoping that *Malateſta* might be remoued from that mind, he perſwaded him to continue out his yeare; and at the ſame time he entertained ſecretly *Braccio Baillon*, *Sarra Colonno*, and the exiles of *Perouſa*, who when they had aſſembled bands of ſouldiers, incamped themſelues at *Norcia*. But all theſe practiſes ſerued to no purpoſe, for that *Malateſta* was reſolued not to continue in the Popes pay; and the *Florentines* aiding him openly, he feared not theſe emotions, which ceaſſed forthwith, the Pope knowing they ſufficed not to accompliſh his deſignes. Beſides, the Pope would not ſuffer the Duke of *Ferrara* to dwell in reſt, and was ſo farre from obſeruing the couenants made with the Duke in the name of the Colledge of Cardinals, that the Biſhoprick of *Modena* being newly fallen void by the death of the Cardinall *Gonzaga*, which had bene promiſed to the Dukes ſonne by the ſaid couenants, he conferred it vpon a ſonne of *Ierome Morons*, ſeeking, by denying the poſſeſſion, an occaſion to prouoke againſt the Duke ſuch a perſonage who had great authoritie in the armie of the Emperour. He entertained alſo a practiſe with *Ierome Pio* to occupie *Reggio*, and that by the meanes of *Hubert de Gambaro* Gouernour of *Bolognia*: but the Duke being informed of this practiſe, he chaſtiſed *Pio* as he deſerued. He layed plots alſo to ſurpriſe *Rauenna*, which likewiſe ſorted not to effect. At which time his mind inclining dayly to the Emperours part, and matters being now in good forwardneſſe, he ſent vnto him the Biſhop of *Vaſone* his Steward. He called backe the cauſe of diuorce of the King of *England*, which he would haue done long before, had not the regard of the Bull which was already in *England* in the hands of his Legate *Campeius*, retained him. For the affaires of the Emperour being increaſed in *Italy*, he would not onely not offend him any more, but rather reuoke the offence he had made: ſo that hauing determined euen before he was ſicke, to reuoke the cauſe, he ſent *Francis Campagna* into *England* to the Cardinall *Campeius*, informing the King that he was ſent for other matters, which notwithſtanding concerned the ſame cauſe, but with commiſſion to *Campeius* to burne the Bull: the which albeit he deferred to performe, becauſe of the ſicknes whereinto the Pope was fallen, yet when he was recouered, he executed his command: ſo that the Pope being deliuered of that feare, reuoked the cauſe, with the great indignation of that King, eſpecially when demanding the Bull of the Cardinall, he vnderſtood what had happened. Theſe things were the cauſe of the ruine of the Cardinall of *Yorke*, for that the King ſuppoſed the authoritie of the Cardinall to be ſo great with the Pope, that if his mariage with the Ladie *Anne* had bene pleaſing to him, he might haue obtained of the Pope what diſpenſation he would. By which occaſion opening his eares to the enuie and calumniations of his aduerſaries, he tooke from him all his mony, and goods of wonderfull value, and leauing him a ſmall part of the reuenues of his Benefices, he reſtrained him to his Biſhopricke, with a ſlender traine of ſeruants: and not long after, either for a ſurpriſe of letters which he wrote to the *French* king, or for ſome other cauſe (at the incitation

The cauſe of the ruine of the Cardinall of Yorke.

of

of his ſaid aduerſaries, who gathering by the Kings ſpeeches, that he was ſomewhat inclined towards him, feared leſt he would recouer his former authoritie) he was conuented to appeare before the Councell to ſpeake for himſelfe in matters obiected againſt him: for which cauſe, being brought to the Court as priſoner, and a fluxe ſeizing vpon him by the way, either through ſpite or feare, he died the ſecond day of his ſickneſſe; an example in our dayes very memorable of the power of Fortune and Enuie in the Courts of Princes.

At this time there happened at *Florence*, to the great preiudice of the gouernment that then was, a new alteration againſt *Nicholas Cappony Gonfalonnier*, almoſt vpon the end of the ſecond yeare of his Magiſtracie, which was cauſed principally by the enuie of ſome of the chiefe Citizens, who by occaſion made vſe of the vaine ſuſpition and ignorance of the Commons. *Nicholas Cappony*, during all the time of his Magiſtracie, had two principall obiects, the one, to defend againſt freſh enuie thoſe that had bene honoured by the *Medices*, yea endeuouring that the principals among them might communicate with the other Citizens in the honours and publike counſels: and the other, not to exaſperate the mind of the Pope in matters which were not of importance touching the libertie: both which things were found very profitable to the cõmonwealth. For many, euen of thoſe who were perſecuted as enemies to the gouernment, being ſecure, and kindly vſed, would haue bene firmly conioyned with the others to preſerue the ſtate, knowing withall, that the Pope, for matters happening in the times when the gouernment changed, was ill contented with them. And touching the Pope, albeit he deſired vehemently the returne of his kinſmen, yet hauing no new prouocation, he had ſo much the leſſe occaſion to deale raſhly, and to complaine (as he did continually) to other Princes. But againſt theſe matters was oppoſed the ambition of ſome, who, knowing that if ſuch ſhould be admitted to the gouernment who had bin friends to the *Medices*, and were without doubt men of moſt experience and valour, that their authoritie would be the leſſe, laboured after nothing more, then to keepe the common people full of ſuſpition againſt the Pope and againſt them, ſlandering the *Gonfalonnier*, as well for theſe cauſes, as to the end he might not continue in the Magiſtracie for the third yeare, charging him that he had not a mind ſo farre eſtranged from the family of the *Medices*, as the intereſt and profite of the Commonweale required. For which ſlanders *Cappoui* was nothing moued, and holding it very neceſſary not to haue the Pope incenſed, he entertained him priuatly with letters and embaſſages; and yet he neither began nor proſecuted any ſuch practiſes without the continuall priuitie and knowledge of ſome ſuch as were Principals and chiefe Magiſtrates, nor for any other end, then to retaine him from ſome act of precipitation. But a letter that he had receiued from *Rome* falling from him by fortune, wherein there were certaine words that might breed ſuſpition in ſuch as knew not the ground and foundation of theſe things, and this letter coming into the hands of ſome of thoſe that ſate and managed the ſupreme function, there were certaine yong men aroſe in ſedition, and by force of armes made themſelues maiſters of the publike Pallace, retaining the *Gonfalonnier* as priſoner, and when they had called together in maner of a tumult, almoſt all the Magiſtrates, and many Citizens, they determined to depriue him of the Magiſtracie; which being approued in the great Councell, his cauſe was afterwards referred to the examination of the law, wherein being abſolued by iudgement, he was accompanied with almoſt all the Nobilitie, euen to his houſe with great honour: and in his place was preferred *Francis Carducci*, a perſonage vnworthy of ſuch a dignitie, if regard be had to his life paſſed, his manners, and his euill ends and intentions.

Now they began to ſtirre againe in *Lombardie*, *Monſieur Saint Pol* hauing paſſed the riuer of *Po* at *Valencia* the ſeuen and twentieth day of Aprill; by reaſon whereof the Imperials abandoned the borough of *Baſignana*, and the pariſh of *Caira*. From thence *Monſieur Saint Pol* ſent *Guido Rangon* with a part of the armie to *Mortara*, a place ſtrong for the double ditches, flankes & waters: and as they had planted by night their artilleries, without prouiſion of gabions, without trenches, and other like preparations, they were before day charged by thoſe within, which did them great domage, and cloyed two peeces of artillerie, with danger to loſe them all: and it was imputed as a fault to *Guido*, although he was ſomewhat ill diſpoſed, that he was not preſent in perſon when they were planted. There was at that time ill prouiſions within *Millan*, and thoſe of the *French* and *Venetians* were no whit better, who complaining one of another, made no prouiſion at all: in ſo much, as among other difficulties, the Confederates fell into ſome doubt,

doubt, that the Duke of *Millan*, for the litle hope he ſaw remaining to recouer that State, with his or their forces and ſuccours, would make ſome accord with the Imperials, by the meanes of *Moron*. But the thoughts of the *French* king tended altogether to peace, for a diſtruſt he had not to be able otherwiſe to recouer his children: and the Emperour being alſo inclined thereunto, two Gentlemen whom the Ladie *Margaret* had ſent vnto him for that effect, were returned from *Spaine*, bringing to her ample commiſſion to go through with the peace: whereof when the *French* king was aduertiſed by a Secretarie of his, whom for that cauſe he had ſent into *Flanders*, he required the Confederates to ſend commiſſions on their part alſo: and hauing determined in himſelfe to leaue off all prouiſions of warre (ſeeking notwithſtanding to haue ſome iuſt colour) he complained that the *Venetians* refuſed to contribute the money for his paſſage. For albeit at the firſt they had earneſtly ſolicited, if the Emperour did come, that he alſo would paſſe into *Italy*, and the King had offered to do it with foure and twentie hundred Lances, a thouſand light horſemen, and twentie thouſand footmen, in caſe the Confederates would giue him money to pay a thouſand light horſemen and twentie thouſand footmen beſides theſe, and that they would contribute to the moitie of the expenſes of the artilleries: yet afterwards, whatſoeuer the occaſion was, they withdrew themſelues.

All the Princes bent to peace

At this time *Monſieur Saint Pol* with foure cannons tooke Saint *Angelo* by force, wherein was a garriſon of foure hundred footmen: and then he turned to Saint *Colombano*, to open paſſage of victuals to *Plaiſance*, and had it by compoſition. Afterwards vnderſtanding that there were foure hundred footmen within *Millan*, but very ſicke, he thought to aſſault it. The ſecond day of May *Mortara* rendred to *Monſieur Saint Pol* at diſcretion, but it was after it had bene ſo battered, that it could no longer make defence: and *Torniello* leauing the towne of *Nouaro*, but not the Caſtle, wherein he put a very ſlender ſtrength of footmen, he retired to *Millan*: ſo that the Imperials held no other peece beyond the riuer of *Theſin* then *Gaya* and the Rocke of *Biagraſſa*; *Monſieur Saint Pol* hauing alſo gotten the Rocke of *Vigeuena*. The tenth day he marched to the bridge of *Loca*, to ioyne with the *Venetians* at the borough of Saint *Martin*. After this the Duke of *Vrbin* came to the armie, and coming to ſpeake together with *Belgioioſo*, they reſolued in common counſell to incampe before *Millan* with two armies on two ſides; for which expedition *Monſieur Saint Pol* paſſing ouer *Theſin*, ſhould turne to *Biagraſſa* to force it, and the ſame day the *Venetians* ſhould go to the borough of Saint *Martin*, which is within fiue miles of *Millan*, the *Venetians* aſſuring that they had twelue thouſand footmen, and *Monſieur Saint Pol* eight thouſand, to whom were to be ioyned the footmen of the Duke of *Millan*. *Monſieur Saint Pol* therefore paſſed the riuer of *Theſin*, and finding the towne of *Biagraſſa* abandoned, he had the Caſtle by accord: and after incamping at *Gazano*, about eight miles from *Millan*, he conferred againe the third day of Iune with the Duke of *Vrbin* at *Binaſquo*: in which place being certified that the *Venetians* had not the one halfe of twelue thouſand footmen, whereunto they were bound by the capitulations of the contract, and *Monſieur Saint Pol* complained greatly thereof, it was determined to approch *Millan* with one campe onely, on the ſide of *Lazaretto*, notwithſtanding Count *Guido* alleaged, that *Anthonie de Leua*, who held no more then *Millan* and *Coma*, was wont to ſay, that *Millan* could not be forced but with two campes. But not many dayes after, changing counſell, the Chieftaines of both the armies being aſſembled within *Loda*, the Dukes of *Millan* and *Vrbin* notwithſtanding they had ſolicited before to haue the campe go to *Millan*, and diſſwaded the expedition of *Genes*, aduiſed the contrary, the Duke of *Vrbin* alleaging many reaſons for this new deliberation; but principally for that ſeeing the Emperour made preparation to paſſe into *Italy* (for whoſe conduct *Andrew Dore* was departed from *Genes* with his gallies the eight day of Iune,) and that it was knowne that in *Germanie* there was intention to ſend new companies of Lanceknights into *Italy* vnder Captaine *Felix*, he knew not whether it were better to take *Millan*, or not to take it. Theſe were the reaſons alleaged by him; but it was beleeued, that for an opinion he had of the peace which was negociated in *Flanders*, he had ſignified to the Senate of *Venice*, that it was a matter vnprofitable to put themſelues in expenſes for the recouery of *Millan*. The ſumme of his counſell was, that the regiments of the *Venetians* ſhould tarry at *Caſſiano*, thoſe of the Duke of *Millan* at *Pauie*, and *Monſieur Saint Pol* at *Biagraſſa*, by the ſeruice of the horſemen, to ſtop victuals from entring into *Millan*, where it was ſuppoſed they would ſoone fall into want of food, for that the moſt part of the countrey thereabout was not ſowed. *Monſieur Saint Pol* could not turne him from this opinion,

opinion, neither did he like that he ſhould ſtay with his armie at *Biagraſſa*, alleaging, that to famiſh *Millan*, it was enough that the *Venetian* regiments remained at *Monce*, and the bands of the Duke of *Millan* at *Pauie* and *Vigeuena*; and that the King preſſed him, in caſe they went not to incampe before *Millan*, to execute the enterpriſe of *Genes*, which he purpoſed to attempt with great celeritie, hoping that in the abſence of *Andrew Dore*, *Ceſar Fregoſo* to whom the *French* king had accorded that he ſhould be Gouernor thereof and not his father, wold cauſe it to reuolt with a ſmal ſtrength of footmen. Which proceedings, together with the information how much the armie of the Confederates was diminiſhed in footmen, had ſo aſſured *Anthonie de Leua* of the danger of *Millan*, that he ſent out *Philip Torniello* with a few horſemen, and three hundred footmen to recouer *Nouaro*, whileſt the *French* men and the *Venetians* were betweene *Theſin* and *Millan*: who being entred by the Caſtle which was holden by the Imperials, he recouered *Nouaro*, and afterwards iſſued out with his forces to ſpoile and get victuals. But it happened that the Captaine of *Nouaro* being iſſued out of the Caſtle, and walking through the towne, two ſouldiers of the Duke of *Millan* and three of the inhabitants of *Nouaro* that were priſoners in the Caſtle, when they had ſlaine him (with the aide of ſome that wrought in the Caſtle) and taken priſoners certaine *Spaniards*, they made themſelues Lords of the place, hoping to be ſuccoured by their friends, for that the Duke of *Millan* as ſoone as he vnderſtood that *Torniello* was gone from *Millan*, being fearfull of *Nouaro*, had diſpatched into thoſe quarters his brother *Iohn Paul* with a good number of horſemen and footmen, who was already arriued at *Vigeuena*. But when *Torniello* vnderſtood what had happened to the Caſtle, he returned preſently to *Nouaro*, where as well with threats as with preparations to giue the aſſault, he ſo aſtoniſhed the ſouldiers of the Duke of *Millan*, that compounding onely for the ſafetie of their perſons, they rendred the Caſtle without taking any care for the inhabitants of *Nouaro* that were with them. It was determined therefore to vexe *Millan* as much as might be, with the forces of the *Venetians* and the regiments of the Duke of *Millan*, notwithſtanding the Duke of *Vrbin* alleaged, that becauſe he would be more neare the lands of the *Venetians*, he would not abide at *Monce*, but at *Caſciano*: and *Monſieur Saint Pol*, who lay incamped at the Abbey of *Biboldone*, determined to returne beyond *Po* to draw towards *Genes*. According to which reſolution he went and incamped at *Landriano*, which is twelue miles from *Millan*, betweene the wayes of *Loda* and *Pauie*: and purpoſing the day following, which was the one and twentieth of Iune, to incampe at *Lardirago* vpon the way of *Pauie*, he ſent before the artilleries, the cariage and the auantguard, and departed himſelfe ſomewhat later with the battell and the reareguard. But *Anthonie de Leua* being aduertiſed by his eſpials, where he ſtayed, and that the auantguard was gone before, he iſſued out of *Millan* in the night, all his ſouldiers hauing for their vppermoſt garments white ſhirts: but touching himſelfe, becauſe his bodie had now bene troubled with griefes, he was armed in a chaire borne by foure men: and being arriued within two miles of *Landriano* without ſound of drumme, he vnderſtood by his eſpials that *Monſieur Saint Pol* was not yet departed from *Landriano*: for, which cauſe haſtening his pace, he aſſailed them before they were aware of his coming, the firſt eſquadron of the *French* commanded by *Iohn Thomas de Gallere* being already ſo farre aduanced, that it could not come in time to ſuccour the reſidue: and albeit *Monſieur Saint Pol* hoping much in fiue and twentie hundred Lanceknights, being deſcended on foote fought valiantly, yet when they had maintained a light defence, they began to retire: but they were ſuſtained by *Iohn Ieronimo de Caſtillion* and *Claudius Rangon*, Commanders ouer 2000 *Italians*, who fought maruellouſly: neuertheleſſe in the end both the horſemen and Lanceknights turning their backes, the *Italians* did the like; and *Monſieur Saint Pol* being remounted vpon his horſe, was taken as he would haue paſſed ouer a great ditch; and there remained priſoners with him *Iohn Ieronimo de Caſtillion*, *Claudius Rangon*, *Lignacke*, *Garbone*, with other Leaders of importance. The footmen were ouerthrowne, and many horſemen taken, and the baggage of almoſt all the armie, together with all the artilleries. Almoſt all the men at armes ſaued themſelues, and the Count *Guido* with the auantguard retired into *Pauie*, and from thence in the beginning of the night to *Loda*, ſo aſtoniſhed, that they were at the point to breake of themſelues. The Captaines excuſed themſelues, for that their companies were not payed, of whom the *French* bands returned all into *France*.

Monſieur Saint Pol priſoner to Anthinie de Leua.

Thus armes being layed aſide almoſt through all *Italy*, by reaſon of the ill ſucceſſe of the *French* men, the cogitations of the greateſt Princes were diſpoſed to accord: and the firſt that

ſucceeded,

ſucceeded was that betweene the Pope and the Emperour, which was concluded at *Barſelona*, to the great aduantage of the Pope; either for that the Emperour hauing a great deſire to paſſe into *Italy*, ſought to take away all impediments, accounting it neceſſary in that regard to haue the Popes amitie; or elſe for that he would with very large and ample capitulations giue him the greater cauſe to forget the wrongs and offences which he had receiued of his officers and his armie. It was therefore accorded: That betweene the Pope and the Emperour ſhould be a perpetuall peace and confederation: That the Pope ſhould giue paſſage to the Emperours armie through the dominions of the Church, in caſe it ſhould depart out of the kingdome of *Naples*: That the Emperour in reſpect of the new mariage, and for the tranquillitie of *Italy*, ſhould reſtore the ſonne of *Laurence de Medicis* to the ſame eſtate of greatneſſe in *Florence* which his predeceſſors had before they were expulſed, hauing regard notwithſtanding to the expences that were to be defrayed for the ſaid reſtitution, according to the arbitration to be made as well by him as the Pope: That the Emperour ſhould endeuour as ſoone as he could, either by armes, or ſome other more conuenient way, to reeſtabliſh the Pope in the poſſeſſion of *Ceruia*, *Rauenna*, *Modena*, *Reggio*, and *Rubiera*, without preiudice to the rights of the Empire, and the Sea Apoſtolike: That the Pope hauing recouered the aforeſaid townes, ſhould accord to the Emperour the inueſtiture of the Realme of *Naples* in remuneration of that benefice, and ſhould reduce the tribute of the laſt inueſtiture to a white horſe, for acknowledgement of fealtie: and ſhould accord to him the nomination of foure and twentie Cathedrall Churches, for the which they were at difference, the diſpoſition of the Churches which ſhould not be in patronage, and other benefices remaining to the Pope: That when the Emperour ſhould be paſſed into *Italy*, the Pope and he ſhould meet and commune together, to conſult of the tranquillitie of *Italy*, and the vniuerſall peace of Chriſtendome, receiuing one another with ceremonies and honours due and accuſtomed: That the Emperour, in caſe the Pope ſhould require his aide to conquer *Ferrara*, as Aduocate, Protector, and eldeſt ſonne of the Sea Apoſtolike, he ſhould aſſiſt him euen to the end, with all the meanes which at that time ſhould be in his power: and that they ſhould agree together of the expences, maner and forme to be vſed therein, according to the qualitie of times and accidents: That the Pope and the Emperour with a common conſent ſhould deuiſe ſome meanes that the cauſe of *Francis Sforce* might be examined according to equitie, by Iudges not ſuſpected, to the end he might be reſtored if he were found innocent: and otherwiſe the Emperour offered (notwithſtanding the diſpoſing of the Duchie of *Millan* appertained to him) to diſpoſe thereof with the counſell and conſent of the Pope, and to inueſt in it no perſon which ſhould not be agreeable to him, nor to diſpoſe any otherwiſe of it, then ſhould ſeeme to him moſt expedient for the tranquillitie of *Italy*: That the Emperour ſhould promiſe to cauſe *Ferdinand* King of *Hungaria* his brother to conſent, that for the time of the Popes life and two yeares after, the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be furniſhed of ſalts from *Ceruia*, according to the confederation made betweene the Emperour and Pope *Leo*, confirmed in the laſt inueſtiture of the Realme of *Naples*; not approuing neuertheleſſe the couenant that had bin made with the *French* king, and without preiudice to the rights of the Empire and the King of *Hungaria*: That neither of them, to the preiudice of this confederation, ſhould make, touching matters of *Italy*, any new leagues, nor obſerue ſuch as were made contrary to this: and yet that the *Venetians* might enter thereinto, leauing all that they poſſeſſed in the Realme of *Naples*, and accompliſhing all their obligations to the Emperour, and to *Ferdinand*, by the laſt confederation made betweene them, and in reſtoring *Rauenna* and *Ceruia*, reſeruing the actions touching the domages and intereſts ſuffered in regard of theſe matters: That the Emperour and *Ferdinand* ſhould vſe all their endeuour that the Heretikes may be brought home to the right way, and that the Pope ſhould vſe ſpirituall remedies; and in caſe they ſhould ſtand obſtinate, the Emperour and *Ferdinand* ſhould force them by armes, and the Pope would cauſe other Chriſtian Princes to aſſiſt them according to their ſeuerall meanes: That the Pope and the Emperour ſhould not receiue into protection the ſubiects, vaſſals, and feodatories one of another, ſauing in regard of the direct iuriſdiction which they had ouer any one, without extending any further: and that all protections taken in other ſorme, ſhould be interpreted voide within one moneth: That to make this amitie and coniunction more firme and ſtable, they were to confirme it with ſtrait affinitie, the Emperour promiſing to giue for wife *Margaret* his baſtard daughter with a dowrie of twentie thouſand ducats of yearely reuenue

The Pope at accord with the Emperour.

to *Alexander de Medicis* ſonne to *Laurence* late Duke of *Vrbin*, on whom the Pope determined to conferre the temporall greatneſſe of his houſe, for that at ſuch time as he was in danger of death, he had created Cardinall, *Hippolito* the ſonne of *Iulian*. They contracted alſo at the ſame time in articles ſeparate: That the Pope ſhould accord to the Emperour and his brother to reſiſt the *Turke*, the fourth part of the reuenues of benefices Eccleſiaſtike, in the ſame maner that his predeceſſor *Adrian* had done: That the Pope ſhould giue abſolution to all thoſe within *Rome* and other places who had offended againſt the Sea Apoſtolike, and to all ſuch as had giuen aide, counſell or fauour, yea that had participated by approbation or conſent to the actions that had bin done againſt that Sea: That whereas the Emperour had not publiſhed the *Croiſado* granted by the Pope, which was leſſe ample then others that had bin granted before, the Pope (the firſt being reuoked) ſhould grant another in full and ample forme, according to the ſcope of thoſe that had bin granted by the late Popes *Iulio* and *Leo*. Before this accord was paſſed, all the difficulties being now reſolued, aduertiſement came to the Emperour of the ouerthrow of *Monſieur Saint Pol*: and albeit it was doubted, that to helpe his conditions, he would haue changed ſome of thoſe things that were agreed vpon, yet he confirmed them all very readily, ratifying them the ſame day, which was the nine and twentieth of Iune, with ſolemne oath before the high Altar of the Cathedrall Church of *Barſelona*.

Peace betweene the Emperour and the French king negociated in Cambray.

But the negociations of peace betweene the Emperour and the *French* king were purſued with no leſſe feruencie; for the which after the commiſſions were come the towne of *Cambray* was appointed; a place fatall for great concluſions, in which towne were to meet together, the Lady *Margaret* of *Auſtria*, and the Lady Regent mother to the *French* king. In the meane while the *French* king laboured with all his skill and diligence (though he meant not in himſelfe to performe it) which alſo he confirmed by promiſes to the Confederate Embaſſadours in *Italy* (hauing therein the conſent of the King of *England*) not to make any accord with the Emperour without their conſent and ſatisfaction: and laboured to perſwade them not to hope in the peace, but rather to vſe diligence in the prouiſions of warre. Of which matters treating continually, he had ſent into *Italy* the Biſhop of *Turbes* with commiſſion to go to *Venice*, to the Dukes of *Millan*, *Ferrara* and *Florence*, to ſolicite things appertaining to warre, and to promiſe that if the Emperour paſſed into *Italy*, the King would alſo paſſe thither at the ſame time with a mightie army, ſo farre forth as the other Confederates would contribute for their part to the needfull preparations: and yet the negociation of accord dayly continued; by reaſon whereof the ſeuenth day of Iuly both the Ladies made their entries into *Cambray* by ſeuerall gates with great pompe, and being lodged in two houſes neare adioyning, which had entry one into the other, they ſpake together the ſame day, and gaue order to their Agents to treate of the articles: the King becauſe he would be neare at hand to reſolue all difficulties occurring, being gone vp to *Compiegni*, to whom the *Venetians* being feareful of the iſſue of that coniunction, had made many large and great offers. And there were preſent at *Cambray* not onely the two Ladies, but alſo the Biſhop of *London* and the Duke of *Suffolke* for the King of *England*, becauſe theſe things were not done without the conſent and participation of that King. The Pope ſent thither the Archbiſhop of *Capua*: and there were the Embaſſadours of the Confederates: but the *French* men made vnto them relation of things far otherwiſe then was the truth of that which was debated: there being in the King either ſo great impietie, or elſe ſo particular a regard to his owne intereſt, which conſiſted wholly in the recouery of his children, that the *Florentines* making great inſtance vnto him, that following the example of that which King *Lewis* his father in law and his predeceſſor had done in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and twelue, he would conſent that they might accord with the Emperour for their ſafetie, he refuſed it, promiſing them that he would neuer make any accord without comprehending them therein, and aſſuring them alſo that he was very ready to follow the warre, as likewiſe in the greateſt heate of the ſolicitation he promiſed continually to all the reſidue. The three & twentieth of Iuly there came aduertiſement of the capitulations made betweene the Pope and the Emperour, and the preſent buſineſſe being well aduanced, it was ſo troubled by reaſon of ſome difficulties touching certaine townes of *Franche Comté*, that the Lady Regent prepared her ſelfe to depart: but by the meanes of the Popes Legate, and principally of the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, the concluſion was eſtabliſhed: and although it was already concluded, the *French* king forbare not to promiſe to the Confederates the ſame things he had promiſed before. At laſt, being the fift day of Auguſt,

the peace was solemnely published in the great Church of *Cambray*, whereof the first article was: That the Kings sonnes should be deliuered, the King paying to the Emperour for their ransome twelue hundred thousand crownes in ready mony, and to the King of *England* for him two hundred thousand: That the King should render to the Emperour within sixe weekes after the ratification, all that he possessed in the Duchie of *Millan*: That he should leaue vnto him *Asti*, with resignation of the rights thereunto: That he should leaue as soone as he could *Barletta*, with all that he held in the Realme of *Naples*: That he should require of the *Venetians*, that according to the forme of the capitulations of *Cognac*, they should render the townes of *Pouille*: and in case they did it not, that he should declare himselfe their enemy, and aide the Emperor for the recouery thereof with a monethly contribution of thirtie thousand crownes, and with twelue gallies, foure ships, and foure gallions payed for sixe moneths: That he should restore as many of the gallies taken at *Portofino* as were in his power, or pay the value thereof, that being defalked which had bin taken since by *Andrea Doria* or other Captaines of the Emperour: That according to that which had bin formerly couenanted at *Madril*, he should renounce the soueraignty of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and resigne the rights of *Tournay* and *Arras*: That he should disanull the processe of *Bourbon*, and render honour to the dead, and the goods to his heires: and yet the Emperour complained afterwards, that as soone as the King had recouered his children, he tooke those goods from them: That the goods of whomsoeuer that were taken in the warre, should be restored to them or their successors: which also gaue occasion to the Emperour to complaine, for that the King restored not the goods of the Prince of *Orange*: That all letters of defiance should be suppressed and cancelled, and chiefly that of *Robert de la Marche*. The Pope was comprehended in this peace as principall, and the Duke of *Sauoy* was included generally as subiect to the Empire, and specially as named by the Emperour: and it was set downe, that the King should meddle no more in the affaires of *Italy* nor of *Germanie*, in fauour of any Potentate to the preiudice of the Emperour, although the *French* King maintained afterwards that he was not prohibited by this peace to recouer that which the Duke of *Sauoy* vsurped of the Realme of *Fraise*, and which he pretended to appertaine vnto him by reason of the rights of the Ladie Regent his mother. There was also one article which bare, that in the peace it was meant, that the *Venetians* and the *Florentines* should be comprehended, so that within foure moneths they accorded all their differences with the Emperour, which was as it were a secret exclusion: and the like of the Duke of *Ferrara*: but touching the Barons and exiles of the Realme of *Naples*, there was no mention made of them. The accord being finished, the *French* king went immediatly to *Cambray* to visite the Lady *Margaret*: and yet being not altogether without shame for so foule an act, he eschued for certaine dayes with sundry euasions, either to see or heare the Embassadours of the Confederates: to whom in the end hauing heard them apart, he excused himselfe by the impossibilitie otherwise to recouer his children; but that he would send the Admirall to the Emperour for their good. He gaue them also other vaine hopes, and promised the *Florentines* to lend them for the reliefe of their dangers which were imminent, fortie thousand duckats; which had the same successe with his other promises: and he suffered *Peter Stephen Colonno*, whose seruice he would vse no more, to go to their pay, (making shew that he did it for their sakes.) Whilest these things were in hand, *Anthonie de Leua* had recouered *Biagrassa*, and the Duke of *Vrbin* remaining at *Casciano*, and labouring with an infinite number of pioners to fortifie it, he counselled them of *Pauie* and Saint *Angelo* to hold good: saying, the lodging of *Casciano* was very apt to minister succours to *Lodi* and *Pauie*. After this *Anthonie de Leua* went vp to *Enzagua* which is three miles from *Casciano*, from whence he skirmished continually with the companies of the *Venetians*: and lastly from *Enzagua* to *Vaury*, either to ouerrunne the territories of *Bargamasque*, or else because the *Venetians* had cut the water from him.

The Emperour sendeth to the Prince of Orange to inuade the state of the Florentines.

About this time *Vistarino* entred into *Valentia* by the Castle, and ouerthrew two hundred footmen that were there: and now were arriued at *Genes* by sea since the moneth of Iuly two thousand *Spaniards* to expect the coming of the Emperour, who immediatly after he had passed the accord with the Pope, sent direction to the Prince of *Orange*, that at the Popes request he should assaile the estate of the *Florentines* with the armie: and when the Prince was come to *Aquila*, and mustred his companies vpon the frontiers of the kingdome, the Pope made great instance vnto him to passe further: by reason whereof he went to *Rome* the last of Iuly without his

his companies, to resolue with the Pope vpon the prouisions for the warre. After many practises, which were three times at the point to be broken off for the difficultie which the Pope made touching the charges: it was at the last resolued, that the Pope should deliuer to him presently thirtie thousand duckats, & within a very short time after fortie thousand more, to the end that at the Emperours expenses he might first reduce the Estate of *Perousa* to the obedience of the Church, by chasing out *Malatesta Baillon*, and afterwards assaile the *Florentines*, to restore into that Citie the family of the *Medices*; a matter which the Pope esteemed very easie, for an opinion he had, that being abandoned on all sides, they would according to the custome of their elders, rather giue way, then bring their countrey into most great and manifest danger. The Prince of *Orange* therefore assembled his forces, which contained three thousand Lanceknights, remaining as well of those which the Viceroy had brought out of *Spaine*, as of those who came out of *Germanie* into *Italy* vnder *George Fronspergh*, and foure thousand *Italians* not payed, vnder diuerse Colonels, to wit, *Peter Lewis Farnese*, the Count of Saint *Second*, Colonel *Marzio*, and *Sarra Colonno*. The Pope caused three cannons with some other peeces of artilleries to be drawne out of the Castle Saint *Angelo*, to furnish them therewith. After the Prince of *Orange*, was to follow the Marquis of *Guast*, with the bands of *Spanish* footmen that were in *Pemilla*. But at *Florence* the deliberation was farre otherwise then the Pope supposed, euery one shewing themselues resolute to stand vpon their defence: the which for that it was the cause of very notable things, I thinke it very necessary to make a particular description of the situation of the Citie.

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The Emperour at Genes, whither the Princes of Italy send Embassadours to him.

Whilest these things were in preparing on all sides, the Emperour departed from *Barselona*, accompanied with many ships and gallies, wherein there was a thousand horsemen and nine thousand footmen: and after he had bin fifteene dayes at sea, not without perill and danger, he arriued the twelfth of August at *Genes*, where he had aduertisement of the accord made at *Cambray*: and at the same time there passed for him into *Lombardie*, Captaine *Felix* with eight thousand Lanceknights. The coming of the Emperour with such prouision astonished the minds of all *Italy*, being now assured that they were left in prey by the *French* king. Therefore the *Florentines* being abashed, vpon the first aduertisement that came vnto them, chose foure Embassadours of the principall men of their Citie, to congratulate his coming, and to labour to make some composition with him for their affaires. But afterwards resuming courage continually, they moderated their commissions, restraining them to debate onely of their interests, and not of the differences with the Pope: in hope that by the memory of things past, and of the small confidence which was wont to be between the Popes and the Emperors, his greatnes would be so much displeasing to the Emperour, that he would not desire that the authoritie and forces of the Estate of *Florence* should be adioyned to the power of the Church. The *Venetians* were much discontented, that the *Florentines* being ioynt Confederates with them, had sent Embassadours to their common enemy without communicating the matter with them: and the Duke of *Ferrara* complained thereof also, although following their example he dispatched Embassadours to the Emperour as well as they: and the *Venetians* consented that the Duke of *Millan* should do the like, who a long time before had entertained a secret practise with the Pope, to bring him to compound with the Emperour, for that he knew euen before the ouerthrow of *Monsieur Saint Pol*, that he could haue no great hope either in the *French* king or the *Venetians*.

The Emperour caused the bands of *Spanish* footmen which he had brought with him to be landed at *Sauona*, and sent them into *Lombardie*, to the end *Anthonie de Leua* might issue out strong into the field. He had made an offer to land them at *Spetie*, to send them into *Tuscan*: but the Pope had an opinion that so great forces were not necessary, especially seeing he desired (for the preseruation of the countrey) not to addresse without need so great a furie against the towne of *Florence*: against which State and against *Malatesta Baillon*, proceeding now openly, he caused the Knight *Sperello* to be stayed vpon the lands of the Church, who before the capitulation of *Cambray*, being sent with money by the *French* King to *Malatesta* who had ratified his pay and retinue, returned from thence to *Perousa*. He caused also to be stayed neare to *Bracciano*, the money sent by the *Florentines* to the Abbot of *Farfa*, who was in their pay with two hundred

dred horſemen, which money they ſent vnto him to leuie a thouſand footmen: but he was preſently conſtrained to render it to him again; for that the Pope hauing appointed for Legats with the Emperour, the Cardinals *Farneſe*, *S. Croſſe* and *Medicis*, the Cardinall of *S. Croſſe* paſſing by the lands of the Abbot, he cauſed him to be ſtayed, and would not deliuer him vntill his money were reſtored. But the *Florentines* continued in their preparations, hauing in vaine moued the Emperour for a ſurceaſſing of armes vntill he had heard their Embaſſadours, and ſent for *Don Hercules* the eldeſt ſonne to the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom ſixe moneths before they had taken into their pay with title of Captaine generall, to come to their ſuccours with his companies, as he was bound; who though he had accepted the money that was ſent him to wage a thouſand footmen allowed for his guard when he marched, neuertheleſſe (his father preferring conſiderations of Eſtate before fidelitie) he refuſed to go thither, without reſtoring the money, and yet he ſent his bands of horſemen: by reaſon whereof the *Florentines* denied him their fauour for the ſecond yeare.

By the nineteenth day of Auguſt the Prince of *Orange* was come to *Terny*, and the Lanceknights to *Fuligno*, where the whole army was muſtered: but it was a matter ridiculous, that notwithſtanding the peace was made and publiſhed betweene the Emperour and the *French* king, the Biſhop of *Tarba* as the Kings Embaſſadour at *Venice*, *Florence*, *Ferrara*, and *Perouſa*, boaſted of the mightie prouiſions of his King made for the warre, and exhorted them to do the like. After this, the Prince of *Orange* with ſixe thouſand footmen as well Lanceknights as *Italians*, came and incamped neare to *Spelle*, and being come before the towne accompanied with many horſemen to view the ſituation, *Iohn Vrbino*, who by reaſon of his long training in the warres of *Italy*, held the chiefeſt place among all the Captaines of the *Spaniſh* infantery, was hurt in the thigh with a ſhot out of the towne, of which wound he died within few dayes after, to the great domage of the army, for that almoſt all the warre was gouerned by his direction. Afterwards the artilleries were planted before *Spelle*, wherein were more then fiue hundred footmen and twentie horſemen, vnder the leading of *Lion Baſtion* baſtard brother to *Malateſta*: but after the ſpending of certaine volleys of ſhot vpon a Tower which is without the Towne on the wall ſide, thoſe within (notwithſtanding *Lion* had giuen great hope to *Malateſta* to defend the Towne) yeelded immediatly, vpon condition that the towne and the inhabitants ſhould remaine at the diſcretion of the Prince, and the ſouldiers with ſuch goods as they could carry, and their liues ſaued, might depart with their ſwords onely, but not to ſerue againſt the Pope or the Emperour for the ſpace of three moneths: and yet at their going out they were almoſt all ſtripped. *Iohn Baptiſta Borgueſi* one of the exiles of *Sienna* was vehemently charged with this accord, who, hauing begun to treate with *Fabio Petrucci* that was in the armie, gaue perfection thereunto by the aid of the other Captains; a matter which *Malateſta* attributed to diſloyaltie, and many others to want of courage. When the Embaſſadours of *Florence* being admitted into the Emperours preſence, had firſt congratulated his coming, and endeuoured to perſwade him that their Citie was not ambitious, but thankfull for benefites receiued, and ready to pleaſure any that would protect it, they excuſed themſelues, that they were entred into league with the *French* king by the will of the Pope, who at that time commanded them, and that ſince that time it had bene continued by neceſſitie: proceeding no further, for that they had no other commiſſion but to declare that which was propounded vnto them; and expreſſe commandement from the Commonweale, not to open their eares to any practiſe with the Pope; to viſite his other Embaſſadours, but not the Cardinall *de Medicis*. Whereunto they were anſwered by the great Chancellor newly made Cardinall, That it was neceſſary they ſhould ſatisfie the Pope: and they complaining of the iniuſtice of that demand, he replied, That ſeeing their Citie was confederate with the enemies of the Emperour, and had ſent out ſouldiers againſt him, it had loſt her priuiledges, and was diuolued to the Empire, and therefore the Emperour might diſpoſe of it as he thought good. But at laſt it was told them in the name of the Emperour, that they ſhould procure ſufficient commiſſion to be ſent to compound with the Pope, and that afterwards there ſhould be conſideration had of the differences that were betweene the Pope and them, which if they were not firſt compounded, the Emperour would not commune with them of their proper intereſts. Whereupon the *Florentines* ſent a very large commiſſion to compound with the Emperour, but not to agree with the Pope: and the Emperour departing from *Genes* the thirtieth day of Auguſt, went to *Plaiſance*, and the Embaſſadours following

his Court were not admitted into *Plaiſance*, for that it was vnderſtood their commiſſion was not ſuch as the Emperour had demanded. Thus things remained without accord: and the Emperour had alſo cauſed the Embaſſadours of the Duke of *Ferrara* to depart from his Court, whom he receiued very roughly: and yet returning afterwards with new conditions, and haply with new fauours, they were admitted. Moreouer the Emperour ſent the Count *Naſſau* in Embaſſage to the *French* king, to congratulate him for that by the new accord they had confirmed the band of affinitie, and to receiue the ratification: for the which cauſes the King alſo ſent vnto him the Admirall. The King ſent money to *Ranſe de Cere*, to the end that with all his companies he might retire from *Powilla*; and cauſed twelue gallies alſo to be rigged to go thither vnder *Philip Dore* againſt the *Venetians*, againſt whom the Emperor ſent *Andrew Dore* with ſeuen and thirtie gallies. Neuertheleſſe the King iudging that the recouerie of his children would be more certaine if there remained ſome difficultie in *Italy* to the Empetour, he gaue diuerſe hopes to the Confederates, and promiſed particularly to the *Florentines* to ſend money to them ſecretly by the Admirall, not for any deſire he had to ſuccour them or others, but to the end they might thereby ſhew themſelues more difficult to compound with the Emperour. In this meane while there was a continuall practiſe of accord ſolicited betweene the Emperour and the Duke of *Millan*, which was managed by the Pronotarie *Caracciol*, who went and came from *Cremona* to *Plaiſance*. But the Emperour finding it ſtrange that the Duke repoſed leſſe confidence in him then he had eſteemed; and the Duke on the other ſide being hardly brought to truſt him, there was a motion made, that till the Dukes cauſe were throughly examined, *Alexandria* and *Pauie* ſhould be put into the Popes hands: whereunto the Emperour would not conſent, for that he thought the Duke was not able to reſiſt his forces, and ſo much the rather for that *Anthonie de Leua* was gone to *Plaiſance*, who as an enemie to peace and quietneſſe, had incenſed him to the warre with many reaſons. Therefore the Emperour charged him to go on with the enterpriſe of *Pauie*; and his drift alſo was, that at the ſame time Captaine *Felix* who was come with new ſupplies of *Almaines*, as well footmen as horſemen, and with artilleries towards *Peſquiero*, and after entred vpon the lands of *Breſſia*, ſhould make warre on that ſide vpon the *Venetians*: of which expedition he had made Captaine generall the Marquis of *Mantua*, newly returned to the deuotion of the Emperour.

In the meane while the Pope treated of peace betweene the Emperour and the *Venetians*, with hope to conclude it at his coming to *Bolognia*. For hauing before ſolicited to meete him at *Genes*, they had ſithens by common conſent referred their enteruiew to *Bolognia*, for the conueniencie of the place; being induced to meete together, not onely by a common deſire, the better to confirme their amitie and affinitie, but alſo the Emperour by neceſſitie, ſeeing he had determined to take the Crowne of the Empire; and touching the Pope, by his great deſire to the enterpriſe of *Florence*: and in regard of them both, the deſire they had to giue ſome forme to the affaires of *Italy*, which could not be accompliſhed without accommodating the affaires of the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan*, and chiefly without making prouiſion againſt the imminent dangers of the *Turke*, who being entred into *Hungarie* with a puiſſant armie, came towards *Auſtria* to take *Vienna*. At which time were done no actions of conſequence betweene the Emperour and the *Venetians*, for that the *Venetians* hauing an inclination to accord with him, had giuen order (becauſe they would incenſe him no further) to retire their armie by ſea from the enterpriſe of the Caſtle of *Brunduſium* to *Corfu*, ſeeking onely to preſerue the townes which they held, and doing nothing alſo at that time in *Lombardie* except certaine light incurſions: and ſo being carefull onely for the guard of their townes, they had put the Duke of *Vrbin* into *Breſſia*. Touching the *Almaines*, they were reduced to *Lunata*, to the number of a thouſand horſemen and eight or ten thouſand footmen, and had reſolued together with the Marquis of *Mantua* to execute the enterpriſe of *Cremona*, where was the Duke of *Millan*; who ſeeing himſelfe excluded from accord with the Emperour, and that *Anthonie de Leua* was gone to incampe before *Pauie*; and that *Caracciol* went to *Cremona* to denounce warre vnto him, he contracted with the *Venetians* to conclude no accord with the Emperour without their conſent: who bound themſelues to miniſter vnto him for the defence of his Eſtate two thouſand footmen payed, and eight thouſand duckats a moneth, and ſent him artilleries and men to *Cremona*, with which ſuccours the Duke had confidence to be able to defend *Cremona* and *Lode*; for touching *Pauie*, it made a very ſlender reſiſtance againſt *Anthonie de Leua*, not onely

onely for that there was not victuals sufficient for two moneths, but also becauſe Captaine *Piſſinard* who had the guard thereof, had not many dayes before ſent out of the towne foure companies of footmen to Saint *Angelo*, where *Anthonie de Leua* had made as though he would incampe: and for this cauſe remaining within the towne with a very few ſouldiers, and diſtruſting to be able to defend it, when he ſaw they prepared to plant the artilleries, without attending either batterie or aſſault, he rendred the towne vnder ſafetie of life and goods, as well for himſelfe as his ſouldiers. He was much blamed, for that the couetouſneſſe not to loſe the wealth and riches he had gathered together by ſo many preyes and pillages (which made him haſten to yeeld) preuailed more with him then the deſire to preſerue the glorie gotten in many braue exploits of warre, and chiefly about *Pauie*.

At this time the warre was hotly kindled in *Tuſcan*, for that the Prince of *Orange* hauing taken *Spelle*, and the Marquis of *Guaſt* who followed him with the *Spaniſh* infanterie beginning to approch neare his armie, he came to the bridge of Saint *Iohn* neare to *Perouſa* vpon *Tyber*, where the *Spaniſh* footmen ioyned with him. There were in *Perouſa* three thouſand footmen of the *Florentines*: and the Prince before he incamped at *Spelle*, ſent a meſſenger to *Perouſa* to perſwade *Malateſta* to obey the will of the Pope: who to draw to himſelfe the Citie of *Perouſa* by what meanes ſoeuer, & to the end the armie might paſſe further, made this offer to *Malateſta*, that if he would leaue *Perouſa*, he would preſerue his Eſtates and his proper goods, conſenting that he might freely go to the defence of the *Florentines*, and would be bound that *Braccio* and *Sforce Baillons* and other of his enemies ſhould not reenter into *Perouſa*: and albeit *Malateſta* aſſured that he would not accept any offer without the conſent of the *Florentines*, neuertheleſſe he gaue eare continually to the Embaſſages of the Prince, who after he had conquered *Spelle* ſolicited him more vehemently. *Malateſta* communicated all theſe things to the *Florentines*, being without doubt inclined to accord, for that he feared the ſucceſſe of things, and haply that the *Florentines* would not continue to giue him all thoſe aides and ſuccours that he deſired: and when he muſt accord, he had no hope to find better conditions then thoſe that were offered him; holding it much better, without offending the Pope, or giuing him occaſion to depriue him of the goods and places that were preſerued for him, to keepe himſelfe in the pay of the *Florentines*, then in defending himſelfe to put all his Eſtate in danger, and make himſelfe hatefull to his friends and all the Citie: by reaſon whereof he perſeuered ſtill to ſay, that he would not accord without their priuitie, but added, that if he defended *Perouſa*, the *Florentines* muſt of neceſſitie ſupply him with a thouſand footmen more, and turne the reſidue of their companies to make head at *Orſania*, a place within fiue miles of *Cortona*, vpon the confines of *Cortona* and *Perouſa*, which they could not do without diſfurniſhing the garriſons of all their other townes: and yet the place was ſo weake, that by neceſſitie they muſt retire at euery mouing of the enemies. He ſhewed, that in caſe he did not accord, the Prince leauing *Perouſa* would take his way to *Florence*, in which caſe it was needfull for them to leaue him within *Perouſa* a thouſand footmen complete, which alſo would not be ſufficient, ſince the Pope might vexe the Citie with other forces then with the Imperiall regiments: but if he did accord, that the *Florentines* might retire to themſelues all their bands of footmen, who ſhould be accompanied with two or three hundred choiſe men of his training; and that his eſtates and goods being left to him, and his enemies excluded from *Perouſa*, he might apply himſelfe to their defence with a more quiet mind. The *Florentines* could haue bene better contented to continue the warre at *Perouſa*; but diſcerning that *Malateſta* entertained continuall intelligence with the Prince, and knowing alſo that he had not diſcontinued to practiſe with the Pope, they ſtood in doubt leſt by the importunitie of his followers, becauſe of the domages of the Citie and of the countrey, and for feare of the enemies, and the inconſtancie of the people, he ſhould in the end giue place: and they thought it was very dangerous to put into *Perouſa* almoſt all the ſtrength and flower of their forces, expoſed to the perill of *Malateſtaes* faith, to the danger to be forced by the enemies, and to the difficultie to reuoke them againe in caſe *Malateſta* ſhould accord: and they conſidered alſo that the changing of *Perouſa* could preiudice them but litle, the friends of *Malateſta* remaining there ſtill, and he retaining his Caſtles and Boroughs, and *Braccio* and the brethren not returning thither at all; ſo that ſo long as it perſeuered in this eſtate, it could not be but the Pope would be in continuall ſuſpition therof. Vpon this doubt, taking care aboue all other things for the ſafetie of their men, and hauing no aſſured confidence

The Pope maketh offers to Malateſta.

in the conſtancie of *Malateſta*, they ſent very ſecretly the ſixt of September a man of theirs to bring away their bands of ſouldiers from *Perouſa*, fearing to be deceiued, if the accord went on: but being informed afterwards that they could not get away, for that the enemies were neare at hand, they ſent to *Malateſta* their conſent that he might compound: but it was alreadie done, for that the Prince of *Orange* hauing paſſed *Tiber* at the bridge of Saint *Iohn* the ninth of September, and being incamped, after a certaine light skirmiſh, the accord was concluded with *Malateſta* the ſame night, by the which he bound himſelfe to depart from *Perouſa*, with permiſſion to enioy his goods, to ſerue the *Florentines* as a ſouldier, and to retire their companies in ſafetie; to whom the Prince promiſed (to giue them time to retire vpon the lands of the *Florentines*) not to ſtirre in two dayes from the place where he lay incamped: and therefore they iſſued out of *Perouſa* the twelfth day, and marching with great diligence, they went the ſame day to *Cortona* by the way of the mountaines, long and troubleſome, but ſafe. Thus was the bodie of the warre reduced vpon the lands of the *Florentines*, to whom, albeit the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Vrbin* had giuen hope to ſend three thouſand footmen, which for the ſuſpition of the Princes coming into thoſe quarters, they had ſent into the State of *Vrbin*; yet becauſe they would not diſpleaſe the Pope, that promiſe ſorted to no effect. Onely the *Venetians* gaue money to the Commiſſarie of *Caſtrocaro* to pay two hundred footmen; and notwithſtanding the Senate of *Venice* and the Duke of *Ferrara* entertained continuall ſolicitation to compound with the Emperour, yet to the end this difficultie might cauſe him the more eaſily to condeſcend, and that they might haue the better conditions, they encouraged the *Florentines* to defend themſelues.

The *Florentines* had at that time two deſignes principally, the one, that the armie might deferre ſo long to aduance, that they might haue time to fortifie their Towne, vnder the walls whereof they looked that in the end the warre would be reduced: the other, to labour to appeaſe the Emperour, euen in according with the Pope, ſo farre forth as the forme of their libertie and gouernment popular were not changed. By reaſon whereof, their Embaſſadours not hauing as yet bene excluded, they ſent a meſſenger to the Prince of *Orange*, and choſe Embaſſadours to go to the Pope, making inſtance, when they ſignified vnto him the election, that he would cauſe the armie to ſurceaſſe vntill they were arriued, which he refuſed to do: and therefore the Prince being aduanced, he battered and gaue aſſault to the ſuburbes of *Cortona* which leade to *Orſaio*, in which Citie of *Cortona* there were ſeuen hundred footmen; and was repulſed from thence. In *Aretze* there was a greater ſtrength of footmen: but *Anthonie Francis* the Commiſſarie of *Albigi* being inclined to abandon it, for feare leſt the Prince hauing taken *Cortona*, leauing *Aretze* behind him, ſhould take the way of *Florence*, and that preuenting the companies that were with him in *Aretze*, the Citie being aſtoniſhed for want of their beſt defendants, ſhould accord: therefore without the publike conſent (though haply following the ſecret intention of the *Gonfalonnier*) he went from *Aretze* with all his companies, leauing onely two hundred footmen within the Caſtle: but when he was arriued at *Feguina*, by the counſell of *Malateſta* who was there, and liked well that they ſhould reduce all their forces to the defence of *Florence*, he ſent backe againe to *Aretze* a thouſand footmen, to the end it ſhould not remaine altogether abandoned. But the ſeuenteenth day, *Cortona*, for the defence whereof a thouſand footmen had bene ſufficient, ſeeing the *Florentines* tooke not ſuch order for it as they ought, rendred, notwithſtanding it was very litle preſſed by the Prince, with whom it compounded to pay him twentie thouſand duckats. The loſſe of *Cortona* was the cauſe that the ſouldiers that lay within *Aretze*, doubting of their ſufficiencie to defend it, abandoned that Citie, which the nineteenth day compounded alſo with the Prince, but with capitulations and an intention rather to gouerne themſelues in their libertie, vnder the protection of the Emperour, then to remaine any longer in the ſubiection of the *Florentines*, declaring the profeſſion to be falſe, which vntill this time they had made to be friends to the family of *Medicis* and enemies to the popular gouernment. At which time the Emperour had expreſly refuſed to giue any more audience to the *Florentine* Embaſſadours, vnleſſe they reſtored the houſe of *Medicis*: and the Prince of *Orange*, notwithſtanding he freely deteſted together with the Embaſſadours that were with him, the Popes couetouſneſſe and the iniquitie of that enterpriſe, had neuertheleſſe declared, that he might not deſiſt from the enterpriſe, if the familie of the *Medices* were not receiued: and cauſing a view to be taken of his armie, he found that he had

had three hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, fiue and twentie hundred Lanceknights very braue men, two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, and three thouſand *Italians*, vnder the leading of *Sarra Colonno*, *Peter Maria Roſſa*, *Peter Lewis Farneſe*, and *John Baptiſta Sanella*; with whom *John Saſſatello* ioyned afterwards, bringing with him the money which he had receiued before of the *Florentines*, whoſe pay he had accepted: and alſo *Alexander Vitelli*, who had three thouſand footmen. But the Prince hauing ſmall ſtore of artilleries, he deſired the *Siennois* to lend him ſome, who when they could not refuſe the armie of the Emperour that which they demanded, yet for their hate to the Pope, and for feare of his greatneſſe, and being diſcontented with the mutation of the gouernment of the *Florentines*, with whom (by reaſon of their common hatred againſt the Pope) they had had for certaine moneths a ſilent peace and intelligence, they gaue order to refurniſh him with artilleries, but with as much delay as they could. In this meane while the Pope had giuen audience to the *Florentine* Embaſſadours, and had anſwered them, that his intention was not to alter the libertie of the Citie: and that it was not ſo much for the iniuries he had receiued of that gouernment, and the neceſſitie to aſſure his owne eſtate, as in regard of the capitulations he had made with the Emperour, that he was conſtrained to make that enterpriſe: wherein debating now of the intereſt of his honour, he required no other thing of them, then that they would voluntarily referre themſelues into his power; which being done, he would ſhew them how much he deſired the benefite and aduancement of the common countrey: and vnderſtanding afterwards that feare increaſing at *Florence*, ſpecially ſince they were aduertiſed that the Emperour had refuſed to heare their Embaſſadours, they had elected new Embaſſadours to come vnto him, which he thought was done to ſubmit and accord to him that he demanded, and deſiring that the matter might be ſodainly done, to auoide the deſtruction of the countrey, he diſpatched in poſt to the armie the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, who paſſing by *Florence*, found them of the towne otherwiſe diſpoſed then the Pope was perſwaded. In this meane while the Prince of *Orange* aduanced, and was come the foure and twentieth day to *Monte Varchi* in the vale of *Arno*, which is within fiue and twentie miles of *Florence*, expecting eight cannons from *Sienna*, which were ſent away the day after; but being brought with the ſame ſlowneſſe wherewith they had bin prepared, they cauſed the Prince, who the ſeuen and twentieth day had brought the army to *Feguine* and *Anciſa*, to abide in that place vnto the end of the fourth day of October: and from hence proceeded the difficultie of the whole enterpriſe. For after the loſſe of *Aretze*, the *Florentines* perceiuing their hope to faile them, and the promiſes that had bene made vnto them on all ſides, and that the fortifications which were made in the Citie on that ſide towards the mountaine, notwithſtanding there was continuall labouring at it, could not, by the iudgement of ſouldiers, be made defenſible ſooner then eight or ten dayes: vnderſtanding alſo that the armie of the enemies aduanced, and that towards *Bologna*, *Ramaſotto*, who was in armes by the Popes ordinance with three thouſand footmen, had ſacked *Firenſola*, and was entred into the countrey of *Mugello*, there being ſome danger that he would go vp to *Prato*: the Citizens being much aſtoniſhed, began to incline to accord, chiefly for that many fled away for feare; ſo that in the Councell of the *Dieci*, which is ordained to conſult of the affaires of warre, in which Councell were preſent the principall Cirizens of the gouernment, they were all of opinion, that there ſhould be ſent to *Rome* a free and ample commiſſion, to referre themſelues to the Popes will. But when this reſolution was related to the ſupreme Magiſtrate, without whoſe conſent there could no deliberation paſſe, the *Gonfalonnier*, who obſtinately maintained the contrary opinion, was againſt it, and ioyning with him the Magiſtrate popular of the Colledges (who ſomewhat repreſented the authoritie of the Tribunes of the people of *Rome*) amongſt whom haply were many perſons of a froward mind, and of great temeritie and inſolencie; he preuailed ſo much, (his opinion being alſo ſupported with the boldneſſe and threatnings of many yong men) that he hindered that nothing was eſtabliſhed for that day: and yet it is manifeſt, that if the day following, which was the eight and twentieth of September, the Prince had aduanced and come on one remoue, thoſe that impugned the accord, could not haue reſiſted the inclination of all the reſidue; of ſo ſmall cauſes depend oftentimes the moments of right great things. The vaine ſurceaſſing then of the Prince of *Orange*, which ſome interpreted to be done expreſly to maintaine the warre, for that he had not ſufficient artilleries to approch the Citie of *Florence*, was the cauſe that many within the Towne reſumed courage: but that which imported more, was, that the fortifications being continued

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without any intermission of time with a great number of men, did so aduance, that before the Prince of *Orange* remoued from the place where he lay incamped, the Captaines iudged that the rampiers were sufficient for defence: so that now giuing ouer all inclination to accord, the Citizens resolued to defend themselues: whereunto was also added, that *Ramassotto*, who had brought with him without money, not souldiers but paisants, and had taken the field, not with intention of fight, but to spoile: after he had sacked all *Mugello*, he retired with his bootie vpon the territories of *Bolognia*, where all his company dissolued, who had sold vnto him the most part of the things they had robbed. Thus of an easie warre which might haue bin ended with small losse to any, was deriued a most heauie and pernicious warre, which could not be finished vntill the whole countrey were wasted, and the Citie reduced into hazard of vtter ruine. The fift day of October the Prince of *Orange* departed from *Feguine*, but marching so slowly, to tarry for the artilleries of *Sienna* which approched, that he could not before the twentieth day range all his companies and artilleries into the plaine of *Ripoly*, which is within two miles of *Florence*: and all his army was not lodged vpon the litle hils neare the rampiers vntill the foure and twentieth day: of which army one part occupied all the litle hils eminent to the Citie, which stretch from the gate Saint *Miniato* to the gate Saint *George*; and the other extended from the said gate Saint *Miniato* to the way of the gate Saint *Nicholas*. There were within *Florence* eight thousand footmen, all men of seruice, and their resolution was to defend *Prato*, *Pistoya*, *Empoly*, *Pisa*, and *Liuorne*, in all which places they had put sufficient garrisons; and to leaue the other places rather to the fidelitie and discretion of the people, and to the strength of their situation, then to put great bands of souldiers to guard them. But now all the countrey was full of voluntary souldiers and robbers: and the *Siennois* did not onely make pillage in euery place, but also sent bands of souldiers to occupie *Montpulsion*, hoping that afterwards the Prince would consent that they might retaine it: but certaine footmen of the *Florentines* being within it, they defended it easily: and not long after, *Napoleon Vrsin* a souldier of the *Florentines* arriued there with three hundred horsemen, who would not depart from *Rome* before the Pope was vpon his way to *Bolognia*. The Prince of *Orange*, when he had incamped his army, and stretched it out at large vpon the litle hils of *Montici*, *Gallo* and *Giramont*, and hauing gotten pioners and certaine peeces of artilleries from *Lucques*, he caused a rampier to be made to giue an assault, as was supposed, to the bastillion of Saint *Miniato*: but on the other side to hinder it, were planted in the garden of Saint *Miniato* foure cannons vpon a Cauallier. The Townes of *Colli* and Saint *Gimignano* rendred immediatly to the Prince, and they were places of importance to make easie the resort of victuals that came from *Sienna*. The nine and twentieth day the Prince of *Orange* planted vpon the bastillion of *Giramont* foure cannons to beate the steeple of Saint *Miniato*, for that a Saker which the defendants of the towne had mounted thereupon, endomaged the army: and two of those cannons were broken within a few houres: for which cause, the day following another cannon being brought to the place, after they had shot in vaine about an hundred and fiftie bullets, and could not dismount the Saker, they forbore to shoote any more: and euery one considering that it was hard to take *Florence*, specially with one armie, the actions began to proceed slowly, and rather in maner of skirmishes then in forme of assault. The second day of Nouember there was a great skirmish at the bastillion of Saint *George*, and of Saint *Nicholas*, and that vpon the way that goeth to *Rome*: and the fourth day there was planted vpon *Giramont* a Culuerin against the publike Pallace, which at the first shot was opened. At this time the horsemen that were within *Florence* made incursions to *Valdipesa*, and tooke an hundred horse, the most part of seruice: and also certaine horsemen and harquebuziers of the *Florentines*, issuing out of *Pontadere*, tooke threescore horses betweene the Cabans and the Tower of Saint *Romaine*.

The Pope and the Emperour at Bolognia.

By this time the Pope being arriued at *Bolognia*, the Emperour according to the custome of great Princes came thither after him, for that when two Princes are to meete together, the maner is, that he that is of greatest dignitie presenteth himselfe first in the place appointed, and it is taken for a signe of reuerence, when he that is inferiour cometh thither vnto him. He was receiued of the Pope with great honour, and lodged in the same Pallace with him, in the midst of the house, one neare to the other, and it seemed by the demonstrations and familiarities that passed betweene them, that they had alwayes bene in great amitie and good will: and the feare was now ceassed of the inuasion by the *Turkes*, for that their armie, together with the

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perſon of the grand Seigneur being preſented before *Vienna*, wherein was a great garriſon of Lanceknights, they had not onely giuen many aſſaults in vaine, but alſo had bene repulſed with great ſlaughter, ſo that diſtruſting to be able to take it, and chiefly having no great artilleries to batter it, and being conſtrained by the ſeaſon, which in that region was very ſharpe, for that it was in the moneth of October, they brake vp, not retiring into any place neare to it; but taking the way of *Conſtantinople*, which is a march of three moneths. The Emperour therefore finding himſelfe aſſured of that ſuſpition, which before had not onely made him inclined (notwithſtanding the conqueſt of *Pauie*) to accord with the Duke of *Millan*, but alſo had induced him to perſwade the Pope to thinke vpon ſome meanes to compound with the *Florentines*, to the end that being freed of the affaires of *Italy*, he might paſſe with all his forces into *Germanie*, to the ſuccours of *Vienna* and his brother: the Pope and he began to debate vpon the affaires of *Italy*; and that which the Pope tooke moſt to heart, was the enterpriſe againſt the *Florentines*, whereunto the Emperour alſo ſeemed to be much inclined; as well to ſatisfie the Pope in that which had bene capitulated at *Barſelona*, as alſo for that the Citie of *Florence* hauing ſerued the *French* againſt him in the Realme of *Naples*, the embaſing thereof was very pleaſing vnto him. Therefore foure Embaſſadours of the *Florentines* who were come to the Pope at *Bologna*, making inſtance againe to ſpeake to the Emperour, he would neuer giue them audience but one time, and that when it pleaſed the Pope, from whom alſo he tooke the ſubſtance of the anſwer that he made them. Thus they concluded to continue the enterpriſe; and becauſe it fell out more difficult then the Pope expected, it was determined, in caſe there happened occaſion of accord with the *Venetians* and *Francis Sforce*, that the companies that were in *Lombardie* ſhould be turned thither, which ſhould be payed by the Emperour, and that the Pope ſhould contribute monethly to the Prince of *Orange* (who came to *Bologna* to ſolicite theſe matters) threeſcore thouſand duckats, to the end that (the Emperour being not able to beare out ſo great expenſes) he might maintaine thoſe regiments that were already about *Florence*. After this, they ſpake of other intereſts of the Pope, to wit, concerning the affaires of *Modena* and *Reggio*: wherin the Pope, to auoid the note of obſtinacy, hauing ſung the ſame note he had ſung before, and often reiterated, that if the intereſt of thoſe two Townes onely were brought into queſtion, he would make no difficultie to diſpoſe of them according to the will of the Emperour, but that in alienating *Modena* and *Reggia*, *Parma* and *Piatſance* would remaine ſo ſeparate from the Eſtate Eccleſiaſtike, that in conſequence they would ſeeme in a maner alienated; the Emperour anſwered him, that it was a reaſonable reſpect: but that he could do no more then vſe his authoritie, whileſt his forces were occupied in the enterpriſe of *Florence*; neuertheleſs, in ſecret he would haue wiſhed, that with the good ſatisfaction of the Pope, thoſe Townes might remaine to the Duke of *Ferrara*, with whom as he came to *Bologna* he had had conference at *Modena*, and giuen him great hope that he would vſe all his endeuour with the Pope for his good; ſo much could that Duke by his induſtrie and great art inſinuate himſelfe into the Emperours grace and fauour, and could ſo poſſeſſe the minds of thoſe that gouerned him moſt, and he wanted not great perſonages in his Court that fauoured him. There remained now the two articles of moſt importance and difficultie, concerning the *Venetians* and *Francis Sforce*; but touching the accord with them, and chiefly with *Francis Sforce*, he ſhewed not himſelfe ſo blacke as he had bene before, quite contrary to the inclination with the which he was come into *Italy*, which hapned for that he found matters more difficult then he had imagined in *Spaine*, and for that he ſaw by reaſon of the new coniunction of *Francis Sforce* with the *Venetians*, that the conqueſt of the Eſtate of *Millan* would not be eaſie; finding himſelfe alſo imbarked into very great expences, by reaſon of ſo many ſouldiers and followers which he had brought with him, and cauſed to come after him, as well out of *Spaine* as *Germanie*: but chiefly for that his brother, by reaſon of the tumults of the *Lutherans*, and other ſignes appearing of innouation, ſolicited him to paſſe into *Germanie*, whither it was credible that within a ſhort time the *Turkes* would returne againe: for that it was well known that *Soliman* inflamed with diſdaine and ignominie, had ſworne at his departure from *Vienna*, that he would ſpeedily returne thither againe with farre greater forces. And for that it ſeemed to the Emperour a matter not onely vnſure, but alſo of very ſmall honour, to depart out of *Italy* leauing matters imperfect, he began to make ſhew that he was inclined not onely to come to accord with the *Venetians*, but alſo to pardon *Francis Sforce*: whereof the Pope made great inſtance as well for the deſire of an vniuerſall tranquillitie, as to

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the end that the Emperour standing no more restrained and hindered with other enterprises, all his forces might be turned against *Florence*. The Emperour was principally detained, in that he thought it was against his dignitie, that it should be thought that he was induced to pardon *Francis Sforce* almost by necessitie: and *Anthonie de Leua* who was with him at *Bolognia*, solicited him vehemently to make another resolution concerning that Estate, sometimes propounding *Alexander* the Popes nephew, and sometimes others. Neuertheless for that there could not easily be found out for that Estate, a personage with whom *Italy* would be contented, and the Pope hauing no inclination to conuert it to any of his, for that it was a matter that could not be accomplished without new warres and new troubles: the Emperour at last inclining to this opinion, consented to grant safeconduct to *Francis Sforce*, vnder colour to come and iustifie himselfe before him, but in effect to reduce things to some composition; and the *Venetians* also were well contented with his going, for that they hoped that at one and the same time there would be introduced some accord of their affaires. Yet for all this armes were not layd downe in *Lombardie*, for that *Helgioioso*, who in the absence of *Anthony de Leua* was chiefe Commander at *Millan*, went and incamped with seuen thousand footmen before Saint *Angelo*, wherein were foure companies of footmen of the *Venetians* & of the Duke of *Millan*: and when he had battered it, finding that the continuall raine made vnprofitable the harquebuziers that without any couert defended the wals, he brought his souldiers neare, couered with their shields, and with their swords and pikes he gaue the assault, wherein he presented his owne person valiantly: but the defendants being constrained to cast downe their matches, and to fight with other weapons, being much astonished, they began to retire and abandon the walls, so that the enemies being entred, they remained all either dead or prisoners. After this he determined to passe to the other side of *Adda*, and hauing passed part of his armie at the bridge made at *Cassano*, certaine new bands of *Spaniards* tooke their way towards *Millan*, but he preuenting them, raised vp the Citie to armes, so that when they could not enter, they returned to the army. Notwithstanding these things, and that the Lanceknights were vpon the lands of the *Venetians*, the negociations of peace went already so forward, that all enterprises of warre began to grow cold. For when *Francis Sforce* was brought to the presence of the Emperour at *Bolognia*, and hauing thanked him for his benignitie in that he had admitted him into his presence, he told him, that he reposed so much in his iustice, that for all matters happened before the Marquis of *Vesquiere* restrained him within the Castle of *Millan*, he desired no other suretie or supplement then his owne innocencie: and that therefore touching these things he frankly renounced the safeconduct, the descript whereof the Duke holding in his hand, he cast it at the Emperours feet: which was a matter that contented him much. There was a moneth spent in debating the difficulties as well concerning his accord, as that of the *Venetians*: and in the end, the Pope hauing taken great paines therein, both the one and the other were concluded the three and fourtieth day of December, *Francis Sforce* binding himselfe to pay to the Emperour within one yeare foure hundred thousand duckats, and fiue hundred thousand more within ten yeares, to wit fiftie thousand euery yeare, *Como* and the Castle of *Millan* remaining in the meane while in the hands of the Emperour, the which he bound himselfe to render to *Francis Sforce* as soone as the paiments of the first yeare were performed; and gaue him the inuestiture of the Duchie, or rather confirmed that which had bene giuen to him before. To furnish these paiments, and for the gifts promised to those that gouerned the Emperour, he made very great impositions vpon the Citie of *Millan*, and through the whole Duchie, notwithstanding the people had bin consumed both by such cruell and long warres, and by famine and the pestilence. Touching the *Venetians*, they accorded, That they should render to the Pope *Rauenna* and *Cerua*, with their territories, sauing their rights, and the Pope pardoning all such as had conspired or done anything against him: That they should restore to the Emperour by the end of the next Ianuarie, all that they possessed in the Realme of *Naples*, and pay him the residue of the two hundred thousand duckats due by the third article of the last peace contracted betweene them; that is to say, fiue and twentie thousand duckats within one moneth next following, and fiue and twentie thousand euery yeare after, in case that their places should be rendered to them within one yeare, if they were not rendred according to the tenor of the said peace, or else the controuersie iudged by common arbitrators: That they should pay to the exiles fiue thousand duckats for euery yeare for the reuenue of their goods, as it was ordained by the treatie

Capitulations betweene the Emperour, the Venetians and the Duke of Millan.

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of the ſaid peace: That ouer and beſides this, they ſhould pay to the Emperour an hundred thouſand duckats, the one moitie within ten moneths, and the other halfe within a yeare after. Furthermore it was accorded, that the rights of the Patriarch of *Aquilea*, which had bene reſerued to him in the capitulation of *Wormes* againſt the King of *Hungarie*, ſhould be decided: That the Duke of *Vrbin* ſhould be comprehended in this peace and confederation, becauſe he was adherent and in the protection of the *Venetians*: That the *Venetians* ſhould pardon the Count *Brunoro de Gambara*: That traffike and commerce ſhould be free amongſt all their ſubiects; and that there ſhould be no place of retraite giuen to pirates that troubled either partie: That the *Venetians* ſhould enioy peaceably all that they held: That all thoſe that had bene declared rebels, for hauing adhered to *Maximilian*, the Emperour, and the King of *Hungarie*, ſince the yeare 1523, ſhould be reſtored; onely the reſtitution ſhould not extend to the goods that had bene confiſcated: That betweene the ſaid parties there ſhould not onely be peace, but alſo a perpetuall league defenſiue for their Eſtates of *Italy* againſt all Chriſtian Princes. The Emperour promiſed, that the Duke of *Millan* ſhould keepe continually in his Eſtate fiue hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſemen, ſixe thouſand footmen, and a good band of artilleries, for the defence of the *Venetians*: and the *Venetians* to maintaine the like ſtrength for the defence of the Duke of *Millan*. And it was ſet downe, that when either of their Eſtates were moleſted, the other ſhould not ſuffer victuals, munitions, poſts, or Embaſſadours of the enemie to paſſe through their countrey; and alſo ſhould hinder them from hauing any aide in their Eſtates, or paſſage for any kind of ſuccours: That if any Chriſtian Ptince, though he were of ſupreme dignitie, ſhould inuade the Realme of *Naples*, the *Venetians* ſhould be bound to helpe to defend it with fifteene light gallies well armed: That in this preſent accord ſhould be comprehended all ſuch as thoſe afore named, and to be named, held in their protection, the *Venetians* notwithſtanding being no otherwiſe bound to their defence: That if the Duke of *Ferrara* accorded with the Pope and the Emperour, he was vnderſtood to be comprehended in this confederation. For the execution of which accords the Emperour rendred to *Francis Sforce* *Millan* and all the Duchie, and reuoked all the ſouldiers, except ſuch as were neceſſary for the guard of the Caſtle and of *Coma*, which places he rendred afterwards according to the time couenanted: and the *Venetians* reſtored to the Pope the Townes of *Romagnia*; and to the Emperour thoſe which they held in *Powilla*.

Millan rendred by the Emperour to Francis Sforce

The end of the nineteenth Booke.

THE XX. BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

THe Emperour taketh the Imperiall Crowne at Bologna, and from thence paſſeth into Almanie. The family of Medicis by the aide of the Emperours armie returne to Florence. Ferdinand is choſen king of Romaines. The Pope will not hearken to a Councell. The French King ſtirreth vp the Turke againſt the Emperour, and hath conference with the Pope at Marſeilles.

BY the peace and confederation aboue rehearſed an end being put to ſo long and troubleſome a warre, which had continued for the ſpace of more then eight yeares, with ſo many horrible accidents, all *Italie* remained free from tumults and dangers of warre, except the Citie of *Florence*, whoſe warres had bene helping to the peace of others; and of the contrary, the tranquillitie of others cauſed to her a worſe and more dangerous warre. For when the difficulties that were debated, were in ſuch ſort digeſted, that there was now no further doubt but the accord would come to perfection, the Emperour hauing brought his companies out of the Eſtate of the *Venetians*, he ſent foure thouſand Lance-knights, fiue and twentie hundred *Spaniſh* footmen, eight hundred *Italians*, and more then three hundred light horſemen, with fiue and twentie peeces of artilleries to the warre againſt the *Florentines*, wherein were performed very few enterpriſes, and thoſe ſcarce worthy to be written, thoſe without hauing not the hearts to inuade the towne, and thoſe within hauing no deuotion to aſſay fortune; for that iudging they had meanes to defend themſelues for many moneths, they hoped that either for want of money, or by ſome other accidents, the enemies would not ſtay long there. Neuertheleſſe the Prince of *Orange* had ſent fifteene hundred footmen, and foure hundred horſemen with foure peeces of artilleries to take *Laſtra*, wherein were three En-
Laſtra taken. ſignes of footmen, and before the reſcues of *Florence* could arriue, they tooke it, and ſlue about two hundred of the footmen. It happened that in the night of the eleuenth day of December, *Stephen Colonno* with a thouſand harquebuziers, and foure hundred halberdiers and partiſans, all
Camiſado. in corſlets and Camiſado after the maner of *Spaine*, aſſailed the regiment of *Sarra Colonno*, who were lodged in the houſes neare the Church of Saint *Margaret de Montici*, and there they ſlue and wounded many men without the loſſe of one onely perſon. About that time were ſlaine with a bullet within the garden of Saint *Miniato*, *Mario Vrſin* and *Iulio Saint Croſſe*: and *Pirrhus* going from the Borough of *Peter* to take *Montopoli*, which is a towne in the countrey of *Piſa*, the footmen what were within *Empoly* ſtopped his paſſage betweene *Palaia* and *Montopoly*, and ouerthrew him, taking many priſoners. Moreouer, the *Florentines* ſent to the Borough of Saint *Sepulchro*, *Napoleon Vrſin* with an hundred and fiftie horſemen, for that *Alexander Vitelli* went ſpoiling the countrey towards the ſaid Borough and *Anguiari*. But when the regiments newly ſent by the Emperour were paſſed the Alpes, *Piſtoya* and afterwards *Prato*, abandoned of the *Florentine* companies, yeelded to the Pope: by reaſon whereof, the armie that had left behind them no impediment, marched not to ioyne with the others, but remaining on the other ſide of *Arno*, they incamped at *Peretola* neare the walls of the Citie, vnder the gouernement of the Marquis of *Guaſt*, the Prince of *Orange* neuertheleſſe remaining ſuperiour of all: and things were reduced rather to the forme of a ſiege, then of an aſſault. At this time *Pietraſanta* rendred to the Pope. In the end of this yeare, the Pope at the requeſt of *Malateſta*

Baillon

Baillon who gaue him hope of accord, ſent to *Florence* directly to him, *Rodolfo Pio* Biſhop of *Faenza*, with whom were debated diuerſe matters, ſome with the priuitie of the Citie, and for the profit thereof, and ſome ſecretly by *Malateſta* againſt the Citie; which notwithſtanding ſorted not to effect: yea it was beleeued that *Malateſta*, who was now come to the expiration of his pay, had cunningly entertained them, to the end that the *Florentines*, fearing to be abandoned of him, might retaine him againe into their pay with title of Generall, the which he obtained.

This enterpriſe of *Florence* continued alſo the yeare 1530: and albeit the Prince of *Orange* in that he began to make new caualliers and caſt new trenches, made demonſtration that he would batter the baſtillions as neare as he could, but chiefly that of Saint *George*, which was very ſtrong: yet partly through his ignorance, and partly through the difficultie of the action, there was not any thing put in execution, the guard of the whole Mount appertaining to *Stephen Colonno*. 1530.

In the beginning of this yeare, the *Florentines* taking hope of the matters of negociation with the Biſhop of *Faenza*, ſent other Embaſſadours to the Pope and the Emperour, but with expreſſe commiſſion not to hearken to any thing by the which they might go about to alter the gouernment or diminiſh the demaine: ſo that being diſcordant in the principall article, and alſo hauing no meanes to obtaine audience of the Emperour, they returned to *Florence* without any concluſion. There were within *Florence* nine or ten thouſand footmen, but payed in ſuch ſort that they amounted to more then foureteene thouſand payes: by reaſon whereof the ſouldiers defended the Citie with great affection and fidelitie; and to confirme them the more herein, all the Captaines being aſſembled in the Church of Saint *Nicholas*, when they had heard Maſſe, they took a ſolemne oath in the preſence of *Malateſta* to defend the Citie euen to death. In this conſtancie of the *Italian* footmen, onely *Napoleon Vrſin* ſhewed himſelfe vnconſtant, who when he had receiued money of the *Florentines*, returned to *Bracciano*, and compounded his affaires with the Pope and the Emperour, and drew from *Florence* certaine Captaines whom he had ſent thither. But the Pope omitting no diligence to obtaine his purpoſe, ſo wrought with the *French* king, that he ſent *Monſieur Clermont* to excuſe the accord he had made by neceſſitie to redeeme his children, alleaging that it was impoſſible to comprehend them in it, counſelling them to take ſuch conditions as they might, ſo farre forth as they were profitable and with conſeruation of their libertie, and offering as it were to interpoſe in the action. He commanded alſo *Malateſta* and *Stephen Colonno* as the Kings men, to depart from *Florence*, notwithſtanding apart he ſecretly told them the contrary. But that which moſt diminiſhed his reputation and aſtoniſhed the people, was, that to ſatisfie the Pope and the Emperour, he reuoked his ordinary Embaſſadour *Monſieur de Vigny*, who was ordinarily reſident at *Florence*, leauing there notwithſtanding as a priuate perſon *Emilio Ferreto*, that they might not vtterly deſpaire, and promiſing them ſecretly to aide them as ſoone as he had recouered his children: and he was at the point to diſmiſſe the *Florentine* Embaſſadour from his Court; for that the Pope vſing all deuices and ſubtilties, ſent by the Biſhop of *Tarbes* the Cardinals Hat to the Chancellor, and not long after the legation of the Realme of *France*, by whom he ſolicited a new enteruiew at *Thurin* betweene the Emperour, the *French* king, and himſelfe; but the Biſhop of *Tarbes* was anſwered in the Kings Councell, That the Kings children being captiue, it were a fooliſh thing for the King alſo to ſeeke a priſon.

Then the Pope and the Emperour determined to go to *Sienna*, by their neareneſſe to countenance the enterpriſe, and afterwards to draw to *Rome* for the coronation of the Emperour: but as they were vpon the point to depart, (whether it were a true or feigned deliberation) the Emperour receiued letters out of *Germanie*, ſoliciting him to returne thither with ſpeed, the Electors and the Princes vrging the ſame in regard of the Diots; *Ferdinand*, to be choſen King of *Romanes*; and others in regard of the Councell. Therefore omitting all thoughts to paſſe further, the Emperour tooke the Imperiall Crowne in *Bolognia* on the feſtiuall day of Saint *Matthias*, with great affluence of people, but with ſmall pompe and expenſes: a day very happie vnto him, for that on that day he was borne, on that day the *French* king became his priſoner, and on that day he tooke the Enſignes and ornaments of the Imperiall dignitie. Neuertheleſſe before he departed, he laboured to accord the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara*, who the ſeuenth day of March came to *Bolognia* vnder ſafe conduct: and when there was no other iſſue found for

The Emperour taketh the Crowne at Bolognia.

for this controuerſie, they referred the arbitration of all their controuerſies as wel of right as of fact to the perſon of the Emperor, the Pope being induced thereunto by the generalitie of the Compromiſe, which was ſuch as contained alſo the quarrell of *Ferrara*, whereof the Pope not doubting but according to the terms of right it wold diuolue to the Sea Apoſtolike, he thought the Emperor had an eaſie means by vſing ſilence touching *Ferrara*, to cauſe *Modena* and *Reggio* to be rendred vnto him: and alſo the Emperour promiſed him, that if he found that he had right to thoſe two Cities, he would pronounce iudgement, but if he found it otherwiſe, he would ſuffer the Compromiſe to expire: and for aſſurance of the obſeruation of that which ſhould be determined, they couenanted, that the Duke ſhould diſpoſe *Modena* into the hands of the Emperour, at whoſe inſtance he had before reuoked his Embaſſadours from *Florence*, and ſent pioners to the armie. The Emperour departed from *Bologna* the two and twentieth day, the Pope hauing told him, that his intention was to conſent to the Councell, if he thought it might any way auaile for the extirpation of the hereſie of the *Lutherans*: and with him went for Legat the Cardinal *Campeius*: and being arriued at *Mantua*, when he had receiued threeſcore thouſand duckats from the Duke of *Ferrara*, he gaue to him the towne of *Carpy* in fealtie for euer: and the one and thirtieth day the Pope tooke his way to *Rome*, the matters of *Florence* remaining in the ſame difficultie. The Imperials made many ſignes as though they would aſſault the Citie, and for that cauſe they had begun a trench before the baſtillion of Saint *George*, where an hote skirmiſh being performed the one and twentieth day of March, they without receiued great harmes. The fiue and twentieth day the Prince of *Orange* battered the Tower adioyning to the ſide of the Baſtillion of Saint *George* towards the gate of *Rome*, becauſe it did the armie much harme, but finding it very ſtrong, after certaine volleys of cannon ſhot, he ceaſſed the battery: and new companies dayly arriuing, for that there were no other warres in *Italy*, the harmes and ruines of the countrey of *Florence* increaſed continually. *Volterra* was rendred to the Pope, but the Caſtle holding good for the *Florentines*, it was battered in the name of the Imperials with two Cannons and three Culuerins brought from *Genes*: and the *Florentines* deſiring to ſuccour it, ſent to *Empoly* an hundred and fiftie horſemen and fiue Enſignes of footmen, who going forth by night, paſſed by the campe neare Mount *Oliuet*, and being diſcouered, certaine horſemen were ſent out after them, who ouertooke them, but being bickered withall by the harquebuziers, they retired with ſome loſſe: and the horſemen that were iſſued out of *Florence* by another way behind the campe arriued at the ſame time with the footmen within *Empoly* in ſafetie, where they were receiued by *Francis Ferruccio* Gouernor of that place, who being ſent in the beginning of the warre by the *Florentines* to *Empoly* as commander ouer a very ſmall companie of horſemen, and with very litle authoritie, had, during the warre, by the oportunitie of that ſeate, and the occaſion of preys and ordinary incurſions, gotten together a good number of choiſe ſoldiers, with whō as wel by his valor as for his liberalitie, hauing gotten great reputation, the *Florentines* had no ſmall expectation of him. *Ferruccio* then departed from *Empoly* with two thouſand footmen and fiue hundred horſe, and marching with great celeritie, he entred into the Caſtle of *Volterra* the ſixe and twentieth day of Aprill three houres before night, where hauing refreſhed his ſouldiers, he preſently aſſaulted the Towne which was guarded by *Iohn Baptiſta Borgueſo* with a very few footmen, and tooke two trenches before night, ſo that the next morning the Towne rendred vnto him, and he got the artilleries that were come from *Genes*. Preſently after this he ſet himſelfe to draw money by many exactions from the inhabitants of *Volterra*, and continually increaſing the number of his ſouldiers, he cauſed *S. Gimignano* and *Colle* to reuolt, and cutting off the victuals that came from *Sienna* by that way, had reduced the armie into great difficulties, whoſe Captaines thinking of no other thing then the ſiege, the Marquis of *Guaſt* retired the artilleries into *Prato*. But Captaine *Maramus* coming in good time into thoſe quarters vnlooked for, with fiue and twentie hundred footmen without pay; which was a ſuccour that came againſt the Popes will (ſo incertaine are the affaires of war) he reſtrained his fury, for that *Maramus* went and incamped with his companies at the ſuburbes of *Volterra*. The ninth day of May there was a great skirmiſh without *Rome* gate, and there were of thoſe within an hundred and thirtie ſlaine and wounded, and of thoſe without more then two hundred, amongſt whom was Captaine *Baragnino* a *Spaniard*. The *Florentines* hoped ſtill for ſome ſuccours from the *French* king, who continued to promiſe them great ſuccours when he ſhould haue recouered his children: and to entertaine them in the meane while in this hope,

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he gaue assignation to the *Florentine* Merchants for twentie thousand duckats, which were due to them long time before, to the end they might lend it to the Citie: which was brought to *Pisa* by *Lewis Alaman*, but at sundry times, so that it profited litle: Moreouer *Iohn Paul de Cere* whom the *Florentines* had taken into their pay for the guard of *Pisa*, came thither at the same time. But the conquest of *Volterra* bred a far greater detriment to the *Florentines*: for that *Ferruccio*, contrary to the commission giuen him, that he might go the stronger to *Volterra*, and for that he was too confident of the Castle of *Empoly*, had left within it so small a garrison, that the Imperials being encouraged thereby, and purposing to vse the occasion, went and incamped there vnder the Maquis of *Guast*, and with small domage tooke it, and sacked it: the losse of which place afflicted the *Florentines* more then any other thing that happened during that war, for that hauing determined to assemble in that place new regiments, they hoped by the oportunitie of the situation thereof, which was of great importance, to reduce into great difficulties the army that lay on that side of *Arno*, and to open the way for victuals to the Citie, which began already to be in want: and hereunto was added a new occasion to depriue them also of the hopes they had conceiued. For after the *French* king had in the beginning of Iune, deliuered ouer his money which he was to pay to the Emperour, and retired his children; in stead of so many aides and succours which he had alwayes said he had reserued till that time, he sent into *Italy* at the instance of the Pope (who to draw the Kings seruants wholly to his side, created Cardinall the Bishop of *Tarbes* Embassadour resident in his Court) one *Peter Francis Pontresme*, whom he trusted much, to practise some accord with the *Florentines*, who by that meanes lost all hope to be succouted by the King; seeing that he and the King of *England* ioyned together, did all they could so to reconcile the Pope vnto themselues, as they might hope to separate him from the Emperour: and in that regard the *French* King laboured to haue some participation and degree to reduce the *Florentines* into the Popes power. When the Marquis of *Guast* had taken *Empoly*, he went with his companies to ioyne with *Mariano* in the suburbes of *Volterra*: and hauing about sixe thousand footmen, they began to batter the Towne; and when they saw they had brought to the earth more then fortie fadomes of the wall, they gaue three assaults in vaine, with the losse of more then three hundred men. They made afterwards a new battery, and gaue a braue and furious assault with the *Italians* and *Spaniards* mingled together, but it was with greater domage then the former assaults, so that the campe brake vp. And the same morning about an houre before day, *Stephen Colonno* issued out of the gate of *Faenza* with a Camisado of three thousand footmen, and *Malatesta* by the posterne that leadeth to *Prato*, to assaile the Lanceknights that were lodged in the Monastery of Saint *Donato*, where they had fortified themselues. *Stephen* passed the trenches, and slue many of them; but the residue hauing put themselues in order in the meane while, defended themselues valiantly: and *Stephen* hauing receiued a light hurt in the mouth and in the virill member, he retired when he could not stay long for feare lest succours should come vnto them, complaining much that *Malatesta* had not followed him.

Empoly sacked by the Marquis of Guast.

The Florentines out of hope to be succored by the French king

Now although in *Florence*, where there entred nothing on any side, the want of victuals increased daily, yet their obstinacie failed not: and *Ferruccio* being gone from *Volterra* to *Pisa*, and assembling as many footmen as he could, all the hopes of the *Florentines* were reduced to his coming; for that they had signified vnto him that by what way or danger soeuer, he should come vnto them, making their designe to giue battell to the enemies as soone as he was ioyned with the companies that were within *Florence*: of which deuice the successe was not so good, as the rashnesse of the resolution was great (if those counsels may be termed rash which are caused by a last necessitie) seeing he must passe through the enemies countrey, which was occupied by a very strong army, though dispersed into many places. The Prince of *Orange* who had aduertisement of this deuice, prepared to meete him with part of the army, and assembling many bands of *Italian* footmen; and *Malatesta Baillon* (with whom he had very secret intelligences) haply hauing secretly assured him, as the *Florentines* suspected, that in his absence he would not assaile the army, he went out to encounter him; and finding him neere to *Cauinana* in the Mountaine of *Pistoya*, which way he had taken passing from *Pisa* neare *Lucques*, in confidence of the Chancellors faction which affected the popular gouernment, he set vpon him with a very small company of men; and at the first charge the Prince who aduanced too boldly, was slaine, doing rather the office of a man at armes then of a Captaine. Nevertheless his soul-

The Prince of Orange slaine.

ſouldiers got the victory, and tooke together with many others *Iohn Paul de Cere*, and *Ferruccio*, whom *Maramus* ſlue being priſoner, in reuenge (as he himſelfe confeſſed) for that at the ſiege of *Volterra* he had hanged an Herald that was ſent vnto him to deliuer a meſſage. The *Florentines* then found themſelues abandoned of all ſuccours both diuine and humane; and the famine increaſed without any further hope of remedy: neuertheles the obſtinacie of thoſe that oppoſed againſt the accord appeared ſtill greater; who being induced by a laſt deſpaire, to be vnwilling that their owne ruine ſhould happen without the deſtruction of their countrey, and deuiſing no more how either they or others might die for the ſafetie of their countrey, but that their country might periſh together with them, they were alſo followed of many who had perſwaded themſelues that God would worke a miracle, and ſend ſuccours, but not vntill things were reduced to ſuch termes as there remained in a maner no ſpirit. And there was danger leſt the war wold finiſh with the vtter deſtructiō of that Citie (for that the Magiſtrates were concurrant in this obſtinacie, and almoſt all thoſe that managed the publike authoritie: and, for feare of the Magiſtrates and the threats of armes, there was no meanes to contradict thoſe that were of the contrary opiniō) if *Malateſta Baillō*, ſeeing the affaires to be without remedy, had not in a maner forced them to accord, being haply moued by pitie and compaſſion, to ſee ſo excellent a Citie vtterly to periſh by the rage of the Citizens; and by the diſhonor and domage that might come to him to be preſent at ſo great a ruine; but much more, as was beleeued, by the hope to obtaine of the Pope by meanes of that accord, ſufferance to returne to *Perouſa*. Therefore when the Magiſtrates and ſuch as were moſt furious went about to cauſe the companies to iſſue out of the Citie to fight with the enemies, who exceeded them in numbers, and were lodged in a ſtrong place, and he refuſed it, they were ſo much incenſed, that they depoſed him from his charge of Captaine, and ſent ſome of the moſt obſtinate among them to denounce a commandement vnto him to go out of the Towne with his companies; wherewith he was ſo much moued, that he drew his poignard and hurt one of them, ſo that the reſidue had much ado to get him aliue out of his hands: wherewith the others being aſtoniſhed, and the whole Citie beginning to riſe, ſuch as were not ſo farre tranſported, beginning to reprehend the raſhneſſe of the *Gonfalonnier*, who armed himſelfe, ſometimes proteſting that he would aſſaile *Malateſta*, and ſometimes that he would iſſue out to fight with the enemies, at laſt the deſperate obſtinacie of many, gaue place to the extreme neceſſitie of all: inſomuch as foure Embaſſadours being ſent the ninth day of Auguſt to *Don Ferrand de Gonzaga*, who by reaſon of the death of the Prince of *Orange* held the chiefe place in the armie, the Marquis of *Guaſt* being gone away long before, the accord was made the day following; whereof, beſides that the Citie was bound to pay within a few dayes foureſcore thouſand duckats to raiſe the armie, the principall articles were: That the Pope and the Citie ſhould giue authoritie to the Emperour to declare within three moneths what ſhould be the forme of gouernment, their libertie alwayes reſerued: That all maner of iniuries done againſt the Pope, his friends and ſeruants, ſhould be pardoned: That vntill the declaration of the Emperour ſhould come, *Malateſta Baillon* ſhould remaine within the Citie in garriſon with two thouſand footmen. Which accord being made, whileſt the money was collecting for the armie, whereof there was need of a farre greater ſumme, for that in the Pope was found litle readineſſe to relieue the Citie with money in ſo great a danger, *Bartholomew Valori* the Popes Commiſſary practiſing vnderhand with *Malateſta*, who was wholly bent to returne to *Perouſa*, called the people together in the publike place, according to the ancient cuſtome to hold a Parliament; and the Magiſtrates and others agreeing thereunto for feare, they introduced a new forme of gouernment. The Parliament gaue power to twelue Citizens of the faction of the *Medices*, to diſpoſe as they thought good of the gouernment of the Citie; who reduced it to that forme which it was wont to carry before the yeare 1527. After this the army diſlodged when they had receiued money: but the *Italian* Captaines to defraud the ſouldiers, retired with the money into *Florence* (to the great ignominie of the military diſcipline,) giuing but a very litle to the footmen whom they had entertained, who remaining without Leaders, diſperſed themſelues into diuerſe places: and the *Spaniards* and Lance-knights who were fully payed, departing from all the townes and iuriſdiction of *Florence*, they went into the countrey of *Sienna* to reorder the gouernment of that Citie: and *Malateſta Baillon*, the Pope ſuffering him to returne to *Perouſa*, without tarrying for the declaration of the Emperour, left *Florence* wholly to the will of the Pope: in the which after all the ſouldiers were gone,

The iſſue of the war of Florēce

The eſtate of the Citie of Florence after the ſiege.

gone, the perſecutions and puniſhments of the Citizens began; for that thoſe into whoſe power the gouerment was diuolued, partly the better to aſſure the State, & partly for the hatred conceiued againſt the authors of ſo many euils, and the memory of iniuries particularly receiued; but principally for that ſuch was the intention of the Pope (though he made it knowne to few) obſeruing haply the ſuperficies of the words, wreſted and peruerted the ſence, that the chapter whereby pardon was promiſed to ſuch as had iniured the Pope and his friends, extended not to the wrongs and crimes by them committed in matters that concerned the Commonweale: ſo that the examination of the matter being put into the hands of the Magiſtrates, ſix of the principals were beheaded, others impriſoned, and a very great number baniſhed: by reaſon whereof the Citie being the more weakened, and thoſe that had participated in theſe things reduced into great neceſſitie, the power of the *Medices* was found more free and abſolute, yea almoſt royall in that Citie much exhauſted of money by ſo long and great a warre, and made naked of many inhabitants both within and without, with the loſſe of their houſes and goods abroad, and more then euer deuided in it ſelfe: the which pouertie matle the neceſſitie yet far greater to prouide themſelues of victuals from forreine countries, for the generall ſcarcitie wherein the whole countrey was: for as much as for that yeare they had neither ſeed time nor harueſt: and this inconuenience did ſo hang vpon them for ſome yeares following, that more money went out of the Citie, being vnmeaſurably waſted and afflicted, to bring corne from forreine regions, and cattell from without their owne dominion, then had bene defrayed for the expences of ſo great and chargeable a warre.

In this meane while the Emperour hauing aſſembled the Diot at *Auſbourg*, cauſed *Ferdinand* his brother to be elected King of *Romanes*: and debating of the affaires of the *Lutherans* ſuſpected euen to the power of Princes, and for the multitude and ambition of their followers deuided into diuerſe hereſies in a maner contrary one to another, and to *Martin Luther* the author of that contagion, the life and authoritie of whom being now almoſt of no conſideration (ſo farre was this miſchiefe ſpread abroad, and had taken ſo deepe roote;) the Princes of *Germanie* could find no better remedy, then the celebration of a Councell. For both the *Lutherans* ſeeking to couer their cauſe with the authoritie of Religion, ſolicited it: and it was beleeued, that the authoritie of the decrees which the Councell ſhould ſet downe, would be ſufficient, if not to turne the minds of heretiks from their errors, yet at leaſt to reduce ſome of the multitude to the more ſound opinion: beſides that in *Germanie* euen thoſe that followed the Catholike opinions were very deſirous of a Councell, to the end to reforme the exceſſiue abuſes and great exactions of the Court of *Rome*: the which with the authoritie of Indulgences, and the largeneſſe of Diſpenſations, and with the Annates or yeerly fruits of Benefices that were giuen, together with the allowances that in the expedition of them reuerted to the offices infinitely multiplied in that Court, it ſeemed there was no other ſtudy or care then to exact by thoſe meanes a huge maſſe of treaſure throughout all Chriſtendome, without any regard in the meane time of the health of ſoules, nor that matters Eccleſiaſtike might be rightly gouerned: for that many incompatible Benefices were conferred vpon one perſon; and without any regard to the worthineſſe of men, they were diſtributed by fauour, either to perſons for their age incapable, or to men altogether vnlearned, and ſometimes (which is worſe) to perſons of euill life and conuerſation. The Emperour being very deſirous to ſatisfie this inſtance of all *Germanie*, and for that it was to good purpoſe alſo for his affaires, to appeaſe in that Prouince the cauſes of the tumults and the contumacie of the people, he vrged the Pope, by reducing to his memory the conference they had together at *Bologna*, to call a Councell, and promiſed him (to the end he ſhould not feare to haue his authoritie and dignitie brought into danger) to be there in perſon, to take care of him particularly. Nothing in the world was more diſpleaſing to the Pope then this, yet, to maintaine the opinion that men had of his good intention, he diſſembled his inclination. But fearing in effect, leſt the Councell, to moderate the abuſes of the Court and the indiſcreete grants of many Popes, would much diminiſh the Pontificall authoritie; or elſe, calling to mind that albeit at ſuch time as he was made Cardinall it had bene proued by witneſſes that he was borne in lawfull mariage, yet in truth it was otherwiſe; and albeit there could be found no law written that forbad him that was borne in that maner to aſcend to the Papacie, neuertheleſſe it was a very ancient and common opinion, that he that was not legitimate could not be a Cardinal: or remembring that he was raiſed to the ſea Apoſtolike

Ferdinand elected King of Romanes.

not without ſome ſuſpition of ſymonie practiſed with the Cardinall *Colonno*: or elſe leſt the great ſeueritie he had vſed againſt his countrey, with ſo many tumults of warre, ſhould make him perpetually infamous to the Councell, the rather for that it appeared by the effects, that he had bene moued, not as he publiſhed in the beginning, to reduce it to a good and moderate gouernment, but with ambition, and a deſire to bring it againe vnder the ſeruitude of his houſe: and for theſe cauſes abhorring the Councell, and not accounting the fidelitie of the Emperour a ſufficient ſuretie, when he had communicated the whole matter to the Cardinals deputed to the diſcuſſion of this matter, who alſo feared to be corrected by the Councell: he anſwered that there were many reaſons for the which it was not yet time to ſpeake thereof, for as much as peace was not yet wel eſtabliſhed among the Princes of Chriſtendome, and it was feared leſt the *Turke* would ſtirre againe, in which caſe it were not good that he ſhould find Chriſtendome encombred with the diſputations and contentions of a Councell: and yet making ſhew that he would referre it to the reſolution of the Emperour, he concluded, that he was contented that he ſhould promiſe in the Diot the indiction of a Councell, ſo that it might be celebrated in *Italy*, and in his preſence, due time being aſſigned for the aſſembling thereof: and that the *Lutherans* and other heretikes promiſing to ſtand to the determination of the Councell, ſhould in the meane while deſiſt from their corruptions, and rendring to the Sea Apoſtolike their due obedience, ſhould returne to their former maner of liuing like Chriſtian Catholikes: whereby all the matter was made more difficult. For the *Lutherans* not onely would not deſiſt from their opinions and ceremonies before the celebration of the Councell: and alſo it was beleeued, that they abhorred the Councell, for that they could expect no other thing thereof, then a reprobation of their opinions, ſeeing the moſt part and the principall of them had bene many times condemned as hereticall by ancient Councels; but that they inſiſted vpon the conuocation thereof, for that knowing it was a matter fearefull to the Popes, they perſwaded themſelues it would not be granted, and by that meanes they might ſupport their cauſe among the people with the greater authoritie.

1531. The yeare 1530 ended with theſe agitations, and the yeare 1531 ſucceeded, wherein was ſmall cauſe of troubles. For notwithſtanding it was comprehended by many ſignes that the *French* king was ill contented with the accords made with the Emperour, and very deſirous of new tumults, and that the King of *England* alſo had the ſame inclination, being angry with the Emperour, for that defending the ſiſter of his mother he impugned the matter of diuorce: neuertheleſſe the *French* King being both bare of money, and not well repoſed after the trauels of ſo long warres, the time was not yet fit to raiſe new troubles. But in the meane while he was diligent to practiſe as well in *Germanie* with ſuch Princes as bare minds eſtranged from the Emperour, as in *Italy* with the Pope, to whom, the better to aſſure his amitie, he made an ouerture of mariage betweene his ſecond ſonne and the Popes Neece: and (which he practiſed to the great offence of God, and with an horrible infamie to the Crowne of *France*, which had alwayes made principall profeſſion to defend Chriſtian Religion, for which merits it had gotten the title of Moſt Chriſtian) he held practiſes with the Prince of *Turkes*, to ſtirre him vp againſt the Emperour, towards whom the *Turke* was ordinarily ill diſpoſed, as well for his naturall hatred againſt the Chriſtian name, as for the controuerſies he had with his brother, tending to queſtions for the Realme of *Hungarie* with the *Vayuod*, of whom he had taken the protection: as alſo for that the greatneſſe of the Emperour began likewiſe to be ſuſpected of him. At this time the Imperiall Captaines leuied their forces from the territories of *Sienna*, to leade them to *Piemont*, when, to ſatisfie the Pope, they had reeſtabliſhed in *Sienna* the family of *Montenous*, to enioy their countrey and goods, but not to alter the forme of gouernment: and when for their ſuretie they had left a guard of three hundred *Spaniſh* footmen depending vpon the Duke of *Malfe*, vnder whom (for that he could not keepe his authoritie) things returned forthwith into the ſame diſorders, ſo that ſuch as had bene reſtored, departed away for feare. Alſo the Emperour pronounced the forme of gouernment for *Florence*, diſſembling that part of the authoritie giuen him which limited the ſauing of their libertie: for that according to the very inſtructions which the Pope had ſent vnto him, he decreed that the citie ſhould be gouerned with the ſame Magiſtrates and in the ſame maner as it was wont to be in the times when the *Medices* ruled it: and that *Alexander* the Popes nephew and his ſonne in law, ſhould be chiefe in the gouernment: and that in caſe of his death, the children and next deſcendants of the ſame family

The French king and the king of England ill diſpoſed to the Emperour.

The French king inciteth the Turke againſt the Emperour.

mily ſhould ſucceed from hand to hand. He reſtored to the Citie all the priuiledges agreed vnto before times by him and his predeceſſors, but with this condition annexed, to loſe them as often as the Citie ſhould attempt any thing againſt the greatneſſe of the family of *Medicis*; inſerting through all the Decree, words which ſhewed that he tooke not his ground onely vpon the power that had bene giuen to him by the parties, but alſo vpon the authoritie and dignitie Imperiall. But hauing herein haply more ſatisfied the Pope then the faculties giuen him by the compromiſe, he offended him as much immediatly after in a matter which was very grieuous vnto him. For after the controuerſie betweene the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara* was heard and examined by many Doctors to whom it was committed, whereupon both the parties had produced many teſtimonies and writings, and made a long courſe of pleading, he pronounced according to their counſell and relation, that *Modena* and *Reggia* appertained of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and that the Pope receiuing of him an hundred thouſand duckats, and reducing the tributes to the ancient cuſtome, ſhould inueſt him againe in the iuriſdiction of *Ferrara*. Therefore the Emperour laboured to perſwade the Pope, that if contrary to his promiſe made in *Bologna*, not to pronounce in caſe he found his cauſe not to be iuſt, he had giuen ſentence, that he was not to complaine thereof againſt him, but rather to blame the Biſhop of *Vaſone* his Nuncio, to whom he had not failed to giue notice that he would not pronounce ſentence, to the end not to be conſtrained to paſſe iudgement againſt the Pope: but the Biſhop being perſwaded otherwiſe, and ſuppoſing this to be done to free himſelfe of the promiſe he had made to giue ſentence if the right were in him, had preſſed ſo much the publication of the ſentence, that he was halfe conſtrained to it for the regard of his honour. Which excuſe the Pope had the ſooner admitted, if the ſentence had not bene in the ſame forme whereinto the Emperour had many times aſſayed to reduce the matter by accord. But that which offended moſt the Pope, was, that the Emperour in pronouncing vpon the matters of *Modena* and *Reggia*, had taken the courſe of a rigorous Iudge, but in the affaires of *Ferrara*, wherein the rigour was manifeſtly for him, he had done the office of a friendly Arbitrator. Therefore he would neither ratifie the ſentence, nor accept the paiment of the money wherein the Duke was condemned; neither did he at the next feaſt of Saint *Peter* accept the tribute which was publikely offered to him, according to the ancient cuſtome. But the Emperour for all that forbare not to conſigne to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, which he had detained in pledge till that day, leauing them to decide afterwards the differences between themſelues. By reaſon whereof there was not for many moneths betweene the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara* either an open warre or an aſſured peace, the Pope wholly applying himſelfe to oppreſſe him with wiles, or to expect an occaſion to wrong him openly with the aide of great Princes.

The Pope holdeth himſelfe offended with the Emperour.

This yeare of 1531 brought forth no other accidents, and the tranquillitie alſo went on continuing the yeare following, which was more dangerous for forreine warres then for the emotions of *Italy*. For, the *Turke* being inflamed with the ignominie of his repulſe at *Vienna*, and vnderſtanding that the Emperour was in *Germanie*, he prepared a very mightie army, and magnifying his prouiſions, he publiſhed, that his intention was to conſtraine the Emperour to come to battell with him. For the renowme of which preparations the Emperour put himſelfe in as good order as he could, reuoking into *Germanie* the Marquis of *Guaſt* with his *Spaniſh* regiments, and a great band of horſemen and footmen *Italians*. The Pope promiſed to aide him with fortie thouſand duckats for euery moneth, and ſent to this expedition as Legat Apoſtolike his nephew the Cardinall *de Medicis*: and the Princes and free townes of *Germanie* prepared in fauour of the Emperour, and for the common defence of *Germanie*, a very great armie: but the effects were nothing anſwerable to the renowme and the feare: for that *Soliman*, who came very late into *Hungarie*, and could arriue no ſooner, as well for the greatneſſe of his preparations, as for the length of the way, drew not directly with his army to the place where the Emperor was, but onely hauing repreſented the warre, and made a great incurſion, he returned to *Conſtantinople*. And in the Emperour there appeared no greater forwardneſſe; for although he vnderſtood that the *Turkes* drew neare, he made not out to meete them; and when he heard of their retraite, he omitted to purſue with all his forces the faire occaſion that was offered to reconquer *Hungarie* for his brother; but burning in deſire to returne into *Spaine*, he gaue order that the *Italian* footmen, with a certaine number of Lanceknights ſhould go to the enterpriſe of *Hungarie*; which deſigne was immediatly diſordered, for that the *Italians* puſhed on by ſome

1532

The Turke returneth with ſhame to Conſtantinople.

of

of their Captaines, who ſaw that the charge of the enterpriſe was giuen to others, ſo mutined, that hauing no reaſon to alleage for their tumult, and the preſence of the Emperour who went in perſon to ſpeake vnto them, being not ſufficient to appeaſe them; they reſolutely tooke their way into *Italy*, marching with great haſte for feare to be followed, and in their way burning many villages and houſes as lands of their enemies, in reuenge as they ſaid of the burnings committed in many places in *Italy* by the Lanceknights. The Emperour alſo tooke his way towards *Italy*, and hauing ſet downe in what order, and by what places his Court and all his traine ſhould paſſe, the Cardinall *de Medicis*, carried with the raſhneſſe of youth, not obeying the order generally giuen to all the traine, aduanced and got before together with *Peter Maria Roſſo*, vpon whom chiefly was layed the fault of this ſedition. Wherewith the Emperour being wroth, but chiefly for that attributing the cauſe hereof to the Cardinall, he feared leſt the ſaid Cardinall who was ill contented that *Alexander* his couſin was preferred to the adminiſtration of the Eſtate of *Florence*, would go after the footbands to leade them to trouble the affaires of *Tuſcan*, he cauſed him to be apprehended by the way, and with him *Peter Maria Roſſo*: but afterwards conſidering better the importance of the matter, he wrote preſently that he ſhould be deliuered, and made many excuſes as well to the Cardinall as to the Pope. *Peter Maria* remained priſoner, but ſoone after he was releaſed, the iniury which he ſeemed to haue done to the Cardinall, helping him much (as was beleeued) with the Emperour.

Enterview of the king of England and the French king.

The departure of the *Turke* deliuered *Italy* of an imminent warre: for that the *French* King and the King of *England* being full of hatred and diſdaine againſt the Emperour, met together betweene *Calice* and *Bulleine*, where perſwading themſelues that the *Turke* would abide that Winter in *Hungarie*, and by that meanes would hold the forces of the Emperour intangled, they conſulted that the *French* king ſhould inuade the Duchie of *Millan*: and hauing a diſpoſition to draw the Pope to their part by violence and aſtoniſhment, ſeeing they could neuer allure him by other meanes, they deuiſed to take from him the obedience of their kingdomes in caſe he would not conſent to that which they deſired, which was that the *French* king wold haue the State of *Millan*, and the King of *England* a ſentence for him in the cauſe of diuorce; and they had determined to ſend to him with ſharp commiſſions, the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Tarbes*, perſonages of great authoritie with the *French* king. But the newes which they receiued of the retiring of the *Turke* before the time of their enterview was determined, moderated theſe deuiſes, and alſo was the cauſe that the King of *England* ſent not for the Ladie *Anne Bulleine* to *Calice*, to celebrate the mariage with her publikely in that aſſembly, notwithſtanding the cauſe of diuorce was hanging in the Court of *Rome*, and that he was forbidden by writs Apoſtolike, vnder paine of very great cenſures, to innouate any thing to the preiudice of the firſt mariage: and yet the *French* king to demonſtrate to the King of *England* that he bare no good will to the *Romane* Church, impoſed by his owne authoritie vpon the Clergie of all his Realme a taxe of tenths, and diſpatched the two Cardinals to the Pope, but with conditions farre differing from thoſe which were preſcribed at the firſt.

A ſecond enterview of the Pope and the Emperour at Bologna.

The Emperour came into *Italy*, and deſiring to ſpeake with the Pope, the place of their meeting was eſtſoones aſſigned at *Bologna*, which the Pope accepted willingly, to giue no occaſion to the Emperour to go to the Realme of *Naples* (as many of his Court perſwaded him,) and by that occaſion to make a longer abode in *Italy*; which was alſo againſt the intention of the Emperour, who deſired to paſſe into *Spaine* for many reaſons, but chiefly for the deſire he had to haue children by his wife who remained there. Therefore they met at the end of the yeare at *Bologna*, where were obſerued betweene them the ſame demonſtrations of amitie, and the ſame offices of familiaritie which they had vſed before; but their wils were no more correſpondent as they had beene in their former negociations. For the Emperour had a great deſire of the Councell, for the repoſe and contentment of *Germanie*: he offered to diſſolue the armie, which was very chargeable both to him and others; but to the end he might do it ſafely, he inſiſted to haue the laſt league made at *Bologna* renewed, both to comprehend in it all the *Italians*, and to taxe the ſummes of money which euery one was to contribute if *Italy* were inuaded by the *French*. He deſired alſo to haue *Katherine* the Popes Neece maried to *Francis Sforce*, as well to preſſe the Pope by a greater neceſſitie to looke to the preſeruation of that Eſtate, as to breake the practiſe of affinitie that was ſolicited with the *French* king. Of all which things not one was

Katherine de Medicis.

accep-

acceptable to the Pope, for that the confederation was contrary to the desire he had to stand newter as much as he could betweene the Princes of Christendome: doubting, both other dangers, and especially lest the *French* king (who was so much pressed thereunto by the King of *England*) would depriue him of the obedience of his kingdome. Touching the Councell, it was a matter very grieuous vnto him for the ancient causes: and the alliance with the Duke of *Millan* pleased him not, for that he would not be at open enmitie with the *French* king, with whose second sonne he had a vehement desire to conioyne his Neece. These matters were handled, but principally that of the confederation: and for this negociation of many moneths were deputed for the Emperour, *Cuoues*, the great Commander of *Lions*, *Granuelle*, and *Prata* his chiefe Counsellors: and for the Pope the Cardinall *de Medicis*, *Iames Saluiati*, and *Guiccardin*: who not refusing to go through with the confederation (for that had bene to discouer too much the Popes intention, and to giue cause to the Emperour iustly to conceiue a great suspition of him,) made instance that all meanes should be vsed to cause the *Venetians* to consent vnto it, alleaging that without them the defence would be but weake, and that the common affaires would be preserued with better reputation if the renowme of the former confederation were maintained: whereas if another were made without them, it would make the world beleeue that there were discord betweene the Emperour, the Pope, and the *Venetians*. In this regard the *Venetians* were solicited to condescend to a new confederation for the defence of all *Italy*, for as much as by the first League their obligation extended no further then for the affaires of *Millan* and *Naples*: and the Emperour was very desirous that they might be bound likewise to the defence of *Genes*, where it was thought, that when the warre was on foote, the *French* men would easily make their first attempt: for that they would pretend, by reason of their rights and interests particular, they might do it without swaruing from the contracts of *Madril* and *Cambray*. But the Senate of *Venice* refused to renew the confederation, or to amplifie the obligations contained in the same, whereby they much discontented the Emperour, although they affirmed they would inuiolably obserue that coniunction: and yet the Emperour was so much the more importunate herein with the Pope, refuting all reasons that were alleaged to the contrary, that the articles of the confederation began to be communed vpon; and all the Potentates of *Italy* were summoned, who sent Embassadours to this negociation: who were required to enter into the League, contributing in case of warre, euery one according to his power and possibilitie: wherein none of them making any difficultie, but labouring euery one to abate somewhat of that which was demanded for the contribution, *Alphonso d'Este* onely propounded that he might not enter into a league to defend the States of others, if first he were not assured of his owne. For how may it be conuenient for him to accord, that was to defend himselfe against the Pope, and enter league with him? how could he contribute with his money to the defence of *Millan* and *Genes*, if he were compelled to expend it continually to keepe bands of souldiers within *Modena* and *Reggia*, and also for the suretie of *Ferrara*? Vpon this demand arose a new practise to accord him with the Pope: who bearing a mind far estranged therefrō, and yet not purposing to oppose himselfe so apparently against the instance of the Emperour, he propounded conditions which were impossible to be obserued, affirming that if he should leaue *Modena* and *Reggia* to *Alphonso* (who otherwise would not come to accord) that he would haue *Alphonso* to acknowledge them in fealtie of the Sea Apostolike; the which for that it could not be done in such sort as might be iudicially available without the consent of the Electors and Princes of the Empire, it brought the Emperour into a difficultie which had no issue. Therefore he began to intreate the Pope, that at least during the league he would be bound not to vexe the State which *Alphonso* held: and after many disputes, the Pope consented to assure him for eighteene moneths; and so at last there was a conclusion made of the League, which was passed and contracted vpon Saint *Matthias* day; a day very happie to the Emperour. This league and confederation contained an obligation of the Emperour, the King of *Romanes*, and all the other Potentates of *Italy* except the *Venetians*, for the defence of *Italy*, yet without naming the *Florentines* therein any otherwise then they were named in the league of *Congnac*, and that to the end not to trouble their commerce in the Realme of *France*. It was set downe with what number of souldiers euery one should be concurrant therein, and what summe of money they should contribute for euery moneth, to wit, for the Emperour thirtie thousand duckats, the Pope for himselfe and the *Florentines* twentie thousand, the Duke of *Millan*

A League for the defence of Italy.

lan fifteene thouſand, the Duke of *Ferrara* ten thouſand, the *Genowayes* ſixe thouſand, the State of *Sienna* ten thouſand, and the Citie of *Lucques* a thouſand: and that (to the end to be found prepared againſt all ſodaine and vnlooked for inuaſions vntil ſuch time as defence might be made with the contributions aforenamed) there ſhould be preſently leuied a loane of money almoſt equall to the contributions, which ſhould not be expended vnleſſe the preparations to inuade *Italy* were manifeſtly diſcerned. There was alſo ſet downe a ſmall contribution yearely, for the entertainment of thoſe Captaines that remained in *Italy*, and to pay certaine penſions to the *Swiſſers*, to the end they might not haue cauſe to giue footmen to the *French* king: and by common conſent *Anthonie de Leua* was declared Captaine generall of all the League, with ordinance that he ſhould remaine in the Duchie of *Millan*.

The Pope will not hearken to a Councell.

Touching the Councell there was nothing concluded to the liking of the Emperour, who ſolicited the Pope to call it preſently; which he refuſed to do, alleaging that in that ill diſpoſition of mens minds, there was danger leſt the Kings of *England* and *France* would refuſe it, and that the Councell being celebrated without them, it could introduce neither vnion nor reformation of the Church; yea, it was much to be feared leſt it would diuolue to a ſchiſme: That he was very well content to ſend out Nuncios to all the Princes, to induce them to ſo holy a worke. And the Emperour replying, What if they differ from vs without iuſt cauſe? and preſſing the Pope in that caſe to intimate the Councell, he could neuer diſpoſe him to it: ſo that his Nuncios were aſſigned and ſent out, with a very ſlender hope to bring backe any good concluſion. But the Emperour was no better ſatisfied touching the negociation of the affinitie; for that when the two Cardinals ſent by the *French* king were come to *Bologna*, and had introduced againe the negociation of the mariage with the ſecond ſonne of the King, the Pope gaue anſwer touching the mariage with the Duke of *Millan* propounded by the Emperour: That the King hauing long before made an ouerture of mariage for his ſonne, and he hauing hearkened vnto it by the conſent of the Emperour, who at that time ſeemed to be well content therewith, he ſuppoſed he ſhould do great wrong to the *French* king, if during theſe negociations he ſhould giue his Neece in mariage to one of his enemies: That he was perſwaded, that that practiſe was artificially introduced by the *French* king to entertaine him, and not with intention to conclude it; ſeeng there was betweene the parties ſo great diſparitie of degree and condition; but that he would not do the King ſo great wrong, if this practiſe were not firſt abſolutely broken off. And when the Emperour could not be perſwaded that the *French* king would adioyne his ſonne to a match ſo farre vnequall to him, he aduiſed the Pope, that for the diſcouerie of the Kings frauds, he ſhould preſſe the Cardinals to ſend for a procuration to make the contract, who ſhewing themſelues very forward herein, cauſed it to be accompliſhed in few dayes in very ample forme: by reaſon whereof, not onely all hope of affinitie with *Francis Sforce* was loſt, but alſo the ſolicitation with the *French* king was followed more hotely; and thereunto was further added (according to the deuice betweene them long before) that the Pope and the *French* king ſhould contract together at *Nice*, a Citie belonging to the Duke of *Sauoy*, ſtanding vpon the riuer of *Var*, which ſeparateth *Italy* from *Prouence*. Theſe things were very offenſiue to the Emperour, as well for a ſuſpition leſt betweene the Pope and the *French* king there would be concluded a greater coniunction to his preiudice (for he knew well enough how much the *French* king deſired it,) as for feare leſt the Pope ſhould call to mind his impriſonment, the ſack of *Rome*, and the mutation of *Florence*, being moued alſo with diſdaine, for that the honour which the Pope had done to him in making two iourneys to *Bologna* to ſpeake with him, would be diminiſhed, yea aboliſhed, if he ſhould go ſo farre as *Nice* to meete with the *French* king. And he diſſembled not this diſpleaſure and the cauſes thereof, but in vaine; for that in the Popes mind was fixed an ardent deſire of this affinitie, being moued rather by ambition and appetite of glorie, in that being of a houſe in a maner ſimple and priuate, he ſhould obtaine for a baſtard Nephew of his, a baſtard daughter of ſo mightie an Emperour, and now had obtained for his Neece legitimate, a legitimate ſonne of the *French* king; then induced by that which many counſelled him, to wit, that by the meanes of that affinitie he might giue colour of right (though more apparent then true) to pretend for his ſonne and for his daughter in law the Eſtate of *Florence*. To theſe diſcontentments of the Emperour was added, almoſt as a full accompliſhment, that making inſtance to the Pope to create three Cardinals by him propounded, he obtained it with difficultie onely for the Archbiſhop of *Bary*, the Pope excuſing himſelfe vpon the contra-

The Pope refuſeth to giue his Neece in mariage with the Duke of Millan.

diction

diction of the Colledge of Cardinals: neither was the Emperour appeased by the readineſſe of the Pope to make a ſecret confederation with him, wherein he promiſed to proceed iudicially to the cenſures, and to all things that he might rightly do againſt the King of *England*, and againſt *Anne Bolleine*: and they bound themſelues to make no new confederations or accords with any Princes, without the reciprocall conſent one of another. The Emperour departed from *Bologna* the day after the confederation was contracted, being now well aſſured in himſelf, that the ſaid mariage would go on, together with the enterpriſe betweene the Pope and the *French* king, and doubted alſo of ſome greater coniunction. Being embarked at *Genes*, he paſſed into *Spaine*, with a firme purpoſe (as it is reported) if the mariage of *Katherine de Medicis* were celebrated with the ſecond ſonne of *France*, to diſſolue the match made betweene his daughter and *Alexander de Medicis*. Not many dayes after the Pope departed to go to *Rome*, accompanied with the two *French* Cardinals, nothing troubled with the new confederation, for that the Pope, who excelled in ſimulations and practiſes, wherein he was not ſurmounted with feare, had told them, that vpon concluding the League the *Spaniſh* armie was to diſſolue, which would do the *French* king more good then the confederation could endomage him; chiefly ſeeing that as well for the obligations as the obſeruation thereof, there might happen many difficulties and ſundry impediments.

Thus the practiſes begun continued betweene them: and the King deſiring for his honour, and for ambition rather then for any other thing, that the Pope ſhould come to *Nice*, he promiſed (to draw him thither) not to require of him any confederation, nor to incenſe him to war, and much leſſe to draw him from termes of iuſtice in the cauſe of the King of *England*, nor to importune him to create new Cardinals: and he was much puſhed on herein by the King of *England*, who had now ſolemnely maried the Lady *Anne Bolleine*, by whom hauing procreated a daughter, he had, to the preiudice of the daughter of his firſt wife, declared her Princeſſe of the Realme of *England*; a title which is transferred to ſuch as are neareſt the Crowne: by reaſon whereof, the Pope not able to diſſemble ſo great a contempt againſt the Sea Apoſtolike, nor to refuſe iuſtice to the Emperour, had with the aduice of the Conſiſtory, publiſhed that King guiltie of the crime of contempt; which cauſed him to deſire the affinitie and enteruiew of the Pope with the *French* king, hoping the King would be a meanes to remedie his cauſe; and that the Pope being induced (as he hoped) to commune of new matters againſt the Emperour, he would deſire to reſtore him, and to draw him into their coniunction, and as it were to conſtitute almoſt a Triumuirate, to giue lawes to the affaires of *Italy*. At laſt his going was concluded, but not to *Nice*, for that the Duke of *Sauoy*, not to diſpleaſe the Emperor, made difficultie to grant the Caſtle to the Pope; but to *Marſeilles*, according to the Kings deſire, who eſteemed it a matter more honorable for him, that the enteruiew ſhould be made in his kingdome, and with the contentment of the Pope, as one that deſired to ſatisfie him more with demonſtrations, and in pleaſing his ambition, then with effects. The Pope laboured to perſwade all men, that he went to this enteruiew principally to ſolicite peace, to perſwade the enterpriſe againſt the Infidels, and to reduce the King of *England* to good wayes; and laſtly, onely for the common intereſts. But being not able to diſſemble the true cauſe, before he departed he ſent his Neece to *Nice* vpon the gallies which the Duke of *Albanie* Vncle to the yong Lady, had brought out of *France* to paſſe the Pope: which gallies after they had brought the Lady to *Nice*, returned to the port of *Piſa*, and on the fourth of October they took the perſon of the Pope with many Cardinals, whom with a very happie nauigation they brought in few dayes to *Marſeilles*; where when he had made his ſolemne entrie, the *French* king, who had viſited him before by night, entred ſoone after. They were lodged in one and the ſame Pallace, and vſed very great demonſtrations of amitie: and the King, who eſpecially laboured to win him, prayed him to ſend for his Neece to *Marſeilles*; which being willingly performed by the Pope, who ſpake not thereof to the King, to ſhew that he would firſt debate of the common affaires; as ſoone as the Ladie was come, the contracts were made, and with as much ſpeed the conſummation of the mariage, to the incredible ioy of the Pope, who handled his matters ſo cunningly with the King, that the King became wonderfull confident in him, and ſhewed him great affection: neuertheleſſe contrary to the opinion of all men, and of the Emperour himſelfe, no capitulation was paſſed betweene them. It is very true that the Pope ſhewed himſelfe alwayes deſirous that the State of *Millan* might be gotten for the Duke of *Orleans* husband to his Neece; a matter which the

Enteruiew of the Pope and the French king at Marſeilles.

Katherine de Medicis married to the ſecond ſon of France.

King desired much, for a hatred and disdaine he bare to the Emperour, but much more for that the Duke of *Orleans* being put into such an Estate, he thought that would quench the occasions of contention betweene his children after his death, which otherwise he feared might fall amongst them for the title of the Duchie of *Brittaine*, which the King in the yeare before (contrary to the couenants made by King *Lewis* with those people) had vnited to the Crowne of *France*, whereunto he had induced the subiects of that State to consent, more by his kingly authoritie, then of their owne inclination: and not onely the King obtained nothing of him in the cause of the King of *England*, but also for the inciuilities of his seruants, and for that they were found in the Popes chamber, protesting and appealing from him to the Councell, shewing himselfe angrie, he told the Pope, it should nothing offend him, if he pursued their King and his cause according to the rule of iustice. He offended not the Popes mind in any thing, sauing that rather to satisfie some about him then himselfe, he intreated him to create three Cardinals in his fauour; which was a matter not a litle discontenting to the Pope, not so much for the instance which the Emperours Embassadour made to the contrary, as for that he esteemed it a matter of great consequence, both for the election of future Popes, and for the disobediences which might happen in his life and after, to adde so many Cardinals to the *French* nation, which had already sixe. Neuertheless for a lesse euill, he consented to this demand; and besides these he created a brother of the Duke of *Albanie*, to whom he had before promised the Cardinals Hat. In regard of all other things there seemed to be betweene them great affiance and contentment, the *French* king hauing communicated vnto him many of his counsels, and among others his determination to stirre vp against the Emperour some of the Princes of *Germanie*, and chiefly the *Lantgraue van Hesse*, and the Duke of *Wertemberg*, who the Sommer following drew into commotion. When they had remained at *Marseilles* about a moneth, the Pope returned vpon the same gallies, with the which, after he had bene much tormented vpon the sea, being arriued at *Sauona*, neither trusting to the prouision of the gallies, nor the skill of those that gouerned them, he sent them backe, and was conducted to *Ciuitauecchia* in the gallies of *Andrew Dore*: and being returned to *Rome*, with very great reputation and wonderfull felicitie, especially to such as had seene him prisoner in the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, he enioyed the full fauour of fortune for a few moneths, presaging already in his mind, that which was speedily to happen. For it is manifest, that almost as soone as he was returned from *Marseilles*, as if he were assured of his death which approched, he caused the Ring to be made, and all the other habites accustomed to bury Popes, assuring his familiars, with a very setled mind, that he should speedily die. And yet not leauing his accustomed cares and studies, he solicited, as he thought, for the greater suretie of his house, to build a very strong Citadell within *Florence*, not knowing how soone the felicitie of his Nephewes was to end, of whom, being mortall enemies one to another, *Hippolito* the Cardinal died before the end of the yeare after the Popes death, not without suspition of poison, and *Alexander* the other Nephew, who commanded at *Florence*, was (with great note of indiscretion) secretly slaine by night in *Florence* by *Laurence* of the same family of *Medicis*.

The Pope knowath his end.

The Pope fell sicke about the beginning of Sommer, and his griefe was a paine of the stomacke, whereunto a feauer being conioyned, and being a long time tormented with that and other accidents, sometimes he seemed to be reduced to the point of death, and sometimes so eased, that he gaue to others, but not to himselfe, an hope of recouery. During the time of which malady, the Duke of *Wertemberg* by the aide of the *Lantgraue van Hesse* and other Princes, and the helpe of the money of *France*, recouered the Duchie of *wertemberg*, which the King of *Romanes* possessed: and these fearing a greater combustion, agreed with the King of *Romanes*, against the will of the *French* king, who was in hope that the Emperour in regard of these emotions, would stand intangled with a long and tedious warre, and that haply their armies being victorious, would descend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*. In like sort at that time *Barbarossa* being made *Bassa* and Captaine generall of *Solimans* army by sea, passed to the conquest of the kingdome of *Thunis*, and in his way thither he ouerran the sea coasts of *Calabria*, and ran vp aboue *Gaieta*, by meanes whereof some of his souldiers being set on land, sacked *Fondy*, with such affeare to the Court and peoples of *Rome*, as it was supposed, if they had passed further, that the Citie of *Rome* had bin left abandoned. But this accident was kept from the knowledge of the Pope, who at last being no longer able to resist his malady, departed out of this life the fiue and

Barbarossa at Thunis.

Death of Pope Clement the 7.

twen-

twentieth day of September, leauing behind him in the Castle of Saint *Angelo* many iewels, in the Pontificall Chamber infinite offices, but contrary to the opinion of all men a very small summe of money. He was raised from base degree to the place of Popedome with a wonderfull felicitie: but being Pope he had experience of a very great variety of fortune: and if both were euenly ballanced, his euill fortune was farre greater then his good. For what felicitie may be compared to the misery of his imprisonment? to haue seene the sacke of *Rome*, with so great a ruine and destruction? and that he was the cause of so great desolation to his countrey? He died hated of the Court, suspected of Princes, and with a fame rather hatefull then acceptable: being accounted couetous, of small fidelitie, and naturally farre off from doing pleasures to men: by reason whereof, albeit during the time of his Pontificacie he created one and thirtie Cardinals, he neuer made any to content himselfe, but almost alwayes by necessitie, except the Cardinall *de Medicis*, whom (when he was oppressed with a dangerous malady, and at such a time as if he had died, he had left his friends and kindred in the state of beggers, and depriued of all aide) he created Cardinall rather at the perswasion of others then by his proper and voluntary election; and yet he was very graue, well aduised in his actions, a conquerour of himselfe, and of a great spirit, if timorousnesse had not oftentimes corrupted his iudgement. When he was dead, the Cardinals who shut themselues the same night into the Conclaue, elected in his place with full voice *Alexander*, of the family of *Farnese*, a *Romane* by nation, and the most ancient Cardinall of all the Court: their voices being found conformable to the iudgement and (in a maner) instance that *Clement* had made, as of a person worthy to be preferred before all the others to so great a degree, seeing he was both learned, and of good life in appearance: and the Cardinals elected him the more willingly, for that he being already vpon the threescore and seuenth yeare of his age, and supposed to be of a weake complexion and sickly, which opinion he nourished with art, they had some hope he would not sit long in the seate: the actions and operations of whom, whether they answered the expectation conceiued of him, or the incredible ioy which the people of *Rome* tooke, to haue after the end of an hundred and three yeares, and after the succession of thirteene Popes, a Pope of bloud a *Romane*, those may beare witnesse who shall write of the accidents hapning in *Italy* after his election. For the prouerbe is very true, and well to be noted, which saith, *The office setteth out the worthinesse of the person that manageth it.*

The creation of Pope Paul the third.

He was Pope fifteene yeares. The summarie of all his prodigious life may be seene in the 21 booke of Sleidans Commentaries. He died in the month of November, 1549.

The end of the twentieth and last Booke.

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FINIS.

THE HISTORIE OF GVICCIARDIN:

CONTAINING THE WARRES OF Italie and other parts, continued for manie yeares vnder ſundrie Kings and Princes, together with the variations and accidents of the ſame.

And alſo the Arguments, with a Table at large expreſſing the principall matters through the whole Hiſtorie.

Reduced into Engliſh by GEFFRAY FENTON.

The third Edition, diligently reuiſed, with reſtitution of a Digreſſion towards the end of the fourth Booke, which had bene formerly effaced out of the Italian and Latine copies in all the late Editions.

Mon heur viendra.



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ing they depended vpon the will of another, and that which more is, of very diuers accidents: yea, be it they ſhould obtaine ſuccors, much leſſe were that to auoide or ſhake off, but rather to redouble and make greater the calamities of the warre, being vexed at one time by the inuaſions of ſouldiers of the enemy, and tormented with the oppreſſions and inſolencies of the men of warre that come to their ſuccors: Which miſeries (he ſaid) would be ſo much the more grieuous to beare, by how much in the end they would come to ſee and know, that it was not for their proper libertie they tooke armes, but for the impery of a ſtranger, changing one ſeruitude for another: for that this is proper to all Princes, not to enter into the trauels and expences of a warre, but to reigne ouer thoſe for whom they fight: And yet your warre (ſaith he) ſeeing the great wealth and neighbourhood of the *Florentines*, (by whom you ſhall find many and perpetuall vexations) you cannot be able to ſuſtaine, but with very great difficulties.

The French king drawes toward Florence.

In this generall confuſion of things, the King departeth from *Piſa* towards *Florence*, and is not reſolued what forme he would giue to the affaires of the *Piſans*; he ſtayed in a place called *Signa*, ſeuen miles from *Florence*, to be aduertiſed afore he entred the Citie, whether the tumult of the people were in any ſort appeaſed, who had not diſcontinued their vprores ſince the day that *Peter de Medicis* was chaſed out of the Citie: he had withall this intention, to giue time to *Monſieur d'Aubigny*, whom he had ſent for (to the end his entry might ſo much the more aſtoniſh the *Florentines*) with direction to leaue the artillery at *Caſtrocare*, and giue leaue to the fiue hundred men at armes *Italians*, which were with him in *Romagnia*, together with the men at armes of the Duke of *Millan*, except the Count *Caiazze*, which followed *Monſieur d'Aubigny* with three hundred light horſemen. It was ſuppoſed by many tokens and coniectures, that the intention of the King was to draw the *Florentines* by feare of his power, to yeeld vnto him the dominion abſolute of the Citie: a thing which himſelfe could not diſſemble with their Embaſſadors, hauing often recourſe to *Signa*, to make perfect the accord that was contracted. It was without doubt, that the King bare a mind inflamed againſt them, and nouriſhed many ill diſpoſed meanings againſt their Citie, for that they ſought to hinder him in his enterpriſe. And albeit it was manifeſt, that that reſiſtance proceeded not of the will of the Commonweale, which in reaſonable ſort had iuſtified themſelues; yet he could not eaſily forget and diſſolue the impreſſion of the offence, being (as it was ſuppoſed) much induced to their diſfauours, by many of his Councell and Lords; who iudging it not meete to let paſſe the oportunitie to make himſelfe Lord ouer the Citie, or perhaps puſhed forward with their proper ambition and couetouſneſſe, were loth to loſe the occaſion to ſacke a Citie, abounding in ſuch treaſures and wealth: in ſo much as there ranne a brute through the campe, that the Citie had deſerued to be puniſhed, to ſerue as an example to others, being the towne in *Italy* that had preſumed to oppoſe againſt the power and army of *France*. There were alſo of the chiefeſt of his Councell, that ſolicited him to reſtore *Peter de Medicis* to his former degree: for whom, with a peculiar diligence aboue the reſidue, did labour *Philip* Lord of *Breſſe*, brother to the Duke of *Sauoy*, being induced to that office by the priuate friendſhips and promiſes that had paſſed betweene them: in ſo much, that either by the perſwaſions of them that could do moſt, (notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *S. Malo* counſelled the contrary) or by a hope to make the *Florentines* more inclined to his wil by this feare; or laſtly to haue occaſion to take vpon the ſodaine what part or way he would. The King wrote to *Peter*, cauſing alſo the Lord *Philip* to do the like, and aduiſed him to come neare to *Florence*, for that for the ancient friendſhip that had bene betweene their houſes, and for his owne particular readineſſe and good will ſhewed in the conſignation of the fortreſſes, he was determined to redreſſe him and reſtore him to his firſt authoritie. But theſe letters found him not at *Bologna*, according to the Kings weening; for that what by the rough words of *Iohn Bentiuole*, and doubt he ſhould be purſued by the Duke of *Millan*, and haply alſo by the *French* king, he was for his misfortunes retired to *Venice*, whither they were ſent to him by his brother the Cardinall remaining then at *Bologna*. At *Florence* they doubted much of the Kings will; and yet, not ſeeing with what force or with what hopes they might reſiſt him, they agreed (as a counſell leaſt dangerous) to receiue him into their Citie, hoping there would ſome meanes ariſe to appeaſe him. And yet making the beſt of their perils, and becauſe they would be prouided for all fortunes, they ordained that the houſes of moſt of the Citizens ſhould be ſecretly repleniſhed with men naturall of the dominion of *Florence*; and that the Captaines which were in the pay of the Commonweale (diſſembling notwithſtanding the occaſion) ſhould enter the

Citie

Citie with many of their bands and ſouldiers; and that euery one within the towne and places about it, ſhould ſtand vpon ready guard to take armes at the alarme of the great bell of the publike pallace. After this the King marched to *Florence* with his army, wherein was expreſſed no litle pompe, as well by the glory and magnificence of thoſe of his Court, as by them of the towne: he entred in ſigne of victory, armed himſelfe and his horſe, with his Lance vpon his thigh, and immediatly began to ſpeake of compoſition, but that was not without many difficulties: for, beſides the immoderate fauours which ſome of the *French* Court bare to *Peter de Medicis*, and the demands of money intollerable made by the King, he demanded openly the impery of *Florence*, alleaging that according to the orders of warre in the Realme of *France*, he had lawfully wonne it, ſeeing his entry was armed according to the cuſtomes of conquerours. From which demand albeit he went in the end, yet ſought hetro leaue at *Florence* certaine men of the long coate (ſo are called in *France* Lawyers, Doctors, and men of Iuſtice) as his Embaſſadors, with ſuch authoritie, that according to the inſtitutions of *France*, he might pretend to be giuen to him for euer no litle iuriſdiction. But on the contrary, the *Florentines* were obſtinate to preſerue their full libertie, hapning what perils ſoeuer; inſomuch that communicating together with ſuch a contrarietie of wils, albeit the minds of both parts were continually kept in hot and angry moods, yet neither faction ſhewed readineſſe to determine the difference by armes: for, the people of *Florence* giuen of long to the following of merchandize, and not to the exerciſe of warre, ſuffered no ſmall feares, hauing within their owne walls one ſo mightie a King with his army full of nations vnknowne and furious. And to the *French* men was no litle amaze the conſideration of the great multitude of peoples, who, ſince the dayes that the gouernment changed, had gathered boldneſſe and audacitie aboue expectation: They were aſtoniſhed beſides at the common brute, that at the alarme of the great bell, there would flocke infinite troupes of people from all parts confining. In which common feare on both ſides, at the noiſe of euery falſe alarme that was heard, either part for his proper ſuretie tooke armes, but not one did aſſaile or prouoke another. The foundation which the King ſought to worke by *Peter de Medicis*, was ſupplanted; for that *Peter* wauering between the hope that was promiſed him, and the feare that he ſhould be giuen vp as a prey to his aduerſaries, asked counſell of the Senate of *Venice* touching the Kings letters. Truly there is nothing more neceſſary in great deliberations, and on the other ſide nothing more dangerous then to demand counſell: And albeit counſell is leſſe neceſſary to men diſcreet, then to ſuch as are not tempered, yet no doubt the profits are not few which wiſe men reape by counſels, ſeeing no man hath that perfect wiſedome to conſider alwayes, and know all things of himſelfe; and in reaſons contrary or different, is able alwayes to diſcerne the better part. But what aſſurance hath he that asketh counſell, to receiue counſell, according to the faith he repoſeth? ſeeing if there be no equall fidelitie nor affection, but regard to particular intereſts, as profit, reuenge, or ſome other motion; he that giueth the counſell, dreſſeth it to that end which beſt anſwereth his purpoſe: ſo that thoſe ends being for the moſt part vnknowne to him that comes to askes counſell, he perceiueth not (if he be not wiſe) the treaſon and infidelitie of the counſell. The experience was ſeene in the condition of *Peter de Medicis*: for, the *Venetians* iudging, that if he returned into his countrey, it would be a cauſe to giue the King a greater facilitie to his demands and deſires of the *Florentines*, (a thing preiudiciall to them, and contrary to the courſe of their affaires) perſwaded him by many liuely reaſons (counſelling rather for themſelues then for him) that he ſhould not put himſelfe in the power of a King of *France*, holding himſelfe iniured by him: Wherein the better to encourage him to the following of their counſell, they offered him to embrace his affaires, and as time and neceſſitie required, to miniſter to him all meanes and fauours conuenient for his reſtitution; wherefore the better to be aſſured that he ſhould not then depart *Venice*, they ſet vpon him (if the common brute be true) very ſecret eſpiall and guard. But now for *Florence*, in this meane while mens hearts were inflamed on all parts, and almoſt carried into maniſeſt contention: the King would nothing abate of his later demands, nor the *Florentines* be bound to ſummes of money ſo intollerable, and much leſſe conſent to any iuriſdiction or preheminence in their Eſtate. All which difficulties not being able almoſt to be diſſolued without armes, were euen preſently decided by the vertue of *Peter Capponi*, one of the foure deputed to treate with the King: this *Capponi* was a man of ſpirit and great courage, and ſpeciall reputation in *Florence*, as well for his parts and qualities, as for that he was of an honorable family, and deſcended of perſonages who

The French king entreth Florence.

had bene great rule in the Commonweale. As he and his companions were one day in the presence and audience of the King, and that one of the Kings Secretaries read the vnreasonable capitulations offered by the King, at the last he in a great fury snatched the articles out of the Secretaries hands, and tare them before the eyes of the King, saying with a heart resolute, and loud voice: Seeing you demand of vs things so dishonest, sound you vp your trumpets, and we will ring our bells, let all things be ruled by the sentence of the sword; and in the same heate flings with great suddennesse out of the chamber, being followed of his companions. The words of this Citizen, whom the King and his Court had already knowne, for that a few moneths before he had bene in *France* in legation for them of *Florence*, astonished them all in such sort (specially for that they could not beleeue that such a boldnesse was without occasion) that they called him backe againe, and without speaking more of demands, whereunto the *Florentines* had no will to condescend, the King and the Citie fell to composition in this sort: That all quarrels and iniuries forgotten and cancelled, the Citie of *Florence* should be friend, confederate, and in the perpetuall protection of the Crowne of *France*: That for the suretie of the King, the citie of *Pisa* and towne of *Liuorne*, with all their castles, should remaine in his hands: And that he should be bound to restore them to the *Florentines*, without any expences or charges, as soone as he had brought to end his enterprise of the kingdome of *Naples*; the which should be construed to be at an end whensoeuer he should haue conquered the citie of *Naples*, or accorded the warre by meanes of peace or truce for lesse then two yeares, or that for any other occasion his person should be gone out of *Italy*: That those that at that time had the keeping of the said Castles, should be sworne to render them in the cases aforesaid: That in the meane while the impery, the iurisdiction, the gouernment, and the reuenue of the townes should be in the administration of the *Florentines*, as they were accustomed: That the like should be of *Pietrasanta*, *Serezana* and *Serezanella*; but (for that the *Genoways* pretended right to them) the King should procure either by composition or iustice, some reasonable end between them; and if within the time aforesaid he could not determine the titles, that then he should restore them to the *Florentines*: That the King might leaue at *Florence* two Embassadors; and that during his expedition for *Naples*, there should be nothing debated concerning that action, without their priuitie and calling them to it; and that during the said time, they should not chuse a Captaine generall ouer their companies, without communicating with the said Embassadors: That all the other peeces taken away or reuolted from the *Florentines*, should be immediatly rendred, and that they might be suffered to recouer them by armes, where deniall was made: That, to aide the King in his enterprise, they should giue him fiftie thousand duckets within fifteene dayes, fortie thousand in the moneth of March, and thirtie thousand in Iune next comming: That the *Florentines* should pardon the *Pisans* their rebellions, and other faults committed during their reuolt: That they should deliuer *Peter de Medicis* and his brethren from condemnation and confiscation, with this condition notwithstanding, that *Peter* should not come by a hundred miles neare the confines of the dominion of *Florence*, (that was becausse he should not remaine at *Rome*) nor his brethren nearer then a hundred miles of the citie of *Florence*. These were the articles of most importance in the capitulation made betweene the King and the *Florentines*; which after they were lawfully passed and contracted, were in great ceremonie published in the great Church at diuine Seruice, where the King in person (at whose request this was done) and the Magistrates of the Citie, promised by solemne oath vpon the high altar, in the presence of the Court and the whole face of *Florence*, to obserue the contents of the same. Within two dayes after the King left *Florence*, and went to *Sienna*, which Citie being confederate with the King of *Naples*, and with the *Florentines*, had followed their authoritie, vntill the going of *Peter de Medicis* to *Serezana* warned them to looke to their proper safetie.

A resolute part of a Counseller

Capitulations betweene the French king and the Florentines.

The French king at Sienna

Sienna a Citie well peopled, and planted in a region very fertill, and which (of antiquitie) had bene the most renowmed and mightie towne of *Tuskane* next to *Florence*, was gouerned by a peculiar policie proper and particular to it selfe, but so, as it knew rather the name of libertie then the effects: for that being diuided into many factions or members of Citizens, which they call orders, it obeyed that part which according to the accidents of times and fauours of forrein Potentates, was more strong then the others; at that time held most rule and authoritie the order of *Monte-None*. After the King had taried a very few dayes at *Sienna*, he planted a garrison there, (for that hauing bene alwayes at the deuotion of the Empire, he held it suspected) and

tooke

tooke his way to *Rome*, rising euery day more insolent then other, for his successe and fortunes, which were alwayes greater then euer were his hopes: And being also fauoured with the aire and weather, more then the naturall temperature of that season had wont to shew, he determined to put diligence to his fortune, and vse those prosperities not onely as terrible to his enemies manifest and professed, but euen to those that were conioyned with him, or at least had not prouoked him in any thing. Therfore the Senate of *Venice* and the Duke of *Millan*, no lesse astonished with these successes, then doubtfull that the Kings thoghts wold not be at rest by the conqueſt of *Naples*, (specially seeing him possest of the fortresses of the *Florentines*, and to leaue a garrison at *Sienna*) began for a remedy of their common danger, to make a new confederatiō; whereunto they had with more speed and ease giuen perfection, if there had bene made that resistance to the King at *Rome* that was hoped for; the intention of the Duke of *Calabria* (with whom were ioyned in one strength the bands of the Pope, and *Virginio Vrsin*, with the residue of the *Aragons* army) being to incampe at *Viterba*, to giue impediment to the King for passing further. To this he was drawne, besides many occasions, by the oportunitie of the place, enuironed with townes of the Church, and neare the States of the *Vrsins*: but all the circumference and countreys about *Rome*, drawing into tumult by the incursions which the *Colonnoys* made beyond the riuer of *Tiber*, and for the impediments of victuals (by meanes of *Ostia*) which should come to *Rome* by sea, he durst not abide there: he doubted withall the intention of the Pope, for that since he vnderstood that *Peter de Medicis* was turned, he had begun to open his eares to the demands of the *French*, for the which, and the reasons of them, Cardinall *Ascanius* went to him, after the Cardinall of *Valence* (in pledge of his suretie) was come to *Marina*, a towne of the *Colonnoys*. And albeit *Ascanius* was gone without resolution certaine, for that *Alexander* distrusted much the intention of the King, and on the other side was in great feare of his forces, which bred no small torment and conflict in his heart; yet after the King was parted from *Florence*, they returned eftsoones to commune of the accord: wherein for the better accomplishment of things, the Pope dispatched to the King the Bishops of *Concorde*, and *Ternie*, and Maister *Gratian* his Confessour, with commission that they should compound as well for the affaires of *Alphonso*, as for his owne. But the King was of a contrary meaning, hauing setled his resolution to accord onely and particularly with the Pope: and for that cause he sent to him *Monsieur Trimouille*, and the President of *Ganuay* being there also for the same occasion: the Cardinall *Ascanius* and *Prosper Colonne*, who were no sooner come to *Rome*, then the Pope (for what cause I know not) changing aduice, bestowed the Duke of *Calabria* within *Rome*, with all his army, and caused to be arrested *Ascanius* and *Prosper*, hauing restrained them within the tower of *Adrian*, of old called the castle of *Crescence*, and now named the castle of *S. Ange*, and demanded of them restitution of *Ostia*. In this tumult also the *French* Embassadors were made prisoners by the *Aragons*: but the Pope caused them with speed to be deliuered, and within a few dayes after restored to libertie *Ascanius* and *Prosper*, constraining them notwithstanding to depart suddenly out of *Rome*. After this, he sent to the *French* king lying then at *Nepi*, Cardinall *Federike* of *S. Seuerin*, beginning to treate onely of his proper affaires, and yet in great doubt and declining of mind, for that sometimes he determined to stand to the defence of *Rome*, and therefore gaue sufferance to *Ferdinand* and the Captaines to looke to fortifie it in the parts most weake; and earst againe, he iudged it a matter very difficult to defend it, for the impediments of victuals restrained by those of *Ostia*: in which respects, weighing also with the infinite numbers of strangers, being of minds and wils different, the diuersitie of factions euen amongst the *Romaines*, he began to thinke to go from *Rome*, requiring in the Colledge that euery Cardinall would promise by a writing subsigned, to follow him: and euen standing amazed with the dangers and difficulties imminent, vpon euery one of his deliberations he turned his mind to accord. But whilest his mind wauered in these ambiguities, the *French* men forbore not to ouerrunne the whole country on this side *Tiber*, making themselues Lords of one towne after another, no place offering resistance to their incursions; no, not one peece or fort which gaue not place to their importunate fury, according to the example of the others; no, not such as had good occasion to oppose themselues against them, as *Virginio Vrsin*, drawne by so many bonds of faith, office, and honor to the house of *Aragon*, Captaine generall of the army of *Alphonso*, grand Constable of the realme of *Naples*, and very neare of kindred to *Alphonso*, for that *Iohn Iordan* his sonne had maried a bastard daughter of the late king *Ferdinand*.

The Pope is iealous of his owne safetie.

But

But he turning all things into forgetfulneſſe, and as vnthankfull for the ſtates and fauours he had receiued in the kingdome of *Naples*, as vnmindfull that the calamities of the *Aragons* were firſt kindled for his occaſions, and nouriſhed chiefly in his particular intereſts; conſented that (his perſon continuing ſtill in the pay of the king of *Naples*) his children ſhould compound with the *French*, and be bound to giue them paſſage and libertie of victuals and other friendſhips, through all the Eſtates which he held of the dominions of the Church, leauing the *French* men not a litle amazed with his example and forme of dealing, being not acquainted with theſe ſubtill and vnaccuſtomed diſtinctions of the ſouldiers of *Italy*: he ſuffered withall that *Campagnane* and certaine other places were put in deputation into the hands of the Cardinall of *Gurcie*, who promiſed to reſtore them ſo ſoone as the army was out of the territories of *Rome*. This forme of agreement was vſed alſo by the Count *de Petillane*, with all the reſidue of the family of the *Vrſins*. Immediatly vpon theſe accords, King *Charles* went from *Nepi* to *Bracciane* a chiefe towne of *Virginio*, and ſent to *Oſtia Lewis* the Lord of *Ligny*, and *Tues* Lord of *Alegre*, with fiue hundred Lances, and two thouſand *Swiſſers*, to the end that paſſing *Tyber*, and ioyning with the *Colonnoys*, they might make a ſtrength to enter *Rome*, and that ſo much the better, by how much the *Colonnoys* (by the meanes of their factions and partakers within *Rome*) had a reſolute hope to make their entry in what ſort ſoeuer it were, notwithſtanding by the ſeaſon of the time being rough and ſtormy, the difficulties were much increaſed. By this time *Ciuitauecche*, *Cornette*, & in the end almoſt all the territories of *Rome*, were brought to the deuotion of the *French*, when a man might haue ſeene all the Court amazed, all the Cardinals doubtfull, and all the communaltie of the Citie full of feares and emotion, demanding vehemently peace: inſomuch that the Pope driuen to dangerous termes, ſeeing the foundations which he had laid for his defence, ſhaken on all ſides, was not ſuſtained with any other thing then with the remembrance that he was one of the firſt that ſtirred the *French* King to the enterpriſe of *Naples*; and had ſince (without occaſion giuen) obſtinately reſiſted him with authoritie, with counſels, and with force: the ſame making him iuſtly doubt, that the faith which he ſhould receiue of the King, ſhould be like that the King had receiued of him. To theſe feares he felt another torment nothing inferior, vnderſtanding the Cardinall *S. Peter ad Vincula* was very gracious in the Kings ſight, with many other Cardinals his enemies, bearing no litle authoritie and rule in the Kings doings; by the perſwaſions of whom, and for the regard of the title of Right Chriſtian, which the Kings of *France* beare, and for the ancient name which that nation hath to be very religious; and laſtly for that in ill men the conſcience guiltie and infected ſuſpecteth not onely the worſt, but alſo their minds carried in ſhadowes, they expect and dread great things of thoſe that are knowne to them by name onely; he feared leſt the King would turne his wits (according to a vaine brute) to reforme the gouernment of the Church: the ſame being a right trembling thought and conieƈture to him, when he remembred with what infamy he was come to the Popedome, performing his miniſtration with manners of life and meanes not differing from ſo foule and vile a beginning. But he was cleared immediatly of theſe ſuſpitions by the diligence and promiſes of the King, full of efficacie and deſire to aduance aboue all things his going to the Realme of *Naples*: and for that cauſe letting nothing paſſe that might take out of the way the blockes and impediments of the Pope, ſent to him eſtſoones as Embaſſadours, the Seneſhall of *Beucaire*, the Marſhall of *Giè*, and the ſaid Preſident of *Gannay*. They laboured to perſwade the Pope that the Kings intention was not to meddle with any thing that appertained to the authoritie of Popes; and that his demands ſtretched not but to things reaſonable and neceſſary for the ſuretie of his paſſage. They required him inſtantly to agree with good will to the Kings entry into *Rome*, aſſuring him that it was a holy and peculiar deſire in his Maieſtie (not that it was not in his power to make his entry by armes, but becauſe he would not be conſtrained to forbeare) to vſe thoſe actions of reuerence, which had bene alwayes done by his elders to the Popes of *Rome*: They aſſured him that as ſoone as his Maieſties perſon were poſſeſſed of the preſence of the Pope within *Rome*, all thoſe quarrels that had bene raiſed betweene them, would be conuerted into reconcilement, vnitie and coniunction. It ſeemed to the Pope a hard compulſion, to deſpoile himſelfe afore all things of the aide of his friends, and committing his eſtate and life into the power of an enemie, to receiue him within the wals of *Rome* afore he had compounded or aſſured his affaires: notwithſtanding, making election of the danger that was of leaſt qualitie, he conſented to all their demands, and cauſed to depart out of *Rome* the Duke of *Calabria*, for whom

albeit

albeit he obtained of the *French* King a safe conduct for his safe passage through all the dominions of the Church, yet the Duke accounting it a diminution of his reputation and courage, refused it, and issued out of *Rome* by the gate *S. Sebastian*, the last day of the yeare 1494. at the same houre that at the gate *de S. Maria de Popolo* entred with the army of *France* the *French* king armed, with his Lance vpon his thigh, as he entred *Florence*. At the same time the Pope full of incredible feares and perplexities, was withdrawne to the castle *S. Ange*, not accompanied with other Cardinals then *Baptista Vrsin*, and *Oliuer Caraffa a Neapolitan*. But now began the Cardinals, *ad Vincula*, *Ascanius*, *Colonne* and *Sauelle*, with many others, to solicite the King with vehement instance, that taking from the Sea a Pope full of vices, and abhominable to all the world, he would create and set vp another: they told him, it would be no lesse vertuous in him to deliuer the Church of God from the tyrannie of a wicked Pope, then it was great glory to *Pepin* and *Charlemaine* his predecessors, to take the Popes of holy life out of the persecutions of those that did vniustly oppresse them: That the action was no lesse necessary for his securitie, then greatly concurring for his glory: for, there was no expectation of faith or trust in the promises of the Pope, being a man naturally full of fraud, insatiable in ambition, shameless in all his doings, and according to the testimonie of experience, extremely hating the *French*, with whom the reconciliation that now he made, was more by necessitie and feare, then of inclination or good wil. Partly by these perswasions, and partly for that the Pope in the conditions that were debated, refused to let the King haue the castle of *S. Ange*, for the suretie of those things he promised him; the artillery was drawn twice from the Pallace of *S. Mark* where the King was lodged, to be planted before the castle. But the King bearing no inclination to offend the Pope, the presents and promises of *Alexander* working much with those that gouerned most the kings counsels, they fell to accord in this sort: That there should be betweene the Pope and the King a perpetuall amitie and confederation for their common defence: That the Pope should giue to the King, to hold for his suretie till he had conquered the kingdome of *Naples*, the Citadels of *Ciuitauecchia*, *Terracine*, and *Spolete*, and yet this last was not put into his hands: That the Pope should keepe no remembrance of any offence or iniury of the Cardinals or any Barons subiects to the Church, that had followed the Kings partie: That the Pope should inuest him in the kingdome of *Naples*: That he should giue to the King *Gemin Ottoman*, brother to *Baiazet*, who after the death of their father, had bene persecuted by the said *Baiazet*, according to the barbarous customes of the *Ottomans*, seeking to establish their succession in the Empire, with the bloud of their brethren, their neerest kinne and competitors; in which perill for safetie of his life he was fled to *Rhodes*, from whence he was brought into *France*, and lastly past ouer into the power and custodie of Pope *Innocent*: by which occasion *Bazazet* (seruing his turne of the couetousnesse of the Vicars of Christ, as instruments to hold in peace the Empire enemy to the Christian faith) payed euery yeare (vnder the name of allowance toward his maintenance and keeping) fortie thousand duckets to the Popes, to the end they should be lesse ready to deliuer him into the hands of other Princes to serue their turnes against him. The King was so much the more desirous to haue him, by how much he supposed to turne him to many vses and oportunities for the aduancing of his pretended enterprise against the *Turkes*, (being greatly carried into glory by the vaine flatteries of many of his fauourites) which he meant to begin as soone as he had accomplished the conquest of the *Aragons*: and because the last fortie thousand duckats sent by the *Turke*, were taken at *Sinigalle* by the Prefect *Rome*, he required that the Pope would remit both the punishment and restitution. To these capitulations were added, that the Cardinall of *Valence* should follow the King three moneths as Legate Apostolike, but in meaning, it was to stand as hostage for the promises of his father. The accord thus made and past, the Pope returned to the *Vatican*, where is his Pallace Pontificall: and after, with pompes and ceremonies accustomed at the receiuing of great Kings, he receiued the King in the Church of *S. Peter*, and there (according to the maner) hauing kissed his feete kneeling, was afterward receiued to kisse his cheek. Another day he assisted in presence the Popes Masse, where he had his place the first after the first Bishop Cardinal, and according to the ancient custome, gaue water to the Pope celebrating Masse: which offices, humilities and ceremonies, the Pope (to continue the memory to all posterities) caused to be curiously drawne in a table pourtrayed, and hung vp in a gallerie of the Castle *S. Ange*. In this action, the Pope to gratifie the King, created and published Cardinals the Bishop of *S. Malo*, and the Bishop of *Mans*, of the house of *Luxemburg*,

The French king entreth Rome. 1494.

Perswasions of some Cardinals to the French king to depose the Pope.

Capitulations betweene the Pope and the French king.

Cardinall Valence the Popes sonne.

The French king kisseth the Popes feet.

burg, forgetting nothing that might expresse how sincerely and vnfainedly he was reconciled.

The King parteth frō Rome and draweth towards Naples.

The King remaining in *Rome* about a moneth, forgat not to send bands and troupes of souldiers euen vpon the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*: where was already such generall commotion, that *Aquila* and almost all *Abruzza* displayed ensignes afore he parted from *Rome*, as also *Fabricius Colonne* occupied the quarters of *Albe* and *Taille Cosse*. The residue of the whole kingdome was almost in no more peaceable estate, for that as soone as *Ferdinand* was parted from *Rome*, the fruites of the hatreds which the people had long borne to *Alphonso*, began to appeare, helping much the remembrance of many rigors which his father *Ferdinand* had vsed against them. Vpon these they raised ready occasions to complaine vehemently of the iniquities of the gouernments passed, together with the cruelties and pride of *Alphonso*, expressing in these humors apparent desire that the *French* might come. And that in such sort, as the contemplation of the ancient relikes and monuments of such as held with the house of *Anioy*, albeit they were ioyned to the memory of so many Barons as had bene chased and imprisoned at sundry times by *Ferdinand*, (things of themselues of great consideration, and of no litle power to worke a change) did litle in this time, in regard of the other occasions: so vehemently were the hearts of all the kingdome inflamed against *Alphonso*; who for his part, as soone as he vnderstood that his sonne was gone out of *Rome*, entred into such present feares and astonishments, that turning all memory or regard to the great renowne and glorie which with so long experience he had got in many warres in *Italy*, into a present despaire, not to be able to resist this fatall storme, he determined to abandon the kingdome, and leaue to *Ferdinand* the name and authoritie royall. In this deuice perhaps he had hope, that taking away with himselfe the generall hatred, and leauing to the people for their King a yong Prince of great expectation, not yet hauing offended any of them, but gracious and plausible to the vniuersall multitude, he should make lesse in his subiects their desire to haue the *French*. Which counsell, if it had bene sooner taken, would haply haue wrought to better purpose; but being deferred till things were not onely in motion and shaking, but euen beginning to fall, it was not able to stay so great a ruine. It was said also (if it be lawfull not to despise such things altogether) that the spirit of *Ferdinand* appeared three times in sundry nights to *Iames* chiefe Surgeon of the Court, charging him first with soft and milde words, and after with many threatnings, to warne *Alphonso* from him, not to hope to be able to resist the *French* king, because it was a resolution in destinie, that his race trauelled with infinite aduentures and fortunes, and depriued at last of so large a kingdome, should now end and determine. He said, their enormities began now to appeare in iustice; and the many tyrannies by them committed were the causes, but aboue all others that which by his perswasion he had done in the Church of *S. Leonard* in *Chiaia* neare *Naples*, comming from *Pazzolo*; and for that he expressed them not particularly, men supposed that *Alphonso* had in that place perswaded *Ferdinand* to put to death secretly many Barons, whom he held prisoners long time before. But of what nature soeuer the occasion was, it is most certaine that *Alphonso* vexed with his owne conscience, liued day and night in a discontented spirit, for that in his sleepes the shadowes and ghosts of those dead Lords were liuely afore him, and on the dayes he beheld the people prepared greatly to insurrections, for reuenge of his rigorous dealings. In which perplexitie of mind applying his counsels to his fortunes, he communicated onely his intention with the Queene his mother in law, keeping it from his brother or his sons; and departed from *Naples* accompanied with foure light gallies loaden with implements rich and precious: he was so afflicted with dread and confusion, that at the earnest instance of his mother, he would not stay two or three dayes (to end the whole yeare of his reigne,) and at his departure expressing some timorous disposition of mind, as if he had bene enuironed with the *French* men: he sailed to a towne in *Sicile* called *Mazare*, which *Ferdinand* the king of *Spaine* had giuen him the yeare before: but his feares left not to follow him no more then his fortunes, shewing at euery brute or small noise, no lesse perplexitie and terror, then if the heauens and elements had conspired against him.

The kingdome of Naples beginneth to conspire.

As the *French* King departed out of *Rome*, he receiued aduertisement of the flying of *Alphonso*; and as soone as he was arriued at *Vellitre*, the Cardinall of *Valence* fled secretly from him: with the which albeit the Pope shewed himselfe much discontented, offering to giue the King such assurance as it pleased him; yet wise men beleeued that it was not without his practise and commandement, as one that sought to haue in his power to obserue or not obserue the agree-

ments

ments he had made with his Maieſtie: an action agreeing with his ambition, which no ſo gouerned him, but far from the office of his profeſſion, which he leaſt eſteemed, making nothing vnlawful, for that he challenged to himſelf to haue power to diſpenſe with all things. From *Velletri* the vantguard marched to *Montfortin*, a towne of the Church ſeated in the plaine countrey, ſubiect to *Iaques a Romaine* gentleman, who had at firſt followed the pay of the *French* King, but ſince (the hate he bare to the *Colonnoys* prenailing more with him then his proper honour) he became mercenary to *Alphonſo*: and after the place was well ſhaken with the artillery, it was taken (notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſituation) within few houres by the *French*, who put to the ſword all that were found within it, except his three ſonnes, and certaine others, who being retired into the Caſtle, yeelded themſelues priſoners as ſoone as they ſaw the artillery planted. From thence the army marched to *Mount S. John*, a towne of the Marqueſſe of *Peſcaire*, ſeated in the ſame plaine, vpon the confines of the kingdome: which beſides that it was ſtrong by nature and induſtry of men, was alſo well furniſhed with ſouldiers to defend it; hauing in it three hundred footmen ſtrangers, and fiue hundred of the inhabitants well appointed for all dangers: ſo that it was not thought pregnable, but by a hard and long ſiege. But after the *French* men had ſomewhat battered the walls with their Cannons, they gaue in the preſence of the King (then come from *Verule*) ſo hot and violent an aſſault, that vanquiſhing all difficulties, they tooke it by force the ſame day. And following their naturall fury, as alſo to warne others by this example, not to be ſo obſtinate as to reſiſt, hauing made lamentable ſlaughters, without ſparing any ſort of barbarous crueltie, they ſet the houſes on fire: which maner of making warre, not vſed in *Italy* in many ages before, filled the whole Realme with great feares and terrors. For in *Italy* in all victories obtained in what ſort ſoeuer, the moſt extreme and laſt action wherein the Victor would ſtretch out his crueltie, was to diſarme the ſouldiers, and ſo let them go vanquiſhed: and for townes taken by force, to put them to ſacke and pillage, and the inhabitants to ranſome, pardoning alwayes the life of men not ſlaine in the heate and fury of the fight.

This was all the reſiſtance and paines which the *French* King had to conquer ſo noble and populous a kingdome: for the defence whereof, there was not ſhewed in any ſort any vertue, any counſell, any faith, nor any deſire of honor. For, after that the Duke of *Calabria* (who after his going out of *Rome*, was retired to the borders of the kingdome) being called to *Naples*, by the flying of his father, had taken vpon him the authoritie and title of King, with the ſolemnities accuſtomed, (but without any pompe) and that he had aſſembled his army containing fiftie ſquadrons of horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen of choiſe, led by the beſt reputed Captaines in *Italy*; he encamped himſelfe at *S. Germain*, to ſtop the enemy for paſſing further, being drawne thither by the oportunitie of the place, enuironed on the one ſide with high and rough mountaines, and on the other with a countrey full of mariſhes and waters, and had in the front the riuer of *Garillan*, which the Ancients called *Liri*, albeit it was not ſo deepe in that place, but at ſome times it was paſſable at a foord; by reaſon whereof, and that the paſſage is very narrow and ſtraight, they ſay (with good reaſon) that *S. Germain* is one of the keys of the kingdome of *Naples*. He ſent alſo bands and troupes to the next mountaines, to keepe the way of *Capella*. But his army being already terrified with the onely name of the *French*, ſhewed no more tokens of courage; and the Captaines partly tendring the ſafetie of themſelues and their owne eſtates, diſtruſting already of the defence of the kingdome, and partly deſiring innouations, began to wauer no leſſe in faith then in courage: and laſtly, all the kingdome being in inſurrection, it was not without feare that at their backes ſhould happen ſome perilous diſorder. Therefore counſell giuing place to cowardize, vnderſtanding after the taking of *Mount S. John*, that the Marſhall *de Gié* was at hand with three hundred lances and two thouſand footmen; they diſcamped with ſhame from *S. Germain*, and retired to *Capua* with ſuch confuſion and feare, that they left by the way eight great peeces of artillery without guard, giuing the enemy a meanes to helpe forward their deſtruction with their owne weapons. This Citie, the new King (repoſing much in the amitie of the Towne towards the houſe of *Aragon*, and in the ſtrong ſeate of the place) hoped to defend, and to keepe alſo *Naples* and *Caietta*, not making diſtribution of his forces to other places. The *French* men went after; but diſperſed and out of order, marching more after the maner of trauellers then like men of warre, and without all regard either to keepe vnder their enſignes, or to be ruled by the direction of their Captaines, they tooke libertie to go where ſoeuer they thought to find pillage; and one part of them moſt often lodged in the

nights in places where the *Aragins* were dislodged in the mornings. Neither in *Capua* was any greater demonstration of vertue or fortune, for that after *Ferdinand* had there bestowed his army, much diminished in numbers since the retrait from *S. Germain*, he was sent for by letters from the Queene, expressing that since the losse of *S. Germain*, there were such murmures and mutinies within *Naples*, as without his presence, there was manifest danger of a generall tumult: for which cause he went thither with a small companie, by his presence to giue impediment to the perill present, promising to returne eftsoones to *Capua* the day following. But *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, to whom he had left the guard of the Citie, had secretly sent to the *French* King for a Herald, to come vnder suretie to speake with him; which being granted, *Triuulce* with certaine gentlemen of *Capua*, went to *Calui*, where the same day the King was entred. This did *Triuulce* notwithstanding that many others of the Citie well disposed to keepe their faith to *Ferdinand*, did speake against it with many braue and haughtie words: but being presented to the King all armed as he came in, he told him in the name of the *Capuans* and souldiers; That they seeing their forces to defend, to faile in *Ferdinand*, whom they had faithfully serued whilest there remained any apparence of hope, were now come to make offer of their seruices to him, bringing minds to follow his fortunes whereseoeuer he will employ them, vnder honest conditions; adding withall, that he doubted not to bring him *Ferdinand* himselfe, so that he would entertaine and acknowledge him as appertained. The King made him this gracious answer, That he accepted the offers of the *Capuans* and souldiers; as also the coming of *Ferdinand* should be no lesse welcome: onely that he should retaine no portion of the kingdome of *Naples* how litle soeuer it were, but that he should endue him with estates and honors in the Realme of *France*.

Iohn Iaques Triuulce goeth to the French king.

It may be doubted what moued *Triuulce*, being a valiant Captaine, and one that made profession of honor, to reuolt, and leaue his King. Touching himselfe, he affirmed that he went by the direction of *Ferdinand* to solicite some composition with the *French*; and being out of all hope to preuaile, and seeing that the kingdome of *Naples* could be no longer defended by armes, he thought it not onely lawfull, but also allowable to prouide at one time for the safetie of the *Capuans*, and securitie of the souldiers. But the common opinion of men was otherwise: for they referre his reuolt to a desire he had that the *French* King might be Victor; for that he hoped when he had made a conquest of *Naples*, he would looke into the meanes by the which he might in like sort make himselfe maister of *Millan*: in which Citie, he being borne of a most noble family, and because for the prime fauours which the house of *S. Seuerin* had with *Lodewike Sforce*, and with other occasions, he had not place according to his vertues and merites; he was wholly estranged from *Lodewike*. For those occasions many wise men iudged that he had counselled *Ferdinand* to proceed in the actions and seruice of *Romagnia*, more temperately then perhaps the occasions required. But in *Capua*, afore the returne of *Triuulce*, the souldiers had sacked the Pallace, armories, and stables of *Ferdinand*, the men at armes made diuisions of them selues, and were bestowed in sundry quarters; and *Virginio* and the Count *Petillane* were retired with their companies to the Citie of *Nola*, belonging to the said Count by the donation of the *Aragons*, sending first to the *French* King to demand safe conduct for them and their people. *Ferdinand* returned according to his promise, hauing somewhat appeased (according to the time) the humors of the *Neapolitans*, by giuing them hope of the defence of *Capua*; and he was come within two miles of the Citie, all ignorant of the change that happened since his departure: but the Towne hearing of his returne, the people wholly exclamed against his re-entry, drew into armes, and by a common voice and counsell sent forth to meete him certaine of the Nobilitie, to aduertise him to passe no further; for that the Citie, seeing he had left it abandoned, that *Triuulce* gouernour of the men of warre was gone to the *French*, his owne souldiers had made a spoile of his pallace, and *Virginio* and the Count *Petillane* had left them to their fortunes, and that almost all his army was broken; they were constrained for their owne safetie to giue place to the Conqueror. With these newes, no lesse heauie then troublesome, *Ferdinand* (after he had made vaine instance eueft with teares to be receiued) returnes to *Naples*, being wel assured that the example of *Capua* would draw the residue of the kingdome to reuolt; whereby the Citie of *Auerse*, seated betweene *Capua* and *Naples*, was moued to dispatch present Embassadors to offer themselues to the *French* King: and the *Neapolitans* consulting also manifestly to do the like, the infortunate King determined not to resist so sodaine a violence of fortune; and therefore assembling vpon the place of the new Castle, being the Kings seate, many of the Nobi-

Nobilitie and people, he deliuered to them this laſt and lamentable ſpeech:

I may call God to witnes, and the conſciences of all thoſe men that heretofore haue had any information of my thoughts & conceits, that no deſire made me more to aſpire to the Crown, then to expreſſe to the world with what griefe I miſliked the rigorous gouernments of my father and grandfather, and to reclaime by moderation and benefites thoſe hearts and affections which they had loſt by their hard dealing and crueltie: but the infelicitie of our houſe would neuer ſuffer that I ſhould receiue this fruit, which I eſteem more excellent and honorable then the kingdome it ſelfe: ſeeing that to be a King, is a thing that oftentimes depends vpon fortune; but to be ſuch a King as to turne all his thoughts to the welfare and felicitie of his people, that depends onely of himſelfe and his proper vertue. Now I ſee our affaires ſuffer hard fortunes, and the extremity wherein they are fallen, is of that nature, that we may complaine more to haue loſt the kingdome by the infidelitie and feares of our armies and Captaines, then our enemies can vaunt to haue wonne it by their proper vertue: and yet our fortune leaueth vs not altogether without hope, if we ſuſtain yet a litle time, for that both by the King of *Spaine* and all the Princes of *Italy*, is preparing a mightie ſuccor, their eyes being now opened that afore could not conſider, that the fire which burnes our Realme, muſt in like ſort (without prouidence) caſt his flames into their ſeuerall Eſtates. And for me, at the leaſt, courage ſhould not want to determine together the kingdome and my life, both with that glory which becomes a yong King deſcended by ſo long ſucceſſion of ſo many Kings, and alſo anſwering the expectation which hitherunto you haue had of my merits and vertues. But becauſe things cannot be put to triall, without committing the cõmon patrimony to deſperate perill, I am determined rather to giue place to fortune, and keepe hid my vertue, then in ſtriuing not to loſe the kingdom, to be the cauſer of effects contrary to thoſe ends for the which I haue deſired to be king. Therefore with teares I giue you this counſell, that ſtanding no more againſt the fury of the time, you ſend with ſpeed to make your accord with the *French* king. And to the end you may be in better power, to do it without ſtaine to your honors, I abſolue you willingly of the homage and oath which you made to me a few daies paſt: wherein I exhort you according to the neceſſitie of your fortune, not to deferre your obedience, humilitie and readineſſe to receiue him, as by that meanes to ſtay the courſe of your owne aduerſities, and helpe to moderate the naturall pride of that nation. If at any time their barbarous cuſtomes and manners cauſe you to hate their rule and impery, and deſire my return, I will remaine in place apt to miniſter aid to your will, and be ready to offer vp my life for the redreſſe of your oppreſſions and harmes. But if their gouernment content you, this Realme ſhall neuer receiue vexation or trauell by me, your well doing & benefit ſeruing as a perpetuall conſolation to my miſeries; and that ſo much the rather, if I may know that there remaine in you any memory, that neither in the perſon of an eldeſt ſon to a King, nor in the power of a King, I haue done no wrong to any creature. My thoughts were neuer ſubiect to motions of ambition, my mind neuer defiled with inclination to crueltie, mine owne ſins bring me not this affliction, but by a diuine iuſtice I ſuffer for the wickednes of my parents. I am determined not to be the cauſe, that either to preſerue the Realme, or to recouer it, any ſubiect of the ſame be oppreſſed: No, it is more ſorow to me to loſe the meanes to make amends for the tranſgreſſions of my parents, then to forgo the royall dignitie and kingdome it ſelfe: for, albeit I ſhall be eſtranged from you, and baniſhed from my patrimony, yet I wil not hold my ſelfe altogether wretched, if to the memory of theſe things, you ioyne a ſtedfaſt beliefe, that I wold haue bin King rather like to old *Alphonſo* my great grandfather, then to *Ferdinand*, or the laſt *Alphonſo*. It cannot be that theſe words were deliuered without great compaſſion: but albeit they wrought many ſorowfull impreſſions in the hearts of the hearers, yet it did nothing to the ſtay of the tumult, ſo hatefull was the name of the two laſt Kings to the people, and ſo ſweet the deſire of the *French* gouernment to the Nobilitie. He was no ſooner retired into the Caſtle, then the multitude began to ſacke his pauilions and tents then pitched in the place: which being an indignitie far vnworthy his merits, and more then he could endure, he returned with great courage to the place to driue them from the ſpoile, the maieſtie and preſence of a King being yet of ſuch authoritie in a citie rebelled, that the ſouldiers reſtraining their fury, euery one abſtained from pillage: but as ſoone as he was returned to the Caſtle, and had ſet on fire and ſunk moſt of the ſhips in the hauen, (hauing no other way to depriue the enemy of them) he began by tokens certain to doubt that the Lance-knights, which were the guard of the caſtle, containing in number fiue hundred, conſpired to take him priſoner;

The yong king Ferdinand ſpeaks in great ſorow to the multitude.

and therefore the danger being preſent, he vſed this ſodain counſel, to giue them his wardrobes, goods and furnitures that were within the Caſtle; and whileſt they were buſie to diuide and ſhare them, he ſlipt out of the caſtle by the gate of ſuccors, deliuering firſt out of priſon all thoſe Barons that had bin reſtrained by the crueltie of his father: he mounted vpon the light gallies that attended him in the hauen, accompanied with *Dom Federike*, and the old Queene wife to his grandfather, who carried with her *Iane* her daughter; and being followed with very few of his people, he ſailed into the Ile of *Iſchia*, called by the ancients *Enaria*, diſtant thirtie miles from *Naples*. On his way, ſo long as his eyes were fed with the proſpect and ſight of the kingdome, he made many repetitions with a pitifull voice, of this verſe of the Pſalme, *That they watch in vaine which keepe the citie, if it be not kept by the Lord.* But finding now no more comfort of fortune, then when he was amidſt the dangers of *Naples*, it fell to him to make triall of his vertue in *Iſchia*, together with an experience of the ingratitude and infidelity of ſuch as riſe vp againſt thoſe wretched perſons that are perſecuted by fortune: for the caſtle-keeper of the place refuſing to receiue him but with one man onely, when he was within, he fell vpon him with ſuch fury, that what by his agilitie and valour, and the impreſſion of a King and maieſty royall, he brought immediatly vnder his power both the caſtle and the keeper. After *Ferdinand* was gone out of *Naples*, euery one gaue way (as to a violent land-floud) to the onely name and renowne of the victors, and that with ſuch cowardize, that two hundred horſemen of *Monſieur de Lignies* went to *Nola*, whither *Virginio* and the Count *Petillane* were retired with foure hundred men at armes, and tooke them priſoners without reſiſtance: either they had confidence in the ſafe conduct that was granted them, or elſe their feares were no leſſe then the others, ſeeing without triall or ſhew of valour, they ſuffered themſelues to be led captiues to the rocke of *Mondragon*, and all their companies to be ſtripped. In this meane while, the Embaſſadors whom the *Neapolitans* had ſent to preſent to the *French* king the keyes of the Citie, found him at *Auerſe*, from whence after he had accorded to them with great liberalities, many priuiledges and exemptions, he went to *Naples*, and made his entry the xxj. of February: he was receiued with generall reioycing of all ſorts, no perſon of any ſexe, age, condition, qualitie, nor faction, ſparing to runne to behold him, as if he had bene their patron and firſt founder of the Citie: yea, there was a plentifull and willing preſence of thoſe, who either in themſelues, or in their anceſtors, had bin raiſed to honors and eſtates by the houſe of *Aragon*. With this affluence and concourſe of people, after he had viſited the great Church, he was led (becauſe the new caſtle was yet kept by the enemies) to be lodged in the caſtle of *Capua*, the ancient habitation and reſidence of the Kings of *France*; hauing with a wonderfull courſe of felicitie, farre aboue the example of *Iulius Ceſar*, rather vanquiſhed then ſeene his enemy, and that with ſo ready fortune and facilitie, that during the whole expedition, he neuer had need to diſplay one pauilion or tent, and much leſſe to breake a lance: and touching his prouiſions, he had ſo great plentie and ſuperfluitie, that his army at ſea prepared with ſo great expences, being caried by violence of weather into the Ile of *Corſica*, was ſo long in approching the ſhores of the kingdome, that the King had accompliſhed his conqueſt afore their arriuall.

The French king entereth Naples.

Thus by ciuill diſcords which ſo long had blinded the notable wiſedome of the Princes of *Italy*, to the great diſhonor and ſcorne of the men of warre of that nation, and common danger and ignominy of euery region of the ſame, was transferred one of the moſt goodly and mighty parts of *Italy*, from the Empery of *Italy* to the Empery and gouernment of a nation beyond the mounts: for, albeit old *Ferdinand* was borne in *Spaine*, yet, for that from his youth he had his training in *Italy*, either King, or the ſonne of a King, and holding no other principalitie elſewhere, where together that his ſonnes and ſonnes ſonnes were bred vp in *Naples*, they were by good right reputed *Italians*.

The end of the firſt booke.

THE

THE SECOND BOOKE OF THE historie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

THE ARGVMENT.

THE Piſans continue their rebellion againſt the Florentines: The French King takes the caſtles of Naples: The Pope, the Venetians and other Princes make league againſt the King, who returning into France, is fought withall neare the riuer Taro. Ferdinand winnes againe Naples. Nouara is beſieged by the Confederates. The King makes peace with the Duke of Millan, and returnes into France.

WHileſt things went in this courſe at *Rome* and the kingdome of *Naples*, there kindled in another part of *Italy* ſparks of a litle fire, wherein was nouriſhed a ſmothering heate, ordained to burſt out to a great burning, to the hurt of many, but ſpecially to the ruine of him, who, by too great a deſire of dominion and rule, firſt kindled it and ſet it on flame. For, albeit the King was bound by the contract of *Florence*, that *Piſa* remaining in his hands till he had conquered the Realme of *Naples*, the iuriſdiction and reuenues ſhould be adminiſtred by the *Florentines*; yet, at his departure, he had ſet no order for the execution of his word and promiſe: inſomuch that the *Piſans* (preſuming much of the Captaines and ſouldiers left by the King for the guard of the Citie) determined no more to returne to the obedience of *Florence*, but expulſed their officers and others that ſolicited there for the Citie, and made the reſidue priſoners, with confiſcation of all their goods; and fully confirmed their rebellion, both by demonſtrations and actions. In this reuolt, to be the better able to continue it, they not onely diſpatched Embaſſadors to the King, to pray him of defence and protection to their doings, but alſo (for their ſtay and ſtrength more aſſured) they recommended their cauſe to the cities of *Sienna* and *Lucques*, who being ancient enemies to the name of *Florence*, could heare of nothing more to their liking then the reuolt of the *Piſans*; and therefore they ſent them forthwith in a cõmon proportion of mony, and *Sienna* apart furniſhed them with an aid of horſemen. In like ſort the *Piſans* ſent Embaſſadors to *Veniee*, to ſound the will of that Senate; of whom albeit they were graciouſly receiued, yet they brought away nothing but hopes doubtfull and vncertaine. But they repoſed their chiefeſt confidence in the Duke of *Millan*, for that as he was the firſt breeder of their rebellion, ſo they hoped he would not faile to ſupport them. The Duke, albeit he made other ſhewes and demonſtrations to the *Florentines*, yet he tooke care ſecretly for the confirmation of this reuolt, breathing courage into them with many offers and perſwaſions, and dealt vnderhand with the *Genoways*, to furniſh the *Piſans* with armor and munitions, and to ſend to them a commiſſioner, with three hundred footmen. There hath bin ancient quarell betweene the *Florentines* and *Genoways*, riſing at firſt by the conqueſt of *Piſa*, and continued by many degrees of diſpleaſures, both for buying the port of *Liuorne* of their Duke *Thomaſin Fregoſa*, which they poſſeſſed, and alſo the taking away of *Pietraſanta* and *Serezana*. The memory of theſe, ioyned to the occaſion offered, was ſufficient to arme them with a wonderfull readineſſe to do all things that might annoy the *Florentines*; occupying euen already many of their places in the countrey of *Lunigiana*, and were become Lords of the borders of *Pietraſanta*, vnder colour of a letter obtained from the *French* King for the reſtitution of certaine goods confiſked. The *Florentines* complaining of theſe actions at *Millan*, were anſwered by the Duke, that according to the capitulations which he had with them of *Genes*, he could not well do any thing to reſtraine them: and labouring to content them with words and diuerſitie

Beginning of the warres of Piſa.

Two particular cauſes of quarrell betweene Florence and the Genoways.

ſitie of hopes, he forbare not to practiſe the quite contrary, as one that nouriſhed an ambitious expectation to draw *Piſa* to his obedience, if the *Florentines* did not eſtſoones recouer it; a thing much deſired by him, no leſſe for the qualitie of the Citie, then oportunitie of the ſituation. Neither was this deſire new, but had bene nouriſhed in him euer ſince he was expulſed *Millan*, a litle after the death of *Galeas* his brother, for a iealouſie which the Lady *Bonne* (mother and tutor to the litle Duke) had of him; and confined for many moneths vnto the citie of *Piſa*. He was further ſtirred vp by the memory, that *Piſa* (afore it came into the iuriſdiction of the *Florentines*) had bene poſſeſſed by *John Galeas Viſcount*, firſt Duke of *Millan*: by reaſon whereof, he thought it would be an increaſe of his glory, to recouer that which had bene poſſeſſed by his anceſtors, and iudged that he might pretend a colour of right, in not making it lawfull for *John Galeas* to leaue by teſtament (to the preiudice of the Dukes of *Millan* his ſucceſſors) to *Gabriel Maria* his baſtard ſonne, the State of *Piſa*, which he had gotten, albeit with the treaſures and forces of the Duchie of *Millan*. And the *Piſans*, not content to haue drawne their Citie from the obedience of the *Florentines*, ſought to obtrude vpon all the places and peeces of the generall demaine; all which for the moſt part (as the manner of the countrey is) followed the authoritie of the Citie, and receiued their commiſſioners, euen in the firſt daies of the rebellion; the *Florentines* making no reſiſtance in the beginning, for that they were otherwiſe buſied in affaires of greater importance, not hauing as yet compoſed with the *French* King, and did perhaps expect that he would apply remedy to thoſe harmes, according to his bond, proteſted by publike and ſolemne oath. But perceiuing that he deferred to giue order, they ſent their bands and companies, who eſtſoones recouered partly by force, and partly by compoſition, all that was occupied, except *Caſine*, *Buti* and *Vicopiſan*, into which places the *Piſans* (being not ſtrong enough to make reſiſtance on all ſides) had withdrawne their forces. Touching the King, the doings of the *Piſans* did nothing diſpleaſe him, their cauſe being apparently fauoured by many of his Court, ſome of them being induced by a compaſſion, that they had bene ſtraightly gouerned by the *Florentines*; others to the end to oppoſe themſelues againſt the Cardinall of *S. Malo*, being wholly for the *Florentines*: of theſe was principall the Seneſhall of *Beaucaire*, with whom the money of the *Piſans* had much preuailed, but much more the diſcontentment he had for the greatneſſe of the Cardinall, from whom (according to the variations of Court) he began to be eſtranged and ſeparate, being moued with the ſelfe ſame ambition to embaſe him, with the which he had raiſed him in the beginning. Theſe men not hauing reſpect to that which concerned the honor & promiſed faith of ſo great a King, perſwaded that it agreed beſt with the profit and eſtate of his other enterpriſes, to keepe the *Florentines* in this neceſſitie, and not to moderate the doings of the *Piſans*, at the leaſt till he had conquered the Realme of *Naples*. The King carried with theſe perſwaſions, framed himſelfe to entertaine both the one and the other partie with ſeuerall hopes; and therefore whileſt he remained at *Rome*, he called for the Embaſſadors of *Florence* to heare in his preſence the complaints made to him by the *Piſans*, for whom ſpake *Burgundio Loli* Citizen of *Piſa*, and aduocate of the Conſiſtory in the Court of *Rome*: He complained bitterly, that the *Piſans* had bene holden foure ſcore yeares in ſuch an vniuſt and cruell ſeruitude, that that Citie, which with many honorable victories heretofore had ſtretched out her iuriſdiction euen to the parts of *Leuant*, and had bin alwayes one of the moſt mightie and glorious members of all *Italy*, was now by the ſeueritie and couetouſneſſe of the *Florentins*, come to her laſt deſolation: That the towne of *Piſa* was almoſt made naked of inhabitants, for that the moſt part of the naturall and free borne Citizens, not able to beare ſo heauie a yoke, had willingly abandoned it, whoſe counſell hath bene proued wiſe by the miſeries of others, whom the loue of their countrey hath retained; who by reaſon of the great exactions of the Magiſtrates, and inſolent robberies of priuate perſons of *Florence*, were diſpoyled almoſt of all their ſubſtance, hauing no meanes left to maintaine themſelues, for that with a tyrannie and iniuſtice ſtrange and barbarous, they were forbidden to manage trades of merchandize, or to excerciſe any art except of the hand; and were not admitted into any office of qualitie, nor in the adminiſtration of the gouernment of *Florence*, no not in things which were transferred to ſtrangers: That the *Florentines* exerciſed all ſorts of crueltie againſt their health and their liues; and to haue a more ready way to their generall deſtruction, they haue of late yeares ſhaked off an ancient and neceſſary care to preſerue the banks and cauſſeys of the country of *Piſa*, maintained alwayes from age to age by the Lords of that country

The pretended title of the Duke of Milan to Piſa.

The complaints of the Piſans afore the French king.

country with no ſmall ſtudy, for that otherwiſe it was impoſſible (ſeeing the ſhallowneſſe of the country, ſubiect to inundations and water-flouds) that they ſhould not be euery yeare ſtricken with diuerſitie of diſeaſes: that by this decay, were made ruinate euen flat with the earth, Churches, Pallaces, with many honorable buildings both publike and priuate, erected by their predeceſſors, with no litle expence and charge: That it was no ſhame to famous Cities or townes, if, after the courſe of many ages they fell into ſeruitude, for that all mortall things by deſtiny are ſubiect to corruption: but that the memory of their nobilitie and greatnes, ought to breed in the ſpirits of conquerors more compaſſion then rigor; eſpecially euery one hauing to conſider, that it is not onely in the power of time, but alſo incident to the iuſt courſe and deſtiny of earthly things, to bring vpon them the ſelfeſame end which is ordained to happen to all other cities and Empires: That if the *Piſans* there reſted no more, wherein the inhumanitie and inſatiable couetouſneſſe of the *Florentines* could be exerciſed with further ſcope; and therefore the yoke of thoſe burdens bearing a weight aboue their ſtrength, and the varietie of their miſeries ſo infinite and intolletable, they had with one mind determined, rather to abandon their country, and to giue vp their liues, then to returne eſtſoones vnder ſo vniuſt and ſo tyrannous a gouernment: Beſeeching laſtly the King with teares (which he beſought him to imagine to be the plentifull teares of the whole people of *Piſa* miſerably proſtrate at his feet) to remember, that with the ſame pietie and with the ſame iuſtice, he had reſtored them to that libertie, of the which they had bin ſo vniuſtly diſpoiled; he would eſtſoones as a Prince reſolute and conſtant, defend and keepe them in the ſame benefite, chuſing rather to beare the name of the father and defender of this Citie ſo ancient and innocent, then in redeliuering it vp into a ſeruitude ſo wretched, to become the infamous miniſter of the robberies, oppreſſions and tyrannies of the *Florentines*. To theſe accuſations anſwered, with no leſſe vehemency, *Francis Soderin* Biſhop of *Volterre*, afterwards made Cardinall, and at that time one of the Embaſſadors for *Florence*; He ſhewed, that the title of his Commonweale was iuſt, for that they had bought *Piſa* in the yeare 1404. of *Gabriel Maria Viſcount* the lawfull Lord, by whom they were no ſooner put in poſſeſſion of their purchaſe, then the *Piſans* redeliuered themſelues by force: by which occaſion they were driuen to ſeeke to conquer it by a long warre, whoſe end was no leſſe proſperous then the occaſion was iuſt, and no leſſe praiſe-worthy the humanitie of the *Florentines*, then the victory glorious; for that hauing in their diſcretions to let periſh the people of *Piſa*, (languiſhing already with hunger) when they entred with their army into the Citie, they brought with them a greater quantitie of victuals then of weapons; and ſo in place to take away their liues by iuſt law of conqueſt and victory, they breathed new liues with their refreſhing and victuals, into bodies miſerable and not worthy of life: That the Citie of *Piſa* at no time had obtained any greatnes in the firme land, and much leſſe had bin able in power to win forrain & ſtrange peeces, ſeeing they could neuer make themſelues Lords ouer *Lucques*, a Citie communicating with them in neare neighborhood and borders: but they ſtood alwayes reſtrained and incloſed in a ſtraight territory, not ſeeking to make their fortune greater then was their vertue. And for their power at ſea, neither hath it bin ſo mightie as there is left any monument of it, nor of ſuch continuance as it hath any preſcription of time: for that, by the iuſt iudgement of God, whom they had prouoked by many acts of prophane impietie, and for a ſcourge of the long ciuill diſcords amongſt themſelues, it was long time before the purchaſe of the *Florentines*, fallen from all eſtate and greatneſſe, drained of all wealth and inhabitants, and at laſt reduced to ſuch a naked weakneſſe, that one *Iaques d'Appian* a ſimple notary of the country, was of power to make himſelfe Lord ouer them, leauing the Citie and territory as a ſucceſſion to his children: That the land & country of *Piſa* was of litle importance to the *Florentines*, except for the oportunitie of the ſituation, and conueniency of the ſea; ſeeing the reuenues that were drawne from thence were of litle conſideration, the exactions being ſo eaſie and light, that they exceed very litle the neceſſary expences, and yet the moſt part were leuied vpon merchant-ſtrangers, and by the meanes of the port of *Liuorne*. That touching the trade of merchandize, arts and offices, the *Piſans* were not bound with other lawes then did regulate all other cities ſubiect to the *Florentines*, who acknowledging to liue vnder a moderate and eaſie policie, had no deſire to change Lords, not hauing indeed that obſtinacie and pride of mind which is naturall in the *Piſans*, nor yet infected with a diſloyaltie ſo notorious, as it is made generall and famous by the ancient prouerbe of all *Tuſcane*. And albeit, ſince the *Florentines* had gouernment in *Piſa*, ſundry of the

The Embaſſador of Florence confuteth thoſe complaints.

« Citizens tooke a willing baniſhment; yet it concludes nothing againſt the *Florentines*, but de-
« cets iuſtly their owne proud ſtomacke and impatiencie, bearing no minds to accommodate
« themſelues to their owne forces nor fortune. And much leſſe that vnder the gouernment of the
« *Florentines*, *Piſa* is diminiſhed either in treaſure or inhabitants, ſeeing on the contrary they
« haue at a great charge recouered the hauen of *Liuorne*, without the which their Citie would be
« no leſſe vnprofitable then inconuenient. They haue alſo introduced the publike ſtudy of all ſci-
« ences, together with many other benefites; and laſtly, diligently continued the reparations of
« the banks, the better to repleniſh them with inhabitants. The truth of which things were ſo ma-
« niſeſt, that the clouds of falſe complaints were not able to ouerſhadow and darken it: He ſaid,
« it was ſuffered to euery one to deſire to aſpire to a better fortune; but withall it was an office
« iuſt in all inferiour degrees, to beare without grudging the ordinance and ſentence of their lot;
« otherwiſe there would be confuſion of all Empires and gouernments, if it were ſuffered to eue-
« ry one that is ſubiect, to aſpire to libertie. Laſtly he told the King, that to the *Florentines* it was
« neither neceſſary nor any way appertaining to their office, to perſwade *Charles* a Chriſtian King
« of *France* what he had to do; for that being a Prince wiſe and iuſt, they were perſwaded that he
« would not ſuffer himſelfe to be carried by ſo vaine complaints and ſlanders: That of himſelfe
« he would remember himſelfe of his promiſe made afore his army was receiued into *Piſa*, toge-
« ther with his word and oath of a King publiſhed ſolemnly at *Florence*; for that by how much a
« King is mightie and great, by ſo much is it more glorious to him to vſe his power for the pre-
« ſeruation of his faith and iuſtice. The King hearing the differences thus diſcloſed by both the
Embaſſadors, bare an inclination partiall to the *Piſans*, and wiſhed that during the warre of *Na-
ples*, there might be a ſurceaſſing of armes betweene the two parties, or at leaſt that the *Floren-
tines* would conſent that he might hold the whole country, aſſuring them that as ſoone as the
conqueſt of *Naples* was accompliſhed, he would make perfect all his promiſes giuen at *Florence*.
This the *Florentines* refuſed, holding euen now for ſuſpected all the Kings words, and yet they
forbare not with great conſtancie to preſſe him to keepe his promiſe: wherein, to make ſhew
that he would ſatisfie them, (his intention indeed being to haue of them before the time the
lxx. thouſand duckets which they had promiſed him) he diſpatched at the ſame inſtant he de-
parted from *Rome*, the Cardinall of *S. Malo* as Embaſſador to *Florence*, making as though he
ſent him thither to ſatisfie their demands; but in ſecret he charged him, that nouriſhing them
with hopes till they had made paiment of the money, he ſhould leaue things in the ſame eſtate:
of which deceit, albeit the *Florentines* made ſufficient doubt, yet they aduanced forty thouſand
duckets afore the tearme; which as ſoone as the Cardinall had receiued, he went to *Piſa*, pro-
miſing to recontinue the poſſeſſion of the Eſtate to the *Florentines*: but he made a ſpeedy re-
turne, without any effect of his promiſe, and leſſe anſwering the expectation of them of *Flo-
rence*, afore whom he excuſed himſelfe by the obſtinacie of the *Piſans*, and that being not able
of himſelfe to diſpoſe them, his authoritie was leſſe ſufficient to conſtraine them, hauing no ex-
preſſe commiſſion from the King. Laſtly it was not conuenient for him, being of holy profeſſi-
on, to take or follow any counſell whereof might riſe effuſion of Chriſtian bloud: yet he be-
ſtowed a new garriſon within the new Citadell, and had done the like in the old Caſtle if he
could haue got the conſent of the *Piſans*, who grew dayly more and more in courage and for-
ces by the ſecret helping of the Duke of *Millan*; who iudging it neceſſary that there ſhould be
within *Piſa* a greater ſtrength, and a Leader of experience and valour, had ſent to them (coue-
ring himſelfe notwithſtanding, as he was wont, with the name of the *Genoways*) *Luke Malvezze*
with new bands and companies: and letting paſſe no occaſion that might keepe the *Florentines*
in buſineſſe, the better to hold them from offending the *Piſans*, he entertained into pay in
common with the *Siennoys*, *Iaques d'Appian* Lord of *Plombin*, and *John Sauelle*, the rather to en-
courage the ſaid people of *Sienna* to defend *Montpulcian*, a place newly reuolted from the *Flo-
rentines*, and accepted by them of *Sienna*, without hauing regard to the confederation which
they had together. At the ſame time alſo the *Florentines* were in no leſſe care and trauell for ſo-
daine buſineſſe newly happened within the Citie: for immediatly after the King was departed
from *Florence*, the better to reeſtabliſh their gouernment, they had in their Parliament (which
in their cuſtome is a congregation aſſembled of all the Citizens in the place before the towne-
houſe, who deliberate with free voice vpon matters propounded by the great Magiſtrate) inſti-
tuted a kind of policie, which vnder the name of a gouernment popular tended in many things

more

more to the power of a few then of euery one in generall. The which being grieuous to many, who fashioned in their minds a greater libertie, and hauing the priuate ambition of some one of the principall Citizens concurring, there was necessitie to dispute vpon a new forme of gouernment, wherein as it was communed vpon one day amongst the principall Magistrates and persons of greatest reputation, *Paul Anthony Soderin*, a Citizen wise and much respected, deliuered his opinion in this sort:

P. Anth Soderin reasoneth touching a forme of gouernment for Florence. Causes of popular gouernments.

Albeit those that haue written of ciuill matters, do lesse esteeme of the popular State, then of that wherein things are referred to one alone, or gouerned by the directions of graue men; yet, for that the desire of libertie is a desire ancient and almost naturall in this Citie, and the conditions and estate of our Citizens are equally proportioned, which is a necessary ground of popular gouernments: I might maintaine by easie and reasonable discourse, that it ought to be preferred before all other, were it not that the disputation would be superfluous, seeing in all our assemblies since the Parliament, it hath bin alwayes determined by a consent vniuersall, that the Citie should be gouerned in the name and with the authoritie of the people. But the diuersitie of opinions is risen vpon this, that certaine particulars, in things ordained in the Parliament, seeke to come neare and resemble that forme of Commonweale, vnder the which the Citie was gouerned before our libertie was oppressed by the family of the *Medices* and others, (of which number I confesse I am) supposing that the gouerment so established, bare in many things rather the name then the effects of a policie popular; and fearing the accidents which often happen by like gouernments, desire a forme more perfect, and more regarding the preseruation and protection of the concord and suretie of the Citizens: a thing which neither by reason, nor experience of times passed, can be hoped for in this Citie, but vnder a gouernment depending altogether vpon the power of the people, so that it be well and duly ordained and regulated, which thing consists principally in two foundations: The first is, that all ministrations and offices, as well in the Citie as through the whole demeane, be giuen (for a certaine time) by a Councell vniuersall, which according to our lawes may participate in the gouernment; without the approbation of which Councell, new lawes cannot be established: by this meane, not being in the power of priuate Citizens, nor of any particular faction or intelligence, to distribute dignities and authorities, no man shall be excluded by passion or partialitie of others, but offices shall be bestowed according to the vertues and merits of men: and vertue bearing this propertie to transferre dignities to those persons to whom her selfe is conioyned, it will be a meane and encouragement to euery one to striue by his vertues and good parts, with the aide publike and priuate, to open his way to honors and reputation; it shall be necessary that euery one abstaine from vices, and forbeare to hurt one another, and finally eschue both the study and action of all hatefull things in a Citie well instituted. And it cannot be in the power of one or a few, to introduce with new lawes, or with authoritie of a Magistrate, another gouernment, this being not to be changed, but by the will and priuitie of the Councell vniuersall. The second ground is, that the deliberations and counsels of importance, such as appertaine to peace and warre, to the construing and examination of new lawes, and generally to all things necessary for the administration of such a Citie or Empire, be managed by Magistrates particularly appointed to that charge, and by a Councell more priuate, compounded of wise and experienced Citizens, to be deputed and ordained by the Councell popular: for that the knowledge and iudgement of such affaires, falling not familiarly into the vnderstanding of euery one, it is necessary they be gouerned by such as are capable of them, and requiring oftentimes diligence and secrecie, they are not to be consulted or communicated with the multitude, as not being necessary for the preseruation of the publike libertie, that such things be handled in too great audience and company, seeing the libertie is assured as often as the distribution of magistracies, and deliberation of new lawes, depend on the vniuersall consent. These two foundations thus laid, you haue a true popular gouernment ordained, the libertie of the Citie grounded, and a perpetuall and commendable forme of Commonweale confirmed. There be many other things which tend to make this gouernment more perfect, but they are referred more conueniently to another time, to the end not to confound in this beginning the minds of men, which both suspicious by the memory of tyrannies past, and not accustomed to manage gouernments free, can not wholly know all things necessary to be ordained for preseruation of the libertie: and there be things, which for their litle importance and consideration, may without danger be deferred vn-

" vntill a time more apt,and better occaſion. No doubt,the citizens will embrace more and more
" this forme of Commonweale; and being by experience made dayly more capable of the truth,
" they cannot but deſire that their gouernment be poliſhed and brought to his full perfection:
" Neither can it but be ſuſtained and holden vp by theſe two foundations, which, how eaſie it is
" to lay and eſtabliſh,and what fruite they bring, is not to be proued onely by many reaſons, but
" alſo appeares plainly by examples. For, albeit the gouernment of the *Venetians* ſtands properly
" vpon gentlemen, yet thoſe gentlemen are no other then Citizens priuate,and ſo many in num-
" ber, and of ſo diuers conditions and qualities,as it cannot be denied, but that it doth much par-
" ticipate with a gouernment popular, and that in many things it cannot be imitated of vs: and
" yet it is principally founded vpon theſe two pillars and baſes, by the which hauing bin conti-
" nued by many ages,together with a libertie,vnitie,and concord ciuill, it is riſen to the glory and
" greatneſſe which the world ſeeth. The vnitie and ſtrength of the *Venetians* hath not growne,as
" many ſuppoſe, by their ſituation, for that in the ſame may be and haue bin many diſcords and
" ſeditions: but it hath proceeded for that they had a forme of policy ſo well ſorted and propor-
" tioned to it ſelfe,that neceſſarily it brought forth precious and wonderfull effects. Our owne ex-
" amples ought to moue vs no leſſe then ſtrangers, if we conſider on the contrary, that becauſe
" our Citie neuer had a forme of gouernment like vnto this, it was the cauſe that our eſtate and
" affaires haue bin ſo ſubiect to ordinary mutations, ſometimes troden vnder feet by the violence
" of tyrants; and ſometimes rent and diſmembred by the ambitious and couetous diſcords of cer-
" taine particulars;and ſometimes confounded by the vnbridled libertie of the communalty. And
" whereas cities were built for the reſt and happie life of the inhabitants, our felicities and our
" ioyes haue bin the confiſcation of our goods, the baniſhment, and execution of our miſerable
" Citizens. The gouernment brought into the Parlament, differeth not from the policies here-
" tofore ordained in this Citie,which being all infected with diſcords and calamities,after infinite
" trauels, both publike and priuate, they finally ingendred tyrannies: for which cauſe, and for no
" other, did the Duke of *Athens* oppreſſe the libertie in the times of our anceſtors; and in the
" times ſucceeding, *Coſmo de Medicis* followed his example;whereof it is not to be maruelled: for,
" when the diſtribution of Magiſtracies,and deliberation of the lawes,haue not communitie with
" the common conſent, but depend vpon the arbitration of the leſſer number: then the Citizens
" not carefull of the publike benefite, but ſeeking their profites and ends priuate, riſe into ſects
" and conſpiracies particular, whereunto are ioyned the diuiſions of the whole Citie; a plague
" moſt certaine to all Commonweales and Empires: ſo that it cannot but be a better diſcretion
" to eſchue thoſe formes of gouernment, which by reaſons and examples in our ſelues we find to
" be hurtfull, and draw neare to thoſe policies which with the reaſons and examples of others,we
" diſcerne to be wholſome and happie. And thus much I take boldneſſe to auouch (the truth of
" the matter enforcing me) that the policie of our Citie running alwayes in that order, that a few
" Citizens ſhall haue an vnmeaſured authoritie, will proue to be a gouernment of a few tyrants,
" who will be ſo much more dangerous then one tyrant alone, by how much the ill is great, and
" hurts more,when it is much multiplied. And though there ſhould be none other miſchiefe at all,
" yet at leaſt wiſe, what for the diuerſitie of opinions, and for the ambition and different coue-
" touſneſſe of men, there could be no expectation of long concord: And diſcord, as it is hurtfull
" in all ſeaſons, ſo would it be moſt dangerous at this time, wherein you haue ſent into exile ſo
" mightie a Citizen,by whom you ſtand depriued of one of the principalleſt parts of your Eſtate,
" and when *Italy* hauing euen in her bowels forraine armies, ſtands on all ſides enuironed with
" manifeſt perill. Very ſeldome,or poſſible neuer,it hath bin abſolutely in the power of all the Ci-
" tie to put order to it ſelfe according to our owne liking; the which power ſeeing God of his
" goodneſſe hath giuen you, loſe not the occaſion (to your owne detriment, and to the perpe-
" tuall blemiſh of the name of the *Florentine* wiſedome) to inſtitute a free gouernment, and ſo
" well digeſted,as that during your owne liues it may not onely procure you happineſſe, but alſo
" promiſe the ſame to your poſteritie,and ſo leaue as an inheritance to your children,ſuch a trea-
" ſure and felicitie,as your anceſtors neuer had nor knew.

Againſt this opinion reaſoneth Guid' Anth. Veſpucci.

To the contrary of this, did reaſon *Guid' Anthony Veſpucci*, a lawyer notable for his iudge-
" ment,and no leſſe ſingular for his facilitie and ſharpneſſe of wit: If the gouerment (ſaith he) in-
" ſtituted in the forme of *Paul Anthony Soderin*, would as eaſily bring forth the fruits that are deſi-
" red, as he hath liberally recounted them: ſure we ſhould ſhew great corruption in iudgement,

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if we would wish in our country any other sort of policie; and should seeme most dangerous Citizens, if we would not embrace a forme of Commonweale, wherein the vertues, merites, and valours of men, should be aboue all other things honored and recompenced. But I cannot see how it may be hoped, that a gouernment put wholly in the power of the people, can bring forth so many benefits: seeing no man doubts but it is a lesson in reason, a triall in experience, and an authoritie confirmed by great men, that in so great a multitude cannot be found that discretion, that experience, nor that order, which may promise that they will preferre the wise afore the ignorant, the good afore the ill, and the experienced afore such as neuer knew what it was to manage affaires. For, like as of a Iudge incapable and ignorant, can be no expectation of iust iudgement: so, in a people full of confusion and vanitie, is no hope (but at aduenture) of election or deliberation wise or reasonable: and that which in publike gouernments, wisemen and such as follow the study of no other affaires, can hardly discerne, let vs neuer beleeue that a multitude vnexperienced, ignorant, compounded of so great diuersitie of spirits, conditions and customes, and wholly giuen to things that concerne them particularly, can distinguish and know. Besides, the immoderate perswasion that euery one will haue of himselfe, will kindle in euery one a couetousnesse of honors, not sufficing to men in popular gouernment to enioy the honest fruits of libertie, but they will aspire all to the degrees principall, and seeke to haue place in the counsels of things of most importance and hardnesse, for that lesse in vs then in any other Citie, reigneth the modestie to giue place to such as know most, and deserue best. And so nourishing our selues with perswasion, that of right we ought to be all equall in all things, (the power resting in the multitude) places of vertue, valour, and merite will be confounded; and this couetousnesse stretched out into the greatest part, will bring to passe, that such may do most as know least and merite lesse; for that being most in number, they will haue most power, opinions being rather counted then considered. These things well weighed, what assurance can there be, that contenting themselues with the forme which now you would bring in, they would not immediatly fall to disorder, and confound with inuentions new and lawes vndiscreet, which wise men could not resist, the wayes to gouerne a Commonweale, which had bin wisely deliberated and established? Which things being dangerous at all times in such a sort of Commonweale, would bring farre more perill at this present; seeing it is the nature of men, when they come out of one extremitie, wherein they haue bin holden by force, to runne with a swift course to another extremitie, without staying in the midst: euen so, men drawne out of a tyranny, if they be not restrained, runne headlong into an vnbridled libertie, which iustly may be called a tyranny: because in these actions a people and mukitude is like vnto a tyrant, when he giueth where is no cause of merite, and taketh from him that hath well deserued, confounding the degrees and distinctions of persons; yea haply their tyranny is so much the more hurtfull, by how much their ignorance (containing neither weight, measure nor law) is greater then the malignity, although it be gouerned by some rule, with some bridle, or some limites. And we ought not to be moued by the example of the *Venetians*, for that in their behalfe both the situation makes something, and the forme of gouernment receiued of long time may do much, together with the order and disposition of things ruled in such sort, that the counsels of importance rest more in the power of a few then of many, and their spirits haply not being by nature so subtile as ours, they are more easie to be kept quiet and contented. Besides, the policie of the *Venetians* stands not only vpon the two foundations that haue bin considered, but for their perfection and firmnesse it imports much that they haue a Duke perpetuall, with many other ordinances, which whosoeuer would introduce into this Commonweale, should seeme to bring in innouations, and find many resistances, seeing our Citie takes not now her being, nor at this present the first time of her institution. And therefore ancient customes impugning oftentimes common profit, and men suspecting that vnder colour of preseruation of the libertie, there would be raised a new tyranny, wholsome counsels will be of litle force; euen as in a body infected and repleniished with ill humors, medicines are not of that seruice, as in a body purged. For which reasons, and for the nature of humane things which commonly go impairing, it is more to be feared, that that which in this beginning shall be imperfectly ordained, will be wholly disordered with time, then to hope that by time and with occasions it may be reduced to perfection: we haue examples of our owne, and need not fetch them from others. For, tell me, at what time hath the people gouerned absolutely this City, that it hath not bin full of discords, that it hath not suffered dismembring,

" bring, and laſtly that the State hath not immediatly changed? And if we ſtand ſo much vpon
" the examples of others, why do we not remember, that the gouernment wholly popular, bred
" to *Rome* ſo many tumults, that had it not bin for the ſcience and diſcipline of warre, the life of
" that Commonweale had bin ſhort? Let vs remember, that *Athens* a moſt flouriſhing and mighty
" Citie, loſt not for other occaſion her Empire, and ſo fell into ſeruitude of her owne citizens and
" ſtrangers, then for that they did diſpoſe of great affaires with the deliberations & counſels of the
" communaltie. But I ſee not for what occaſion it may be ſaid, that in the forme introduced in the
" Parlament, the liberte is not there wholly found, ſeeing all things are referred to the diſpoſition
" of Magiſtrates, and they not perpetuall, but changing, are not elected of a few, but approued of
" many, and ought according to the ancient cuſtome of the Citie, to be referred to the arbitre-
" ment of the lot: then they cannot be diſtributed by factions, or by the appetite of Citizens par-
" ticular. We ſhall haue a farre greater aſſurance when the affaires of moſt importance ſhall paſſe
" by the examination and direction of the moſt wiſe, the moſt practiſed, and moſt graue men,
" who will manage and gouerne them with another order, another ſecretie, and another iudge-
" ment, then would be expreſſed in a multitude or communaltie vncapable of ſuch things, who
" ſometimes when is leaſt need are moſt prodigall in expences, and exſtoones in weightie buſines-
" ſes ſo ſparing and niggardly, that oftentimes for ſauing a litle, they fall into very great expen-
" ces and dangers. Indeed as *Paul Anthonie* hath ſaid, the infirmitie of *Italy*, and particularly of our
" countrey, is very great, and of no litle conſideration. Then what folly is greater, then when we
" haue need of Phyſitions experienced and wiſe, to put our bodies into the hands of ſuch as haue
" leaſt skill and experience? And laſtly, you haue to conſider, that you ſhall maintaine your
" people in greater reſt, and leade them moſt eaſily to counſels wholeſome both for themſelues,
" and to the benefite of euery one, in giuing them in the Commonweale a moderate part and au-
" thoritie; ſeeing if you referre all things to their arbitration, there will be danger that they will be-
" come inſolent, and wholly diſagreeing from the counſels of your wiſe, carefull, and affectioned
" Citizens."

Ieronimo Sauonarola eſteemed for a Prophet in Florence.

In this Councell, whereunto was not admitted the great number of Citizens, the aduice then tending to a forme of gouernment not ſo large and popular, had preuailed, if amongſt the deliberations of men, there had not bene mixed authoritie diuine, pronounced by the mouth of *Ieronimo Sauonarola* a religious man of the order of Frier Preachers. This man hauing bin continually exerciſed for many yeares in the publike preaching of Gods word at *Florence*, and hauing ioyned to his ſingular doctrine a generall brute of holineſſe of life, had gotten in the opinion of moſt part of the people, the name and authoritie of a Prophet: for that at times wherein in *Italy* was no other apparence in mans reaſon, then of common tranquillitie, he would in his Sermons propheſie of the coming of forreine armies, with ſo great aſtoniſhment of men, that neither wals nor campes were able to reſiſt them: which things, with many others of other nature, he would aſſure that he did not foretell by diſcourſe humane, or knowledge of the Scriptures, but ſimply did foreſee them by reuelation diuine; and ſo would ſometimes touch the mutation of the ſtate of *Florence*. But at that time he deteſted publikly the forme of gouernment agreed vpon in the Parlament, affirming that it was the will of God, that they did erect a policie meerly popular, in ſuch ſort that it ſhould not be in the power of a few citizens to alter neither the ſurtie nor the libertie of the reſidue: inſomuch that for the reuerence of one of ſo great a name, ioyned to the deſire of many, ſuch as were of the other opinion, ſhould not be able to reſiſt ſo great an inclination. Therefore this matter being many times propounded and debated, it was laſtly determined, that there ſhould be held a Councell of all the Citizens, wherein ſhould haue no acceſſe (ſo it was ſpread in many places in *Italy*) the dregs of the people, but onely ſuch as by the ancient lawes of the Citie might participate in the gouernment: In this Councell they ſhould not meddle with, nor diſpoſe of other things, then of the election of all the Magiſtrates for the Citie and for the demeane, and of the confirmation of proviſions of money, together with all the lawes ordained before by the Magiſtrates, and other Councels more priuate and ſtrait. And to the end that the occaſions of ciuill diſcords ſhould be taken away, and the ſpirits of euery one the more aſſured, it was prohibited by decree publike, according to the example of the *Athenians*, not to remember the errors and tranſgreſſions committed in times paſt in the affaires of Eſtate. Vpon which foundations, might perhaps haue bene conſtituted a well ordered and ſtable gouernment, if at the ſame time they had introduced all the ordinances which then came into

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the conſideration of wiſe men: but ſuch things being not able to be deliberated without the conſent of many, who for the memory of things paſt were full of ſuſpitions, it was iudged and determined, that for the preſent the grand Councell ſhould be eſtabliſhed, as a ground and foundation of the new libertie, referring to accompliſh that which wanted, vntill a better opportunitie of time, and vntill (by the meanes of experience) the publike vtilitie ſhould be knowne of ſuch, as had no capacitie to know it by reaſon and iudgement. This was the courſe and condition of the affaires of *Tuskane*.

But in this meane while, the *French* King, after he had conquered the Citie of *Naples*, to giue a full perfection to his victory, he had principally to looke to remoue two impediments: The one, how he might get new Caſtle, and the Caſtle of the Egge, which are two fortreſſes of *Naples*, holding good yet for *Ferdinand*; but for the towne of *S. Vincent*, built for the guard of the hauen, he had it without much reſiſtance: His other conſideration was, how he might reduce the whole kingdome to his obedience. In which two things fortune ſtill followed him with a full ſaile. For, new Caſtle the habitation of the Kings, ſeated vpon the banke or ſhoare of the ſea, by the couetouſneſſe and cowardize of fiue hundred Lance-knights holding garriſon there, after a ſlight defence was rendred, with condition that they might depart in ſafetie with all the goods they were able to carry. In this Caſtle was found great quantities of victuals, whereof the King without conſideration to that might happen, made prodigall liberalities to certaine of his owne people. And touching the Caſtle called the Egge, built within the ſea vpon a rocke, aforetime parcell of the firme land, but now deuided from it by the operation of *Lucullus*, was ioyned with a narrow bridge to the next brinkes or ſhoares of *Naples*: they within the rocke, ſeeing themſelues battered without ceaſſing with the artillery, which might well ſhake the wals, but nothing moue the rocke, agreed to yeeld vp the place, if within eight dayes they were not ſuccoured. The Barons alſo and gouernours of the communaltie, went many dayes iourneys to meet the *French* Captaines and companies of ſouldiers ſent into ſundry parts of the Realme, ſtriuing who ſhould be the firſt to receiue them, with ſuch inclination or aſtoniſhment of all, that almoſt all the places of ſtrength were rendred by thoſe that kept them, without any reſiſtance at all: yea the rocke of *Caietta* notwithſtanding it was made ſtrong with men, and all things neceſſary for defence, yet after a few light aſſaults, it yeelded to the diſcretion of the victors: ſo that within a few dayes, and with a wonderfull facilitie, all the kingdome was brought into the obedience of King *Charles*, except the Iſle of *Iſchia*, the Caſtles of *Brunduſia* and *Gallipoli* in *Powilla*, and in *Calabria* the rocke of *Reggi*, ſituate in the point of *Italy* right ouer againſt *Sicile*, the Citie holding for the King: and except alſo *Turpia* and *Mantia*, who in the beginning diſplayed the banners of *France*, but refuſing to liue vnder the ſubiection of other then the King himſelfe, who had already diſpoſed them to certaine of his fauourites, they changed counſell, and returned to their firſt Lord. The like was done within a little time after by the Citie of *Brunduſia*, to the which the *French* King hauing ſent no men, but vſing negligence where was neceſſitie of care and counſell, did ſcarcely heare their Magiſtrates ſent to him to *Naples* to capitulate: by which occaſion ioyning with the opportunitie offered, thoſe that kept the Caſtles in the name of *Ferdinand*, had good meanes by perſwaſions to draw againe the Citie to the deuotion of the *Aragons*: by which example alſo, the Citie of *Otrante* lately declared for the *French*, and no creature ſent thither to receiue them, continued not long in their affection: All the Lords and Barons of the Realme (except *Alphonſo d'Aualo* Marquis of *Peſcaire*, who left within new Caſtle by *Ferdinand*, was gone to him when he perceiued the inclination of the Lance-knights to yeeld: and except two others, who (for that the *French* King had giuen away their eſtates, were fled into *Sicile*) came to do homage to the new King: who, deſiring to aſſure wholy ſo great a conqueſt by way of concord, called afore him vnder ſafe-conduct afore he had wonne the rocke of the Egge, *Dom Federicke*, who, as well for that he had remained many yeares in the Court of *France* in the time of the Kings father, as alſo for that he touched his Maieſtie in kindred, was much fauoured of all the Lords of *France*. The King told him, he would endue *Ferdinand* (ſo that he would leaue all that was his in the Realme of *Naples*) with eſtates and large reuenues in *France*: and touching him, to recompence him liberally with all that he poſſeſſed there. But *Federicke* knowing that his nephew was determined to accept no condition, except he might haue *Calabria*, anſwered with words graue and wiſe: That ſeeing God, fortune, and the good wils of men, had concurred in his preſent felicities, to giue him the king-

The French king makes offers to Dom Federike.

Dom Federike anſwereth the king.

dome of *Naples*, *Ferdinand* was not determined to make resistance against so fatall a dispositi-on, but, rather esteeming it no shame to giue place to so great a King, he would no lesse then others, remaine in his obedience and deuotion, so that his Maiestie would contribute to him some part of the kingdome, (secretly meaning *Calabria*) to the end that dwelling therein not as a King, but in the condition of one of his Barons, he might honour the clemency and magnanimitie of the *French* King, in whose seruice he hoped to haue once occasion to shew that vertue which his malicious fortune would not suffer him to expresse in the action of his owne safetie: That, nothing could turne more to the glory of King *Charles* then that counsell, bearing resemblance and affinitie with the counsels of those Kings whom antiquitie hath so much recommended vnto vs, who by such meanes raised their names to immortalitie, and obtained amongst the people diuine honours: That, it was a counsell no lesse for his suretie then for his glory; for that *Ferdinand* brought to his deuotion, the Realme would be assured to him, that he should not hereafter feare the change of fortune, who had this common propertie: that as often as victories were not assured with moderation and discretion, she would blemish by some accident vnlooked for, the reputation of the glory gotten. But the King doubting that if he communicated any part of the kingdome with his competitor, he should expose the residue to manifest perill, *Dom Federicke* parted from him without any thing doing: and *Ferdinand* vnderstanding of the rendring of the Castles, sailed into *Sicile* with fourteene light galleys slenderly appointed, wherein he passed from *Naples*: This he did to be ready vpon all occasions, leauing the guard of the rocke of *Ischia* to *Ianicke d'Aualo* brother to *Alphonso*, both men of great valour, and of singular faith towards their Lord. But the *French* King, to take from the enemy that receptacle, very conuenient to trouble the Realme, sent thither his army by sea, which arriued at length in the port of *Naples*; and finding the towne abandoned, they forbare to assaile the rocke, wherein, for his inuincible strength by situation, they discerned many impossibilities to preuaile: and therefore the King determined to send other ships from *Prouence* and from *Genes*, to take *Ischia*, and assure the sea which *Ferdinand* vexed sometimes. But their counsell and diligence were not equall to their fortune, seeing that all things went slowly forward, and were guided with most great negligence and confusion. For, the *French* by reason of so great felicitie, became more insolent then of custome, and let go at aduenture the affaires of importance, hauing no other thoughts then of feasting and pleasures: and such as were great about the King, cared not but for their owne particular, and to draw of the victory all the profite they could, without any respect either to the dignitie or profite of their Prince.

The French king sends an army to inuade Ischia.

The death of Gemin Otto. a Turke, kept in refuge by the Pope.

About this time died at *Naples Gemin Ottoman*, to the great displeasure of the King, who layd vp in him many foundations and opportunities for the warre he determined to make against the *Turke*: and it was beleeued his death was brued in a cup of poyson, which the Pope had giuen him, to worke his end in a certaine time: or that hauing deliuered him against his will, and so depriued of the forty thousand duckats which his brother *Baiazet* payed him yearely, he tooke for consolation, that he that had taken him away, should receiue by him no commodity or profite: or at least for enuie he bare to the glory of the *French* King: or lastly for feare that things succeeding happily with him against the Infidels, he would afterwards turne his thoughts to reforme the abuses of the Church, which being wholly altered from the ancient customes, made euery day of lesse authority the Christian Religion; euery one withall hauing an assured expectation that they would further decline before the end of his reigne; which being gotten by wicked meanes, was haply neuer in the memory of man administred with worse orders: And there were that beleeued (for the corrupt nature of the Pope made credible in him all wickednesse) that *Baiazet* after he vnderstood that the *French* King prepared to passe into *Italy*, practised by the meanes of *George Bucciardin* corrupted with money, to oppresse the life of *Gemin*. And yet the King nourishing still his inclination to the warres of the *Turkes*, (more vpon a greene humour of youth and volubility of mind, then by maturitie of counsell) ceassed not for his death to send into *Greece* the Archbishop of *Durac*, of the nation of *Albania*, who put the King in hopes, by the meanes of certaine factions of the banished, and other vaine intelligences, to stirre vp some commotion in that prouince: but new accidents constrained him to turne his spirits to new thoughts.

It hath bene shewed before, how the desire to vsurpe the Duchie of *Millan*, ioyned to a feare that *Lodowike Sforce* had of the *Aragons* and *Peter de Medicis*, induced him to procure the

the *French* King to passe into *Italy*; by whose comming, after he had obtained his ambitious pretence, and that the *Aragons* were brought into those necessities, that there was no abilitie remaining to defend their proper safetie: a second feare, both more great and more reasonable then the first, began to present it selfe before his eyes; and that was the seruitude houering ouer him and all the *Italians*, if the kingdome of *Naples* were ioyned to the power of the Crowne of *France*: and for that cause he desired that by the *Florentines* should be obiected many difficulties and impediments against the resolution of his enterprise. But when he saw his Maiestie was easily ioyned with that Commonweale, and with the same facilitie had ouercome all the impediments of the Pope, and lastly without resistance had preuailed ouer the Realme of *Naples*, the danger seemed euery day so much the greater to him, by how much the course of the *French* victories aduanced more and more with facilitie, fortune and felicitie. A like feare also began to stirre in the minds of the Senate of *Venice*, who in all their counsels hitherunto had constantly persеuered in neutrality, gouerning their abstinence with so great discretion, no lesse in action then in demonstration, that there was no meanes to suspect their inclination more to one partie then to another. So that hauing chosen for Ambassadours to the King, *Anthonie Loredan* and *Dominicke Treuisan*, (yet not vntill they vnderstood that the King had passed the mounts) they lingred so long to send them, that the King was arriued at *Florence* afore them. But now the Senate perceiuing the violent course of so great felicitie, and that the King like a thunderbolt, without any resistance ran through all *Italy*, they began to esteeme as their owne the damage of their neighbours, and to feare lest in the ruine of others their destruction were also conspired; chiefly for that the King hauing made himselfe Lord of *Pisa* and other fortresses of the *Florentines*, and hauing left garrison in *Sienna*, and after done the like in the state of the Church, it seemed to them a signe and argument that his thoughts stretched further then the Realme of *Naples*. For these causes the Senate gaue willing eare to the perswasions of *Lodowike Sforce*, who as soone as the *Florentines* had yeelded to the King, had begun to solicite them to ioyne with him in a common remedy against common dangers: and it was beleeued, that if the *French* King had met with any impediments either at *Rome*, or at his entry into the Realme of *Naples*, they had al together take armes against him: but the Kings victory was so sodaine, that it preuented all the impediments that could be obiected. And now the king doubting the practises of *Lodowike*, had retained in his pay since the conquest of *Naples*, *Iohn Iaques Trimulce* with an hundred lances, & with an honorable pension, ioyning vnto him with many promises the Cardinall *Fregosa* and *Obietto de Fiesque*: these, for that they were mighty instruments to trouble and raise emotions in the towne of *Genes*; the other, for that being a chiefe leader of the *Guelfes* faction at *Millan*, he caried a minde much deuided from *Lodowike*; to whom as yet the King refused to giue the principalitie of *Tarenta*, saying that he was not bound to do it vntill he had reduced into his power all the Realme of *Naples*. Which things being very displeasing to *Lodowike*, he stayed twelue galleys which were armed for the King at *Genes*, and forbad the appointing of any more vessels there for the *French* seruice; which the King complained of, as the cause why he did not eftsoones reassaile with a new supply the rocke of *Tschia*.

Lodo. Sforce beginneth too late to feare the greatnesse of the French.

Then suspitions and disdaines growing on all parts, and the sodaine conquest of *Naples* representing to the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* the present perill of their estates: they were constrained to deferre no longer to put their thoughts in execution. And that which furthered their resolution and courage, was the consideration of the mightie company of Confederates: for that to this the Pope was no lesse ready, to whom the greatnesse of the *French* was fearfull, then *Maximilian* the Emperour, to whom for many occasions of hatred to the Crowne of *France*, and for the many iniuries receiued by the King reigning, the prosperities of *France*, were alwayes, aboue all other, most displeasing. But the chiefe grounds and foundations whereupon the *Venetians* and *Lodowike* wrought, were the King and Queene of *Spaine*, who being a little before bound to the *French* King (not for other respect then to draw from him the Earledome of *Rossillion*) not to hinder him in the conquest of *Naples*, had cunningly reserued to themselues till that time a free power to do the contrary. For, (if their writers be true) there was a clause annexed to the capitulations made for restitution of the Earledome of *Rossillion*, which bare, that they should not be bound to any thing that touched the preiudice of the Church: of which exception they inferred, that if the Pope, for the interest of his chiefe, desired them to succour the Realme of *Naples*, they had good right so to do, without breaking

their faith, or contradicting their promiſes. And to this they added afterwards, That by the ſame capitulations they were forbidden to oppoſe themſelues againſt King *Charles*, in caſe it appeared that the ſame kingdome did iudicially appertaine vnto him. But what difference ſoeuer was betweene the truth and their conſtruction of things, it is certaine, that hauing got that they deſired, they began not onely to giue hope to the ſuccours of them of *Aragon*, and ſecretly to ſolicite the Pope not to abandon their cauſe; but alſo, as they had in the beginning exhorted the *French* King with words moderate, as louers of his glory and zealous to Religion, to conuert his armies rather againſt Infidels then the Chriſtian nations: ſo they continued eſtſoones that courſe, but with ſo much more efficacie, and with words ſo much the more ſuſpitious, by how much the victory of the King aduanced: and to the end they might haue the better meanes to nouriſh in greater hopes the Pope and the *Aragons*, giuing out neuertheleſſe that they had regard onely to the guard of *Sicilie*, they were ready to ſend thither an army by ſea, which arriued there after the loſſe of *Naples*, but yet with equipage and furniture more in demonſtrations then in effects, for that it contained not aboue eight hundred horſemen mounted vpon Iennets, and a thouſand footmen *Spaniards*. They vſed theſe apparences vntill the taking of *Oſtia* by the *Colonnoys*, and the threats of the *French* againſt the Pope, gaue them a more honeſt occaſion to aduance that which they had reſolued in their minds: And following their deuice to action, they proteſted openly to the King whileſt he was at *Florence*, by their Ambaſſadours, that according to the office of Chriſtian Princes, they would take the defence and protection of the Pope, and the Realme of *Naples* (a chiefe of the Church of *Rome*:) and hauing already begun (as ſoone as they vnderſtood of the flying of the *Aragons*) to negotiate with the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* for confederation, they eſtſoones ſolicited them with a new inſtance, to communicate with them for their common ſuretie againſt the *French* men.

A confederate league againſt the French king.

So that at length, in the moneth of Aprill and in the Citie of *Venice*, where were the Ambaſſadors of all thoſe Princes, was contracted a confederation betweene the Pope, the Emperour, the King of *Spaine*, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Millan*; the title and publication whereof was onely for the defence of the eſtates of one another, reſeruing place to whoſoeuer would enter it with conditions reaſonable. But they all being of opinion that it was neceſſary ſo to tẽper things as the *French* King might not hold *Naples*, it was agreed in capitulations more ſecret, that the bands of *Spaniards* arriued in *Sicilie*, ſhould be a ſuccour for the recouering of that kingdome to *Ferdinand* of *Aragon*, who with a great hope of the good wils of the people, laboured to enter into *Calabria*: That the *Venetians* at the ſame time with their army by ſea ſhould aſſaile the ſea coaſts of the ſaid kingdome: That the Duke of *Millan* (to hinder ſuccours that might come out of *France*) ſhould do what he could to get the Citie of *Aſt*, wherein was the Duke of *Orleans* with a very ſmall ſtrength: That to the Emperour and King of *Spaine* ſhould be contributed by the other Confederates a certaine quantitie of money, to the end that either of them ſhould make warre vpon the Realme of *France* with a puiſſant army. The Confederates alſo deſiring that all *Italie* would be vnited in the ſame concord of will, made inſtance to the *Florentines* and Duke of *Ferrara* to participate with this league. But the Duke being dealt withall after the league was publiſhed, refuſed to take armes againſt the *French* King; and yet, with an *Italian* ſubtiltie he conſented that *Dom Alphonſo* his eldeſt ſonne ſhould take pay of the Duke of *Millan* for an hundred and fifty men at armes, with the title of Lieutenant ouer all his companies. But the cauſe of the *Florentines* was otherwiſe, hauing no leſſe iuſt occaſion to leaue the *French* King, then allured to the confederation with many great offers: for that immediatly after the publicatiõ of the league, *Ludowike* offered them in the name of all the Confederates (ſo that they would communicate in the league) all their forces to reſiſt the King, if, in his returne from *Naples*, he would offend them, and to ioyne with them as ſoone as might be for the recouering of *Piſa* and *Liuorne*. And on the other ſide, the King making no reckoning of the promiſes he had made at *Florence*, had not in the beginning reſtored them to the poſſeſſion of their townes, nor ſince the conqueſt of *Naples* redeliuered the Caſtles of the ſame: making his faith and oath inferiour to the counſels of thoſe, who fauouring the cauſe of the *Piſans*, perſwaded him that the *Florentines*, as ſoone as they were reſtored, would vnite with the other *Italians*: and notwithſtanding the great ſummes of money which they had beſtowed vpon the Cardinall *S. Malo*, yet he reſiſted coldly ſuch as incenſed the King againſt them, as one that would not for the loue of

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the *Florentines* come to contention with the great ones of the kings Court. Further not only in theſe but alſo in many other things the king had made manifeſt, that he made no reckoning of his faith, neither did he conſider how important the amitie of the *Florentines* might be to him in thoſe times; inſomuch that one day their Ambaſſadours complaining of the rebellion of *Montpulcian*, and ſummoning him, according to his bond, to compell them of *Sienna* to render it: he anſwered as in ſcorne; What haue I to do if your ſubiects rebell, becauſe they are ill intreated? Yet notwithſtanding, the *Florentines* not ſuffering diſdaine to carrie them againſt their proper profite, determined not to hearken to the requeſts of the Confederates: aſwell not to prouoke againſt them of new the armie of *France* in the kings returne, as for that they might the ſooner hope to haue reſtitution of their places by ſuch as kept them: and laſtly, for that they truſted but litle in thoſe promiſes, knowing that they were hated of the *Venetians*, for the impediments which at ſundry times they had giuen to their enterpriſes; and knowing manifeſtly that *Lodowike* aſpired to the Lordſhip of *Piſa*.

But ſo it is, that about theſe times the reputation of the *French* began to diminiſh in the kingdome of *Naples*, for that giuing themſelues to their pleaſures, and gouerning all things at aduenture, they looked not to chaſe the *Aragons* out of thoſe few places yet holden by them, which they might eaſily haue done, if they had followed their fortune. But much more began they to decline in opinion, affection, and friendſhip: for, albeit the king ſhewed himſelfe very fauourable and liberall towards the people, in granting throughout the Realme ſo many priuiledges and exemptions, as they amounted to more then two hundred thouſand duckats by yeare, yet other things were not directed nor gouerned with ſuch order and diſcretion as appertained: for that the king would not take the paines to heare the complaints and ſuites of men, but referred ouer the whole charge of the affaires to ſuch as gouerned himſelfe; who partly by incapacitie, and partly by couetouſneſſe, confounded all things: ſo that the Nobility were not embraced with that humanitie they looked for, and much leſſe had recompences equall to their merits; but found many difficulties to enter into the chambers and audience of the king; there was made no diſtinction of perſons: the merits and ſeruices of men were not conſidered but at aduenture: the minds of ſuch as naturally were eſtranged from the houſe of *Aragon* were not confirmed: many delayes and difficulties were ſuborned touching the reſtitution of the ſtates and goods of thoſe that were of the faction of *Anioy*, and of the other Barons that had bene baniſhed by the old *Ferdinand*: fauours and graces were imparted to ſuch as procured them by corruption and meanes extraordinary; from many they tooke without iuſtice or reaſon, and to many gaue without occaſion or deſeruing: Almoſt all offices and dignities were transferred to the *French*, in whom were alſo inueſted (to the great griefe of the natural Lords) all the townes of the demaine (ſuch they call thoſe that are wont to obey immediatly the king:) things ſo much the more grieuous, by how much they had bene vſed to the wiſe and well ordered gouernments of the kings of the houſe of *Aragon*, and for that the king had promiſed there ſhould be no alteration of thoſe gouernments. But that which added much to this diſcontentment, was the naturall arrogancie of the *French*, aggrauated much by the facilitie of the victorie, which carried them into ſuch opinions of themſelues, that they eſteemed nothing of the whole Monarchie of *Italie*. Much more alſo was added by their inſolence and violence in taking vp their lodgings, no leſſe at *Naples* then in other parts of the Realme, where their companies were diſtributed, who did euery where ill intreate their hoſts: inſomuch that the ardent deſire which before they had of them, was now turned into extreme hate: and on the contrary in place of the malice they bare to the *Aragons*, there was inſinuation of compaſſion to *Ferdinand*, no leſſe for the generall expectation of his vertue, then for the memory of the gracious ſpeech which with ſo great ſweetneſſe and conſtancie he deliuered to the *Neapolitans* the day of his departure: the fame ſo working that that Citie and almoſt all the kingdome expected with no leſſe deſire, an occaſion to call backe the *Aragons*, then a few moneths before, they had deſired their deſtruction. Now began to be agreeable to them the name ſo hatefull of *Alphonſo*, calling iuſt ſeueritie, that which they had wont to note in him for crueltie; and interpreting to true ſinceritie of minde, that which wrongfully they had wont to conſter pride and fierceneſſe: ſuch is the nature of the people, inclined to hope more then they ought, and endure leſſe then is neceſſary, alwaies thirſting after innouations, and neuer contented with the time preſent: but chiefly of the inhabitants of *Naples*: who, of all the regions in *Italie* are

The French king vſeth negligence in ordering the things of Naples.

moſt noted of inconſtancie, and deſire of new things.

Before this new league was made, the *French* king had determined to returne into *France* with ſpeed, moued more with a light fancie, and a vehement deſire of his Court, then with conſiderations diſcreet or well tempered: ſeeing that in the kingdome of *Naples* remained vndecided many and great affaires of Princes and eſtates, and the parts of the Realme being not fully conquered, his victory had not yet her iuſt perfection. But after he knew that ſo many Princes were drawne into league againſt him, he was much moued in his minde, and fell to deuiſe with his Lords what he were beſt to do in ſo great an accident; ſpecially euery one aſſuring him that of a long time before the Chriſtian Princes had not made ſo puiſſant a league. And thoſe of his Counceil were of aduice, that he ſhould diſpatch his departure, doubting that by how long he taried, by ſo much the more would the difficulties increaſe, ſeeing the Confederats would winne time to make greater prouiſions; and the bruite ranne already, that by their direction a great leuie of *Almaines* ſhould paſſe into *Italie*, and men began to ſpeake much of the perſon of the Emperour: They perſwaded that the king would prouide that there might paſſe with diligence out of *France*, new bands of ſouldiers to the towne of *Aſt*, both to guard that Citie, and to keepe the Duke of *Millan* in neceſſitie to defend his owne countrey; and withall to be in readineſſe to paſſe further according to the occaſions of his Maieſties ſeruices. It was alſo determined in the ſame councell, to labour with all diligence, and with very great offers, to ſeparate the Pope from the other Confederates, and to diſpoſe him to transferre to the kings perſon the inueſtiture of the Realme of *Naples*, which (notwithſtanding he had promiſed abſolutely at *Rome*,) yet he had denied it till that day, and with declaratiō that that grant or conceſſion ſhould not beare preiudice to the title and rights of another. In a deliberation ſo graue, and amongſt ſo many thoughts of ſuch importance, was not loſt the memory of the affaires of *Piſa*. For, the king deſiring for many regards, that in him might remaine power to diſpoſe of that eſtate, and doubting leſt by the ayde of the Confederates the people of *Piſa* would bereaue him of the Citadell, he ſent thither by ſea together with the Ambaſſadours of the towne which were with him, ſixe hundred *French* footmen, who being arriued there, conceiued the ſame affection which others that had bene left there, had apprehended: and being puſhed forward with a deſire to ſpoyle and prey, after they had receiued money of the *Piſans*, they went with their companies to encampe afore the towne of *Librafatta*, where the *Piſans* (whoſe Captaine was *Luke Maluezzze*) had bene in campe certaine daies afore, vpon an aduertiſement that the *Florentines* had ſent part of their bands to *Montpulcian*, and hearing of the approch of their enemies, were raiſed and gone the day before: but returning thither eſtſoones with the ſupply of the *French* men, they tooke it in few daies; for the *Florentine* armie ſent to ſuccour it, could not paſſe the riuer of *Sercle* for the violence of waters, neither durſt they take the other way by the walls of *Lucques*, for the ill diſpoſition of that people, who were much moued, and fauoured greatly the liberty of the *Piſans*. Theſe bands with thoſe of the *French* that remained of the conqueſt of *Librafatta*, ran ouer the whole countrey of *Piſa*, as enemies manifeſt to the *Florentines*: who, when they complained, the king gaue no other anſwer, then aſſoone as he ſhould come into *Tuskanē*, he would redeliuer all thoſe places he had promiſed, deſiring them to beare with patience that little reſpite. But the meanes of departure were not ſo eaſie to the king, as his deſire was ready: for that his armie was not ſo great, as, being deuided into two parts, it was able to bring him into *Aſt* without danger, and to ſuffice both to auoyd the impediments of the Cō-federates, and defend the kingdome of *Naples* againſt ſo many agitations as were then in preparing.

The French king taketh counſell of his Lords what to do againſt the league of Confederates.

In theſe difficulties he was conſtrained (to the end the Realme ſhould not be naked of defence) to diminiſh the prouiſions reſerued for his owne ſafety; and yet to keepe his perſon from manifeſt perill, his neceſſities enforced him not to leaue in the kingdome ſo ſtrong an army as was needfull. Therefore he determined to leaue there halfe of his *Swiſſers*, and a part of the *French* footmen, eight hundred lancemen of *France*, and about fiue hundred men at armes of the *Italians* which were in his pay, deuided partly vnder the enſignes of the Prefect of *Rome*, & partly vnder the *Colonnois* and *Anthonie Sauelle*, Captaines who had taſted plentifully of his liberalities, in the diſtribution of the townes and eſtates of the kingdome, but ſpecially the *Colonnois*: for that to *Fabricius* he had giuen the countrey of *Alba* and *Taillecoſſa* poſſeſſed before by *Virginio Vrſin*: and *Proſpero* he had indued with the Duchie of *Tracetta* and the Citie of *Fondi*, with

with many hamlets which belonged to the familie of *Caetane* and *Montfortin*, together with many other peeces adioyning, taken from the house of the *Comtes*. To these forces, he made reckoning that in all necessities he should vnite the forces of those Barons, who for their owne suretie, were constrained to desire his greatnesse: but specially the powers of the Prince of *Salerne*, whom he had restored to the office of Admirall, and of the Prince of *Bisignian*. He created as Lieutenant generall ouer all the Realme, *Gilbert de Bourbon* Duke of *Montpensier*, a Captaine more esteemed for the greatnesse of his house, and that he did participate in the bloud royall, then for his proper vertue: he assigned other Captaines in many parts of the Realme, on whom he had bestowed estates and reuenues; of these the chiefe was *Monsieur d'Aubigny*, whom he had made great Constable of the Realme for *Calabria*: In *Caietta*, the Seneshall of *Beaucaire*, whom he had raised to the office of high Chamberlaine: And in *Abruzze*, *Gratian* a valiant Captaine of great reputation: promising them to send them speedy rescue of money & men. But in the meane while to entertaine the warre, he left them no other prouision, then the assignation of those moneys which should be daily gathered of the reuenues of the Realme, which began already to wauer and shake, for that the name of the *Aragons* began to reuiue in many places: For, at the same time that the king would depart from *Naples*, *Ferdinand* accompanied with the *Spanish* armie that came by sea into the Isle of *Sicile*, was descended into *Calabria*, to whom flocked with a swift readinesse many troupes of the countrymen, the City of *Regge* rendring it selfe to him, whose Castell had bene alwaies kept in his name. At the same time was discouered about the shoares of *Pouilla* the *Venetian* army by sea, ouer whom was Captaine *Anthonie Grimany*, a man in that commonweale of great authoritie: But neither for these, nor any other signes of changes towards, the king did not forbeare, nor once suspend or linger his deliberation to go his way. For, besides that haply they were driuen by necessitie, the desire was incredible in the king and all his Court to returne into *France*, as though fortune that was sufficient to make them get so great a victorie, had bene still able so to preserue it for them. In this time also held good to *Ferdinand*, the Isles of *Ischia* and of *Lipara*, which albeit they were nearer to *Sicile*, yet are they members of the kingdome of *Naples*: he held *Regge* which he had newly recouered, and euen in *Calabria*, he commanded *Villeneufue* with the Castell, and places about *Brundusia* where *Federik* was retired; also *Galipoli*, *Mantia*, and *Turpia*.

Gilbert Bourbon Duke of Montpensier the kings Lieutenant in Naples.

The Realme of Naples beginneth to reclaime the name of the Aragons.

Now before the king departed from *Naples*, many things were in negociation betweene him and the Pope, not without great hope of concord: In which action was sent from the Pope to the king, and after returned to *Rome* the Cardinall *S. Denis*, and for the *French* king, *M. Frances*. For the king desired greatly the inuestiture of *Naples*, and that the Pope, if he would not ioyne with him, at the least that he would not be for his enemies, and that he would receiue him into *Rome* as a friend. To which demands, albeit at the beginning the Pope bare some inclinatiō, yet, distrusting much in himselfe of the king, and esteeming that to separate himselfe from the Confederates, and consent to the inuestiture, would be supposed a meane sufficient to make a faithfull reconciliation with him, he obiected many difficulties to the other demands; and to that of the inuestiture, (albeit the king would condescend to take it vnder this condition, not to be preiudiciall to the rights of another) he answered, that he wished the lawes might be looked into afore, to see to whom the right appertained: And on the other side, seeking to giue impediment by force to the kings entry into *Rome*, he sent to the state of *Venice*, and to the Duke of *Millan*, to furnish him with succours and strength of souldiers; who, immediatly sent him a thousand light horsemen, and two thousand footmen, with promise of an aide of a thousand men at armes: with which bands, ioyned to his owne forces, he hoped to be able to make resistance. But the *Venetians* and the Duke of *Millan* considering afterwards, that it was a thing too dangerous to send their strength and companies so farre from their owne estates, seeing that the whole armie agreed vpon was not yet in order, and that part of their people were occupied in the enterprise of *Asti*; and withall remembring the infidelitie of the Pope, who when king *Charles* past that way, called *Ferdinand* into *Rome* with his armie, and suddenly changing aduice, made him issue forth againe: they began to perswade him to withdraw himselfe to some place of suretie, rather then to aduenture his person to so great a danger in striuing to defend *Rome*; seeing that when the king should enter the citie, he would as quickly be gone, without leauing any body therein; which would so much the more increase the kings hopes to come to some composition with him.

The *French* king departed from *Naples* the twentieth day of May: but for that he had not yet taken the Crowne with the ceremonies accuſtomed, a few dayes afore his departure, he was ſolemnly crowned in the Cathedral Church, and receiued with great pompe and glory the honours, oathes, and homages, accuſtomed to be done to new kings. At this coronation, the oration was pronounced in the name of all the people of *Naples* by *Iohn Iouian Pontan*, to whoſe prayſes very cleare and ſhining for the excellency of his doctrine, his life, and ciuilitie of manners, this action brought no ſmall diſgrace; for that hauing bene of long a principall Secretarie to the kings of *Aragon*, and in very great authoritie with them, and the teacher and maiſter of *Alphonſo*, he ſeemed (whether it were to obſerue iuſtly the parts proper to Oratours, or to ſhew his affection to the *French*) to take too great libertie to ſpeake in the diſpraiſe and derogation of the kings by whom he had bene ſo much aduanced. So hard it is ſometimes for a man to keepe in himſelfe that moderation and thoſe rules, which he flowing with ſo great doctrine, had taught vnto others, writing of morall vertues, and by his wit and knowledge had made himſelfe wonderfull to the world in all kind of learning. The king led with him eight hundred *French* lances, the two hundred Gentlemen of his guard, an hundred lances vnder the Lord *Triuulce*, three thouſand *Swiſſers* footmen, a thouſand *French* men, and a thouſand *Gaſcoins*; hauing ordained that in *Tuſkane Camilla Vitelli* & his brethren ſhould ioyne with him with two hundred & fiftie men at armes, and that the armie by ſea ſhould draw towards *Liuorne*. *Virginio Vrſin* and the *Count Petillane* followed the king without other guard then their faith giuen not to go away without leaue: & for that they reaſoned that they were not iuſtly made priſoners, their cauſe had bene diſputed in the kings Councell, afore whom they alledged, that at the time they yeelded themſelues, the king had not onely granted to thoſe that they ſent, but alſo ſet downe in writing vnder his owne ſignature, their ſafeconduct; whereof being aduertiſed by their ſolicitors, which attended the diſpatch of the Secretaries, they had vnder that truſt, at the ſummons of the firſt Herald that went to *Nola*, diſplaied the enſignes of the king, and giuen the keyes to the firſt Captaine hauing with him but a few horſemen, when as they hauing more then foure hundred men at armes might eaſily haue made reſiſtance. Further, they alledged the ancient deuotion of the family of *Vrſins*, who taking part alwaies with the faction of the *Guelffes*, had euer borne both in themſelues and in all the predeceſſors of that houſe, perpetuall impreſſions of honour, reuerence, and ſeruice, to the Crowne of *France*: That for thoſe regards it came to paſſe, that with ſo great a readineſſe they had receiued the kings Maieſtie into their eſtates bordering vpon *Rome*: and therefore it was neither conuenient nor iuſt, both in regard of the faith giuen by the king, and of their deportments, that they ſhould be holden priſoners. But they were anſwered with no leſſe roundneſſe by *Monſieur de Ligny*, whoſe ſouldiers tooke them within *Nola*: That the ſafeconduct, albeit it was determined and ſubſigned by the king, yet it is to be vnderſtood, that it was not perfectly giuen, but when it was confirmed with the kings ſeale, and with the ſeale of the Secretarie, and ſo deliuered to the partie: That in all grants and letters pattents ſuch was the ancient cuſtome in all Courts, to the end that if any thing were inconſideratly paſſed the mouth of the Prince, by reaſon of many thoughts and affaires, or for not ſufficient information of things, it might ſo be moderated: And that the confidence of that moued them not to yeeld to ſo ſmall a company of ſouldiers, but they did communicate in the generall neceſſitie and feare, for that there remained no meane either to defend or to flie, the whole countrey about them ſwarming with the armies of the victors: That what they alledged of their merits was falſe, which if it ſhould be affirmed by another, themſelues ought to denie it for their honour: for that it was manifeſt to all the world, that not of will or free conſent, but to auoyd danger (leauing in aduerſity the *Aragons*, of whom in proſperitie they had receiued great benefits) they agreed to giue the king paſſage through their lands: ſeeing therefore they were in pay of the enemy, and bare minds eſtranged from the nature of the *French*, and that they had perfectly no ſafeconduct or ſuretie, they were made priſoners by good law and right of armes. Theſe reaſons thus auouched againſt the *Vrſins*, and ſuſtained by the power of *Monſieur de Ligny*, and authoritie of the *Colonnoys*, who aſwell for ancient enuies, as for the diuerſitie of the factions, quarrelled them openly: there was no reſolution nor ſentence, onely they were commanded to follow the king, yet giuing them hope to be deliuered when his Maieſtie was come to *Aſt*.

The French king crowned king of Naples.

Virginio Vrſin and the Count Petillane being the kings priſoners ſhew reaſons to be redeliuered.

Their reaſons are diſproued by Monſieur de Ligny.

But the Pope, (the Confederates hauing counſelled him to go his way) though he were not without

without inclination to be reconciled with the king, with whom he negotiated continually: yet in the end ſuſpition and ielouſie preuailing with him, though he had nouriſhed the king with hopes that he would attend him; after he had beſtowed a ſufficient garriſon within the Caſtell *S. Ange*, two dayes before the king ſhould enter *Rome*, he went to *Oruiette*, accompanied with the Colledge of Cardinals, and two hundred men at armes, a thouſand light horſemen, and three thouſand footmen: and he left behind him as Legat, the Cardinall of *S. Anaſtaſio*, to receiue and honour the king, who entred by that quarter on the further ſide of *Tyber*, to the end to auoid the Caſtell *S. Ange*: and refuſing the lodging that was offered him by the Popes commiſſion in the Pallace of the *Vatican*, he went and lodged in the ſuburbes. And when the Pope vnderſtood that the king came neare to *Viterbe*, notwithſtanding he entertained him with new hopes to meete with him in ſome place conuenient betweene *Viterbe* and *Oruiette*, he left *Oruiette* and went to *Perouſe*, with intention (if the king tooke that way) to go to *Ancona*, the better to haue meanes, by the commoditie of the ſea, to retire to ſome place abſolutely aſſured. And yet the king although he were very angry with him, rendred the Caſtels of *Ciuitauecchia* and *Terracina*, reſeruing *Oſtia*, which when he came out of *Italie*, he gaue vp to the power of the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad vincula*, who was Biſhop thereof. He paſſed in like ſort by the countreys of the Church, as through the dominions of a friend; ſauing that they of *Tuskanella* refuſing to receiue into their towne his vantguard, the ſouldiers tooke it by force, and ſacked it, not without the ſlaughter of many.

After this, the king remained without any occaſion at *Sienna* ſixe dayes, not conſidering (neither of himſelfe, nor by the earneſt aduertiſements of the Cardinall of *S. Peter ad vincula*, and of *Triuulce*) how hurtfull it was to giue time to his enemies to make their prouiſions and vnite their forces: neither did he recompence the loſſe of time, with the profite of counſels or deliberations. For there was debated at *Sienna* the reſtitution of the fortreſſes of the *Florentines* promiſed by the king at his departure from *Naples*, and many times after confirmed on the way: and therefore, the *Florentines*, beſides that they were ready to pay the thirty thouſand duckats remaining of the ſumme agreed at *Florence*, offered to lend ſeuenty thouſand more, and to ſend with him till he were arriued at *Aſt*, *Franciſco Secco* their Captaine with three hundred men at armes, and two thouſand footmen: ſo that the neceſſity which the king had of money, the great commodity to augment his army, and the conſideration of his faith and othe, induced almoſt all thoſe of his Councell to perſwade effectually the reſtitution of the Caſtels and peeces of ſtrength, reſeruing *Pietraſanta* and *Serezana*, as fit meanes to draw more eaſily to his deuotion the hearts of the *Genowais*. But it was a reſolution in deſtinie, that the matter of new calamities ſhould remaine kindled in *Italie*. For, *Monſieur de Ligny*, a man both yong and wanting experience, but being borne of one of the ſiſters of the kings mother, and of no ſmall fauours with him, puſhed forward either by his lightneſſe, or elſe with diſdaine for that the *Florentines* addreſſed themſelues to the Cardinall of *S. Mallo*, hindered this deliberation, alledging no other reaſon then the pitie and compaſſion of the *Piſans*: And touching the offer of the forces which the *Florentines* made, he deſpiſed them, vanting that the army of *France* was able to fight with all the men of warre in *Italie* knit in one ſtrength: and *Monſieur de Pienes* was a ſupporter of his opinion, for that he thought the king would beſtow vpon him the iuriſdiction of *Piſa* and *Liuorne*. There was debating alſo at *Sienna* of the gouernement of that City, for that many of the orders of the people and of the reformers (to plucke downe the brotherhood of the order of *Montenoue*,) made inſtance, that erecting a new forme of gouernement, the guard which they of *Montenoue* kept at the publike Pallace might be taken away, and the place ſupplied by a guard of *French* men vnder the leading of *Monſieur de Ligny*: And albeit this counſell was reiected in the councell of the king, as a thing of litle continuance, and impertinent to the time preſent; *Monſieur de Ligny* who had laid a vaine plot to make himſelfe Lord of it, obtained that the king would take into his protection that City vnder certaine conditions, binding himſelfe to the defence of it & all the dependances except *Montpulcian*, which he ſaid he would not intangle himſelfe withall, neither for the *Florentines* nor for the *Siennois*: And the communaltie of *Sienna* (albeit no mention was made of any ſuch thing in the capitulation) choſe, by the conſent of the king, *Monſieur de Ligny* for their Captaine, promiſing him twenty thouſand duckats by yeare, vpon condition, that he would keepe there a Lieutenant with three hundred footmen for the guard of the place; which ſtrength he left there called

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out of ſuch as were of the *French* army. The vanitie of which deliberations appeared immediatly, for that the Order of *Montenoue* hauing eſtſoones reconquered with armes their authority accuſtomed, chaſed out of *Sienna* the guard, and diſmiſſed *Monſieur de Liſle* whom the king had left there for his Ambaſſadour.

But there were now great ſtirres and emotions in *Lombardie*: for the *Venetians*, and *Lodowike Sforce* (who had euen then receiued from the Emperour with much ſolemnity the priuiledges of inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, and made publike homage and oath of fidelity to the Ambaſſadours that brought them) raiſed great preparations to ſtop the king that he ſhould not returne into *France*, or at leaſt to aſſure the Duchie of *Millan*, to come to the which he muſt paſſe ouer ſo great a circuit of countreis. To theſe ends, euery of them readdreſſed their forces, and leauied of new, partly in cõmon, & partly at expences ſeparate, many men at armes, obtaining after many difficulties, that *Iohn Bentiuole* whom they had taken into their common pay, ſhould ſticke to the league with the City of *Bolognia*. *Lodowike* armed at *Genes* for the guard of the ſame City, ten gallies at his owne charge, and foure great ſhips at the common expences of the Pope, the *Venetians*, and himſelfe: and being at the point to execute that whereunto he was bound by the couenants of the confederation touching the towne of *Aſt*, he ſent into *Germanie* to leauie two thouſand footmen, and conuerted to that enterpriſe *Galeas S. Seuerin* with ſeuen hundred men at armes, and three thouſand footmen: inſomuch as aſſuring him of the taking of that towne, and to atchieue all things to his honour, (as he was naturally very inſolent in his proſperities) he ſent this meſſage to the Duke of *Orleans* the more to terrifie him: That hereafter he ſhould forbeare to vſurpe the title of Duke of *Millan*, which title *Charles* his father had taken ſince the death of *Philip Maria Viſcounte*: That he ſhould not ſuffer new bands to paſſe out of *France* into *Italie*: That he ſhould cauſe to returne home againe ſuch as were already within the towne of *Aſt*: And that for the aſſurance of theſe things, he ſhould put the towne of *Aſt* into the hands of *Galeas S. Seuerin*, in whom the king might repoſe truſt as well as in him, hauing the yeare before bene receiued by the king into the brotherhood and Order of *S. Michael* in *France*; magnifying beſides, and boaſting of his forces; of the prouiſions the Cõfederates made to make head againſt the king in *Italie*; the great preparations of the Emperour and the king of *Spaine* to moue warre beyond the Mounts. But the Duke of *Orleans* was made nothing afraid with theſe vaine threats: for as ſoone as he vnderſtood they were about to make a new confederation, he purpoſed to ſort the *Aſt*, and ſolicited with great inſtance to ſend out of *France* new ſupplies; who, vnderſtanding that they were to be employed in the proper ſuccours of the kings perſon, began with great diligence to paſſe the mounts. By reaſon whereof the Duke of *Orlans* not fearing his enemies, marched into the field, and tooke in the Marquiſdome of *Saluce* the towne and Caſtell of *Galſinieres* which *Anthony Maria* of *S. Seuerin* poſſeſſed. Which being knowne to *Galeas*, who had a litle before taken certaine ſmall villages, he retired with his army to *Anon*, a towne of the Duchie of *Millan* neare to *Aſt*, neither hauing hope to be able to offend, nor feare to be offended. But the nature of *Lodowike* being much inclined to entangle himſelfe with enterpriſes which required great expences, and on the contrarie, to ſhun euen in the greateſt dangers the ſame coſts and charges, was the occaſion to bring his eſtate into right great dangers: for that by reaſon of his very ſpare and needy paiments, a very few footmen came out of *Germany*, and for the ſame niggardneſſe, the bands that were with *Galeas* diminiſhed daily: on the contrary the ſupplies of *France* increaſed continually, who for that they were called to the reſcue of the kings perſon, marched with ſuch diligence, that the Duke of *Orleans* had already aſſembled three hundred lances, three thouſand *Swiſſers* footmen, and three thouſand *Gaſcoines*. And albeit the king had preciſely commanded him, that abſtaining from all enterpriſe, he ſhould ſtand vpon continuall readineſſe to meete him whenſoeuer he ſhould be ſent for; yet (it being hard for a man not to make reckoning of his proper profite) he determined to accept the occaſion to poſſeſſe himſelfe of the citie of *Nouare*, wherein he was offred to be put by two of the *Opizins*, Gentlemen of the ſame citie, hating much the Duke of *Millan*, for that as well from them as from many other of the towne, he had by falſe accuſations and vniuſt iudgement, vſurped certaine conduits of waters and other poſſeſſions. The enterpriſe and the manner of it being reſolued vpon, the Duke of *Orleans* paſſed by night the riuer of *Po* at the bridge *Stura*, within the iuriſdiction of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, hauing in his company the Marquis of *Saluce*: he was receiued by the conſpiratours of the enterpriſe into the towne with

The Venetians and Lodowike Sforce prepare to ſtop the French kings returning into France.

Lodo. Sforce ſendeth haughtie meſſage to the Duke of Orleans.

An attempt vpon the towne Nouare.

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all his forces, and found no reſiſtance: and from thence making ſuddaine incurſions with part of his horſemen euen vntil *Vigeuena*, it was beleeued that if he had drawne his whole army with ſpeed towards *Millan*, there would haue riſen no ſmall inſurrections; for that the loſſe of *Nouaro* kindled in the *Millanois* a wonderfull inclination to reuolt and change; and *Lodowike*, no leſſe timerous in aduerſitie, then inſolent in proſperitie, was ſeene with teares vnprofitable to acknowledge his cowardize (as for the moſt part inſolency is ioyned with timerouſneſſe:) they alſo that were with *Galeas*, in whom onely conſiſted his defence, remaining behind; ſhewed themſelues in no place to his reſcue. But becauſe the conditions and diſorders of an enemy, are not alwaies knowne to the Captaines, it happeneth often in warres that many goodly occaſions are loſt; there being alſo no apparence that ſo ſudden a mutation could ſucceed againſt ſo great a Prince. The Duke of *Orleans*, to aſſure the conqueſt of *Nouaro*, determined to haue the Caſtel, which the fifth day accorded to yeeld, if within foure and twenty houres it were not ſuccoured: during which time, *Galeas de S. Seuerin* had leaſure to conuey his companies to *Vigeuena*, and the Duke (who the better to reconcile the minds of the people, had by proclamation called in many exactions impoſed afore vpon the communalty) good reſpite to increaſe his army. And albeit the Duke of *Orleans* hauing ranged his bands neare the walles of *Vigeuena*, offered battell to his enemies, on whom fell ſo generall aſtoniſhment, that they were vpon the point to abandon the towne, and paſſe the riuer of *Theſin* by a bridge they had made vpon boates, and other matter neceſſary to their ſuccours in the paſſage; the enemy refuſing to fight, the Duke of *Orleans* retired to *Trecas*. From this time the affaires of *Lodowike Sforce* began to proſper, many ſupplies of horſemen and footmen arriuing in his army. For the *Venetians* being content that the charge to meete the *French* King, ſhould be in effect to them alone, cõſented that *Lodowike* ſhould call backe part of thoſe bands he had ſent vpon the coaſts of *Parmeſan*, and withall they refurniſhed him with foure hundred light horſe: ſo that the meane to paſſe further, was taken from the Duke of *Orleans*, who making a road with fiue hundred horſemen euen to *Vigeuena*, and the horſemen of the enemy encountring with them, a great loſſe light vpon the Duk of *Orleans*. This encounter gaue courage to *Galeas de S. Seuerin*, both ſuperiour in forces, and nothing inferiour in fortune, to preſent battell to the Duke at *Trecas*. At length all the army being aſſembled (wherein beſides the *Italian* ſouldiers, was arriued a thouſand horſemen, and a thouſand footmen of *Almains*) incamped within a mile of *Nouaro*, whither the Duke of *Orleans* was retired with all his companies.

The newes of the reuolt of *Nouaro*, procured the King being then at *Sienna*, to come forward: and therefore to auoid all occaſions that might hinder his departure; and knowing well that the *Florentines*, warned by the perils paſt, and falne into new iealouſies, for that *Peter de Medicis* followed him, albeit they had determined to receiue him into *Florence* with great honours, yet for their more ſurety, had filled their towne with men of armes and piked bands; he drew to *Piſa* by the lands of the *Florentines*, leauing the City of *Florence* on the right hand: and in the towne of *Poggibonſe* met him *Ieronimo Sauonarola*, who according to his cuſtome, vſing the name and authority of God to his purpoſe, told him roundly that he ought to reſtore to the *Florentines* their townes, ioyning to his perſwaſions, threatnings abſolute and terrible, that if he obſerued not that he had ſworne with ſo great ſolemnity, vpon the holy Goſpels, and as it were afore the eies of God, a ſeuere puniſhment would ſhortly follow vpon him. The King made him ſundry anſwers, according to his inconſtancy; now promiſing to make reſtitution as ſoone as he was come to *Piſa*; and immediatly (wreſting his promiſe and oath) he ſaid he had ſworne to the *Piſans*, to protect their libertie, afore he made any oath at *Florence*: and yet he gaue hopes alwaies to their Embaſſadours for the reſtitution of their peeces as ſoone as he was come to *Piſa*. At *Piſa* the matter was eftſoones proponed in the kings Councell, for that the bruite of the preparations, vnity and ſtrength of the Confederates about the borders of *Parma* increaſing daily, they began to looke into the difficulties to paſſe through *Lombardy*: for which cauſe many deſired the moneys and other ſuccors offered by the *Florentines*. But to their aduice were contrary euen thoſe Captaines and gentlemen who had reſiſted it at *Sienna*: alledging, that albeit there happened by the oppoſition of the enemy, any diſorder or difficulty to paſſe through *Lombardy*, yet it were better to haue in their power the City of *Piſa* (whither they might retire) then to leaue it in the hands of the *Florentines*, who, hauing once reobtained the places they demanded, would be of no better faith, then had bene the other *Italians*; and adding withall,

Ier. Saunarola a Friar preacher in Florence.

Castanarola with all the other townes of the countrey of *Faenza*; then they went and incamped before *Russi*, which is a borough situate betweene *Faenza* and *Rauenna*, but not easie to be taken, for that besides it was enuironed with very large and deepe trenches, it was defended with fixe hundred footmen forreiners: but that which made it more hard to be taken, was, that there was not in the Church armie, neither that counsell, nor that concord that was necessarie, notwithstanding it abounded in strength and forces, three thousand *Swissers* payed by the Pope being there newly arriued. For this cause, albeit the *Venetians* were not strong in *Romagna*, yet things had no great aduancement on that side: onely *Iohn* the Greeke Captaine of the estradiots issuing out of *Rauenna* with his bands, was broken and taken prisoner by *Iohn Vitelli* one of the Captaines of the Church: and at last, after they had remained ten dayes afore *Russi*, they tooke it by composition. And the victory of the King hapning in the same time, the Citie of *Faenza*, who stood now in her owne power, for that the *Venetian* strength was already diminished, agreed to acknowledge the Pope for their Lord, if they were not rescued within fifteene dayes: by the benefite of which conuention there issued out of *Faenza* vnder the faith of the Legat, fiue hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, who were stripped by commandement of the Duke of *Vrbin*. The Citie of *Rauenna* did the like as soone as the armie approched. Thus, more by the reputation of the victorie of the *French* King, then by his proper forces, the Pope conquered in a litle time, those townes which he had so long desired in *Romagna*, where the *Venetians* held no other peece then the Castle of *Rauenna*, against whom, euer since the ouerthrow of their armie, they discouered dayly new enemies. For, the Duke of *Ferrara*, who till that day had not declared himselfe, chased out of *Ferrara* the *Vicedomino*, a magistrate which the *Venetians* kept resident there, according to the ancient conuentions, to minister equitie to the subiects: and taking armes, he recouered without impediment *Polesina de Rouigna*, and sunke with artilleries the *Venetian* Nauies floting vpon the riuer of *Adice*: and to the Marquis of *Mantua* were yeelded the townes of *Asola* and *Lunato*, which the *Venetians* had taken in the warre they had against *Philip Maria Viscount*, from *Iohn Francis de Gonsagua* his great grandfather. In *Istria*, *Christopher Frangipan* occupied *Pisinia* and *Diuinia*: and the Duke of *Brunswike*, who by *Cæsars* commandement was entred into *Friul* with two thousand men trained, tooke *Feltro* and *Bellona*; at whose comming, together with the bruite of the victorie of the *French*, *Triesta* with the other townes (the conquest of which had bene the very welspring and beginning of all the aduersities of the *Venetians*) returned vnder the obedience of *Cæsar*. In like sort the Counts of *Lodron* occupied certain Castles and hamlets that were neare them; and the Bishop of *Trent* vsurped *Riua* and *Agresta*. But there was nothing that so much amazed the *Venetians* since the battell of *Vaile*, as the taking of the Castle of *Pesquiero*, whose strength and situation, with other oportunities of the place, they supposed would haue stayed the furie of the victor.

Conquests of Maximilian vpon the Venetians.

The *Venetians* then standing amazed amidst so many perils, being fearefull that the King would passe further; and their condition being made so desperate, that the feare that possessed them, left them no libertie of counsell; and their bands which were retired to *Mestre* (amongst whom was neither obedience nor order) being reduced to a very small number; they determined (and haply too soone) to abandon the iurisdiction of the firme land, to the end not to haue so many enemies, and no lesse to take from the *French* King all occasions to draw neare to *Venice*. For they were not without suspition, that in that Citie would rise some tumult, either by the people, or by the innumerable multitude of strangers that dwelt there: these, for desire of prey and pillage; the other, for that they being Citizens borne by long succession of time in the same Citie, and most of them of the same bloud and families, would not endure the depriuation of honours, and to be in all things in a maner subiect to the Gentlemen. And in so great a despaire and losse of courage, this reason was alledged in the Senate, that if willingly they abandoned the gouernment to eschue the euils present, they should easily recouer it with the returne of a better fortune: for that the peoples that had bene willingly separate from them, would not make so strong resistance to returne eftsoones vnder the obedience of their ancient Lords, as they would do if they had openly rebelled. For these reasons the magnanimity of the *Venetians* being troden vnder foote, together with the reputation of so glorious a Commonweale, they were content to keepe to themselues the salt waters onely, addressing to the magistrates and officers that were in *Padua*, *Verona*, and all the other townes destinated to *Maximilian*, directions to returne with speed, and leaue the townes to the deuotion of the peoples. And besides this, to

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the end to obtaine peace with *Maximilian* vnder what conditions soeuer, they sent to him with diligence their Embassadour *Iustinian*, who being admitted to his presence in publike audience, spake very pitifully and with great submission, but in vaine, for that *Cæsar* denied to make any contract without the priuitie of the *French* King. But the better to make knowne how much the Commonweale of *Venice* was humbled and abated of courage, not feeling the like aduersities in two hundred yeares before, it cannot be impertinent to expresse here the selfe Oration which their Embassadour vttered afore *Cæsar*; onely turning the Latine words into our vulgar tongue: the tenor whereof is as followeth.

The Oration of Anth. Iustinian to Cæsar.

It is most certaine and true (most puissant *Cæsar*) that the ancient Philosophers and wise men of those times, were not deceiued when they affirmed, that the true, firme, eternall and immortall glorie, was for a man to conquer himselfe: an action which they preferred aboue all kingdomes, trophees and triumphs. For this vertue *Scipio* (so much renowmed for his many victories) carried more reputation, then for subduing *Afrike*, or vanquishing *Carthage*. Hath not this same vertue immortalized *Alexander* the Great, when *Darius*, being ouerthrowne by him in a mightie battell, besought the immortall Gods to preserue his kingdome, but if they had otherwise decreed, that he might haue no other successor then so gentle an enemie, and so gracious a conquerer? *Cæsar* the Dictator, of whom you beare the surname, and communicate in his fortunes, as well as in his liberalities, clemencies, and other vertues, was he not worthily numbred among the gods, for that he remitted, released, and pardoned? Lastly, the Senate and people of *Rome*, the daunter of the whole world, whose imperie in earth is onely in you, and whose maiestie and greatnesse is seene in your person, hath it not brought more peoples and prouinces vnder their subiection by clemencie, equitie and mildnesse, then with armes and warre? And seeing it is thus, it shall not be numbred amongst the least of your praises, if your Maiestie, in whose hands stands the victorie gotten ouer the *Venetians*, looking into the frailtie of worldly things, shall vse it with moderation, and incline rather to the deuices and studies of peace, then to the doubtfull euents of warre. For touching the inconstancie of humane things, how incertaine, how doubfull, how mutable, how deceitfull, and how full of dangers is the estate of mortall men, I need not proue by examples strange, forreine or ancient, since the Commonweale of *Venice* stands at this houre the true figure and representation thereof, which not long since was so mightie, resplendent, renowned, as that our name and reputation could not be contained within the limites of *Europe* onely, but with great pompe and magnificence, ran through all *Afrike* and *Asia*, and with great bruite resounded euen to the vttermost bounds of the earth: but now by the onely losse of a battell, both light and easie, is depriued of the praise and merite of armes, and become despoiled of riches, rent in peeces, ouerthrowne, and standing in need of all things, and especially of counsell, and so reuersed and abated, that there remaines no signe of our ancient vertue. But doublesse the *French* men beguile themselues, if they attribute these things to their vertue; since notwithstanding we haue bene heretofore trauelled by so many afflictions, wasted and consumed with so many dangers and ruines, yet we neuer lost courage, & then chiefly when with great danger we managed warre many yeares against the most cruell Tyrant of the *Turkes*, but alwayes of men vanquished, we became victorious: and we should now also haue hoped to do the like, had not the bruite of the terrible name of your Maiestie, together with the liuely and inuincible vertue of your souldiers, so abated the minds of vs all, that there remaines no hope, I say not, to vanquish, but not to defend: and therefore casting downe our armes, we haue reposed all our hope in the vnspeakable clemencie or rather diuine pietie of your Maiestie, which we doubt not to find euen in the greatest despaire of our affaires. In which respect, as well on the behalfe of the Prince and Senate, as of the people and communaltie of *Venice*, we pray, beseech, and coniure you, to vouchsafe to cast the eyes of your mercie vpon our afflictions, and to cure our griefes with remedies of comfort and consolation: we are willing to embrace all such conditions of peace as you shall please to offer vs, and hold them reasonable, righteous and iust: but perhaps we are worthy to taxe our selues. To you as true and lawfull Lord, we offer restitution of all those things which our elders haue taken from the sacred Empire, and Duchie of *Austria*: wherunto (that they may come the more decently) we adde all that we possesse in the firme land, renouncing all rights thereunto, in whatsoeuer sort we haue gotten them. Besides this, we will acknowledge a yearely paiment to your Maiestie and your lawfull successors in the Empire, of fiftie thousand duckats for euer: We will readily obey you in all your commandements, haue-

" decrees and appointments. Defend vs, we beseech you, from the insolencie of those, who earst " were our companions in armes, and now do proue our bitter enemies, desiring nothing more " then the ruine of the *Venetian* name: for being preserued by your clemencie, we shall call you " the father and founder of our Citie, we shall write it in our Annales, and continually report to " our children your great merites and vertues: and it will be no small increase of your praises, to " say, that you are the first Prince afore whose feete the Commonweale of *Venice* falls prostrate, " before whom we bow our neckes, and whom we honour, reuerence, and respect as a God. If " Almightie God had so inspired the minds of our ancestors, that they had forborne to meddle " with that which belonged to others, our flourishing Commonweale had far surmounted all the " Cities of *Europe*, which now lies couered with filth, pollution and putrifaction, deformed with " infamie and reproach, full of derision and contumely, and hath in a moment lost the honour " of all the victories formerly gotten. But now to returne to my first purpose, it is in your power, " by pardoning and forgiuing the *Venetians*, to win such reputation and honour, greater or more " renowmed then which, no man euer obtained by any victorie; which no age, no prescription or " antiquitie, no law of time nor course of yeares, shall be able to wipe out of the minds and me- " mories of men; but all ages shall call, proclaime and confesse you to be the most pious, cour- " teous, and most renowmed Prince of the world: and we your *Venetians*, shall attribute to your " vertue, to your felicitie, and to your goodnesse, that we liue, that we breathe, or that we en- " ioy the companie of men.

The *Venetians* according to this deliberation sent into *Powilla*, to restore the ports to the King of *Aragon*, who knowing how to enioy the fruites of other mens trauels without expences or danger, had dispatched into *Spaine* a small Nauie, which had commanded certaine places appertaining to those Cities and hauens of the sea. They dispatched also into *Romagna* a publike Secretarie, with commission, to giue vp to the Pope all that they held there, vpon condition that *Iohn Paul Manfron* and other prisoners might be restored, and that they might haue libertie to draw out their artilleries, and that the people that were within the Castle of *Rauenna* might depart in safetie. Which conditions whilest the Pope made difficultie to accept, for that he would not displease the Confederates, the Castle of *Rauenna* was rendred, the souldiers giuing it vp of themselues, notwithstanding the *Venetian* Secretarie that was entred, sought to hinder it, for that such as solicited for them at *Rome*, gaue hope that the Pope in the end would consent to the conditions, vnder the which they had offered restitution. But the Pope complained much that they had shewed a greater contumacie against him then against *Cæsar* or the King of *Aragon*: and therefore when *Grimani* and *Cornaro* the *Venetian* Cardinals demanded absolution of the Bull, in the name of the Senate, as being due, for that they had offered restitution within the terme of foure and twentie dayes, he made answer, that they had not obeyed, because their offer was not simple, but ioyned to conditions limited; and for that they were admonished ouer and besides the restitution of the townes, to yeeld account of the fruites they had receiued, together with the Benefices they possessed appertaining to Churches or to persons Ecclesiastical.

In this sort was ouerwhelmed with a wonderfull furie, the estate of the Commonweale of *Venice*, one calamitie continually growing vpon another, all the hopes they proposed vnto themselues failing, and no signe remaining, by the which after the losse of so great a dominion, they might hope for the preseruation of their proper libertie. This so great a ruine touched diuersly the minds of the *Italians*, of whom many receiued great contentment, remebring that the *Venetians*, proceeding in too great ambition, without respect to iustice or obseruatiō of faith, seizing vpon all things that occasion offered them, had manifestly aspired to the monarchie of all *Italy*: things which made their names hatefull to all men, and the more odious for the generall bruite of the pride and haughtinesse of that people. On the other side, many who considered more soundly the present estate of things, and how wretched and foule it were for all *Italy* to be wholly brought vnder the yoke of strangers, felt no litle griefe, that such a Citie, so ancient a seate of libertie, and the glorie of the *Italian* name through all the world, should fall into such extremitie, that so worthy a member should be cut off, which more then all the residue had bene the protectour of their common glorie and renowne. But aboue all, so great a fall and declination began to be grieuous to the Pope, who doubting the powers of *Cæsar* and the *French* King, desired to alter their thoughts from oppressing him, by intangling them with affaires. In which regard he determined (but secretly) to do all he could, that the aduersities of the Commonweale

Diuers opinions touching the fall of the Venetians.

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of *Venice* ſhould haue no further courſe, and he accepted the letters written to him in the name of the Duke of *Venice*, by the which he beſought him in great ſubmiſſion, to receiue the ſix Embaſſadours ſent to him of the principals of the Senate, humbly to intreate him to pardon and abſolue them. Theſe letters being read, and their petitions publiſhed in the Conſiſtorie, he conſented to admit them, after he had in few words proteſted, that it was not the ancient cuſtome of the Church, to ſhew her ſelfe hard or rigorous to ſuch as with repentance of their faults, ſought for pardon. The Embaſſadours of the Emperour and the *French* ſtriued what they could againſt it, putting him in memory, that by the confederation of *Cambray*, he was expreſly bound to perſecute them with armes ſpirituall and temporall, till euery one of the Confederates had recouered that which appertained to him: to whom the Pope made anſwer, that he had conſented to admit them, with intention not to giue them abſolution, if firſt *Cæſar* (who onely had not recouered all) had not obtained the things that belonged to him. This gaue ſome beginning to the hope and ſuretie of the *Venetians*; but that which aſſured them moſt in their laſt feare, was the reſolution of the *French* King, to obſerue ſimply and in good fidelitie the capitulation which he had made with *Cæſar*: and hauing reconquered all that was his, to paſſe no further with his armie, nor breake his limites. And therefore albeit it was in his power after he had taken *Peſquiero*, not onely to accept *Verona*, which had ſent Embaſſadours to yeeld to him, but alſo to occupie *Padua* without any impediment, together with all the other townes abandoned by the *Venetians*: yet he would, in any ſort, that the Embaſſadours of *Verona* ſhould preſent the keyes of their towne to the Embaſſadours of *Cæſar* which were in his armie, and for that cauſe he ſtayed with all his campe at *Peſquiero*, which he retained for himſelfe, for the commoditie of the place, notwithſtanding it appertained to the Marquis of *Mantua*, (the *Venetians* hauing taken that together with *Aſula* and *Lunato* from him) who durſt not refuſe it to the King, leauing to him the reuenues of the towne, with promiſe of recompence. At the ſame time the King had alſo by accord the Caſtle of *Cremona*, vnder condition that all the ſouldiers ſhould depart with goods and life ſaued, except ſuch as were his ſubiects; and that the Gentlemen of *Venice* ſhould remaine his priſoners, to whom he gaue his faithful promiſe to ſaue their liues. *Vincenſa* and *Padua* followed the example of *Verona*, as alſo the other townes, except the Citie of *Treuiſa*, which being abandoned by the magiſtrates and ſouldiers of *Venice*, had runne the ſame courſe, if *Cæſar* had ſent thither neuer ſo ſmall a force, or at leaſt any perſonage of authoritie. But *Leonard de Dreſſino*, one of the exiles of *Vincenſa*, going thither to receiue it, without ſtrength or armes, and without any maieſtie of imperie, as he had receiued *Padua* in the like ſort; and being entred and admitted; the exiles of the ſame Citie being newly reſtored by the *Venetians* (and which for this benefite became louers of their name) began to draw into tumult, by whoſe example the people being affected to the gouernment of *Venice*, roſe and conſpired with one called *Marke* a ſhoomaker, who publiſhing himſelfe chiefe, and with great cries and concourſe of the commons, carrying into the principall places the banners of the *Venetians*, they cried with one voice, *S. Marke*, aſſuring that they would acknowledge no other Empire nor other Lord. To this action was much helping an Embaſſadour of the King of *Hungarie*, who in his way to *Venice*, paſſing by *Treuiſa*, and being throwne haply into this tumult, perſwaded the inhabitants not to rebell. In ſo much that after they had chaſed out *Dreſſino*, and put into the Citie ſeuen hundred footmen of the *Venetians*, the armie alſo enting a litle after, which was now increaſed with bands of footmen coming from *Slauonia*, with the remainders of the armie returned from *Romagna*, hauing an intention to incampe in ſome ſtrong place betweene *Margueta* and *Meſtra*: they fortified the towne in great diligence, and made their horſemen ſcoure the places of the countrey thereabouts, procuring from all parts great reliefe of victuals, as well for the neceſſitie of that Citie, as for the vſe of the towne of *Venice*, whereof they gathered great quantities from all ſides. The principall occaſion of this accident, and to confirme in the *Venetians* a hope to retaine yet ſome part of their dominion, together with many other great aduentures that followed, was the negligence and diſordered gouernment of *Cæſar*, of whom in ſo great a courſe of victorie there was heard no other thing then the name, notwithſtanding by the means of the *French* armes, and for feare thereof, ſo many townes had bene rendred to him, which were very eaſie for him to keepe. But after the confederation made at *Cambray*, he ſtayed ſome time in *Flanders*, to leuie of the people a loane of money to furniſh his warres, which he had no ſooner got into his poſſeſſion, then, according to his cuſtome, he ſpent it vnprofitably: and albeit at his

The firſt hope of the Venetians.

Treuiſa onely reſtoreth the honor of Venice

his departing from *Macklin* in armes, and with all the pompe and ceremonies imperiall, and after being come very neare to *Italy*, he made publication that he would begin the warre before the terme appointed to him in the capitulation: yet being oppreſſed with his accuſtomed difficulties and confuſions, he aduanced no further, notwithſtanding the Pope ſolicited him with great importunities, for the feare he had of the *French* armes; and though he had ſent him (to giue him a more life to the enterpriſe, by *Conſtantine* of *Macedonia*) fiftie thouſand duckats, and conſented withall to the hundred thouſand duckats which had bene leuied certaine yeares afore in *Germanie*, which were reſerued to make warre vpon the *Turkes*. Beſides all this, he had receiued of the *French* King an hundred thouſand duckats for the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*, and was aduertiſed of the fortune of the battell of *Vailo* as he drew neare to *Inſpruch*: and notwithſtanding he had with great diligẽce diſpatched the Duke of *Brunſwike* to recouer *Friul*, yet he moued not (as in ſo great an occaſion had bene conuenient) for want of money (the taxes which he had receiued and drawne from ſo many places not being able to ſuffice his prodigalities.) At laſt he arriued at *Trent*, from whence writing letters congratulatorie to the King, he gaue many thanks that by his meanes he had recouered his townes: and the better to expreſſe the good will he bare to the King, and withall to wipe out all memories of offences paſt, it is ſaid, that he cauſed a booke to be burned which was kept at *Spires*, containing an authenticke regiſter of the iniuries which the *French* Kings in times paſt had done to the Empire and nation of *Germanie*. The Cardinall of *Amboiſe* came to him to *Trent* the thirteenth day of Iune, to communicate of their common affaires, who being receiued with great honour, promiſed him on the behalfe of his King, a ſuccour of 500 Lances: and after they had with great agreement giuen directions for other affaires, it was reſolued that *Cæſar* and the King ſhould ſpeake together in plaine field neare the towne of *Gard*, vpon the Marches of both their countreys. For which cauſe the *French* King prepared to be there at the day appointed, and *Cæſar*, for the ſame regard, came to *Riua de Trent*; but after he had bene there onely two houres, he returned immediatly to *Trent*, ſignifying to the *French* King, that by occaſion of new accidents hapned at *Friul*, he was conſtrained to depart ſuddenly, deſiring him to ſtay at *Cremona*, for he would returne ſpeedily to giue perfection to the enteruiew determined. This varietie (if it be poſſible to find out the truth in ſo great inconſtancie) many attributed to his credulitie and lightneſſe of beliefe, ſome hauing blowne into his eares matter that made him enter into ſuſpition: others made this the occaſion, that hauing ſo ſmall a Court, accompanied with a traine ill appointed, he thought he could not preſent himſelfe with that dignitie and reputation, as might hold compariſon with the pompe and greatneſſe of the *French* King. But the King deſiring to diſſolue his armie, to be deliuered of ſo great a burden, and no leſſe to returne with ſpeed into *France*, tooke his way to *Millan*, not tarrying for the Emperour, notwithſtanding the Biſhop of *Gurcie*, whom the Emperour had ſent for that effect, followed him euen to *Gremona*, ſoliciting him much to tarrie, and making promiſe that without all exceptions the Emperour would returne. The diſcamping of the armie and perſon of the *French* King from the confines of *Cæſar*, diminiſhed greatly the reputation of his affaires: and yet albeit he was accompanied with ſuch multitudes of men, that he might eaſily furniſh *Padua* and the other townes, yet he forbare to ſend garriſon thither, either for the inconſtancie of his nature, or that he thought aforehand to vndertake ſome other enterpriſes; or elſe for that he thought it more honorable, deſcending into *Italy*, to haue with him a very great armie: and which more is, he pretended (as though the former actions had had their due perfection) that together with the ioynt forces of the whole Confederates, they ſhould aſſaile the Citie of *Venice*: a matter very plauſible to the *French* King, but grieuous to the Pope, and no leſſe impugned by the King of *Aragon*.

The laſt action of the Florentines againſt the Piſans.

About this time the *Florentines* put their laſt hand to the warres againſt the *Piſans*. For after they had cut off all ſuccours and entries of graines into *Piſa*, they leuied new bands, to the end to hinder with all their induſtrie and power, all recourſe of victuals both by ſea and land; which could not eaſily be done for the neighbourhood of the countrey of the *Lucquois*; who, when they could ſecretly do it, obſerued with a very negligent faith their accord newly made with the *Florentines*. But the want of victuals increaſed dayly within *Piſa*, which when the people of the plaine countrey would no longer endure, thoſe principals of the Citizens, in whoſe hands reſted all publike reſolutions, being followed with the greateſt part of the youth of the Citie, the better to lull the countrey ſouldiers with accuſtomed deuices, introduced by the meane of the

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Lord of *Plombin*, a practise of accord with the *Florentines*; wherein they artificially consumed many dayes, and for which the *Florentines* sent to *Plombin*, *Nicholas Machiauel* their Secretary, and many Embassadours of the *Pisans*, chosen as well of the Citizens, as of the people of the plaine countrey. It was very hard to inclose *Pisa*, for that it hath large fields, and full of ditches and marrishes, and the entrie of victuals could not be hindred by any easie meanes, specially by night, both for the diligence of the *Lucquoys* to furnish them, and the desperate minds of the *Pisans*, refusing no perill wherein was any oportunitie of prouision. But to ouercome these difficulties, the *Florentine* Captaines determined to deuide their armie into three parts, bestowing one part at *Messana* without the gate of *Plagei*, the second at *Saint Peter de Rene* and *Saint Iames*, ouer against the gate of *Lucques*, and the third was assigned to be neare the ancient Temple of *Saint Peter d'Ingrado*, standing betweene *Pisa* and the mouth of *Arne*; and in euery campe, being well fortified, they bestowed a thousand footmen, with conuenient numbers of horsemen. And to let that none should passe otier the mountaines by the way of the vale of *Osola*, which leadeth to the mount *Saint Iulian*, they built towards the great Hospitall a Bastion capable of two hundred and fiftie footmen. By these impediments the *Pisans* fell more and more into want of victuals, who seeking to get by policie that which they despaired to obtaine by force, deuised that *Alphonso Mutolo* a yong man of *Pisa*, of base condition, who being aforetime taken prisoner by the *Florentine* souldiers, and receiuing many pleasures of his keeper, should offer to be the instrument to make them surprise the gate that goeth to *Lucques*: their deuice bearing this meaning, that at the same time that the campe which was at *Saint Iames* should go by night to execute the enterprise, they would not onely oppresse it when one part was entred, but also would charge the other campes of the *Florentines*, which according to the resolution were to approch more neare the Citie. But for that they made not their approch rashly nor in disorder, the *Pisans* won no other thing by this practise, but the liues of certaine particulars, who at the signe giuen, were come to the first gate, thinking to enter the Citie; amongst whom was slaine *Canaio de Pratouecchio* (so was he called, to whom *Alphonso Mutolo* had bene prisoner, and vnder whose assurance the practise had bene managed) and there was also slaine with a canon shot *Paul de Parana* Captaine to a companie of light horsemen of the *Florentines*. This hope being thus disappointed, and very small quantities of corne entring into *Pisa*, and that to the great danger of such as carried it, the *Florentines* withall not suffering that the vnprofitable mouthes should depart out of *Pisa*, vexing them with many aduersities, things necessarie for the life of man were bought at deare rates, yea many perished by famine, for that there could not enter a proportion to suffice the generall numbers. And yet these necessities were surmounted by the obstinacie of those Citizens which were principals in the gouernment, who being disposed rather to behold the extreme ruine of their countrey, then to yeeld to so horrible a necessitie, deferred from day to day to come to parley, entertaining as well as they could the Commons, sometimes with one hope, sometimes with another, but specially with this, that since there was no expectation of the coming of *Cæsar* into *Italy*, the *Florentines* would be constrained to retire from their walls. But part of the countreymen, with such as had bene at *Plombin* where they saw into their intentions, drew into conspiracie, and constrained them to introduce new consultations with the *Florentines*, which being followed by *Alaman Saluiat* Commander of that part of the armie which lay at *Saint Peter d'Ingrado*, after many disputings (the principals opposing many impediments) were at last resolued and concluded. The accord was made with conditions very fauourable for the *Pisans*, seeing that not onely all their faults both publicke and priuate were pardoned, but also many exemptions accorded, being also absolued from all restitution of moueable goods which they had taken from the *Florentines* at the time when they rebelled: so great was the desire of the *Florentines* to repossesse it, and so great their feare left from the Emperour (naming the *Pisans* in the league of *Cambray*, although the *French* King had not accepted the nomination) or from some other part, there happened no impediment vnlooked for. And albeit they were well assured that the *Pisans* would be constrained within foure dayes to giue place to hunger, yet they sought rather to assure the towne with hard conditions, then by obtaining it without conuention, to put any part of the certaintie in the power of fortune. This accord although it were begun to be negociated in the camp, was afterwards debated and concluded at *Florence* by the Embassadours of the *Pisans*: an action wherein the faith of the *Florentines* is worthy of memorie, who notwithstanding their iust hatreds prouoked by so many iniuries,

Pisa rendred to the Florentines.

ries, they were no leſſe conſtant to obſerue things promiſed, then eaſie and tractable to the agreement. The Emperour (no doubt) receiued a great diſpleaſure by the rendring of the *Piſans*, for that he was perſwaded, that either the demaine of that Citie might ſerue him to many occaſions, or elſe by according it to the *Florentines*, he ſhould draw from them a great quantitie of money, for want whereof he let ſlip and loſt many faire occaſions that were offered him without his paines and induſtrie. But whileſt he ſtood ſo negligent in oportunities offered, that neither at *Vincenſa* nor at *Padua* was almoſt any ſouldiers for him; and whileſt withall, his delayes abated the affection of the inhabitants of townes, himſelfe wandring with a very ſmall companie, ſometimes to one place, ſometimes to another, the *Venetians* let not ſlip the oportunitie that was offered them to recouer *Padua*, whereunto they were induced by many reaſons. For the retaining of *Treuiſa* made them know, how vnprofitable it was to them, with a counſell ſo raſh, to abandon ſo ſoone the dominion of the firme land; and the lingring preparations of the Emperour gaue them cauſe to hold him in leſſe feare dayly: and beſides, they were not a little moued, for that ſeeking to bring to *Venice* the reuenues of the lands which diuers particulars of the towne of *Venice* held in the countrey of *Padua*, thoſe of *Padua* made manifeſt reſiſtance. In ſo much that the diſdaine of certaine particulars ioyned to a publicke profite, and withall being allured by the knowledge they had that *Padua* was ill furniſhed of ſouldiers, and that by reaſon of the inſolencies which the Gentlemen of *Padua* vſed towards the populars, many remembring the eaſie and moderate gouernment of the *Venetians*, began eſtſoones to deſire their ancient yoke; they determined to make an attempt to recouer it, wherein they were aſſiſted with this ready occaſion, that thoſe of the plaine countrey of *Padua* ſtood yet at their deuotion. It was then decreed that *Andrew Gritti*, one of their Commanders, leauing the camp behind, wherein were foure hundred men at armes, more then two thouſand as well eſtradiots as light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen, ſhould go to *Noualo* vpon the frontiers of *Padua*, and taking in his way part of thoſe footbands, which, with many troupes of paiſants were ſent to the village of *Mirana*, he ſhould draw towards *Padua* to aſſaile the gate of *Codalonga*: and that at the ſame time, two thouſand of the popular ſouldiers, with three hundred footmen and certaine horſemen, the more to aſtoniſh them within, ſhould aſſault *Portello* ſtanding in the contrary part of the Citie: and the better to couer this enterpriſe, *Chriſtopher Moro* the other Commander, was likewiſe appointed to incampe afore *Cinitella*. This plot well layed, had alſo a happie iſſue, for the footmen arriuing at full day, found the gate of *Codalonga* halfe open, certaine paiſants a litle before being entred by chance with carts loden with hay: in ſo much, as commanding the gate without any difficultie, and expecting without any noiſe the coming of their other ſtrength, which was at hand, they not onely entred into the towne, but paſſed almoſt to the market place, afore the Citie, which containes a long circuite, and is not much peopled, was touched with any aduertiſement of the accident. The Knight *de la Volpe* marched firſt with his light horſemen, together with *Zitolo de Perouſa* and *Lactantius de Bergama*, with part of the footmen. But the alarme being come to the Citadel, *Dreſſina* Gouernour of *Padua* for *Maximilian*, prepared himſelfe to ſally out with three hundred *Almaine* footmen which he had there onely for his guard: the like did *Brunalt de Serege* with fiftie horſemen, who ſuſtaining the furie of the enemies, expected that the Gentlemen of *Padua*, fauourers of the *Almaines*, would take armes in their fauour: but that and all other hope was vaine, for that in the Citie fallen into this ſurpriſe and ſudden oppreſſion of tumult, was found no diſpoſition of reſiſtance, eſpecially many bands of the enemie being entred, and gouerning thoſe parts of the towne, wherein lay their chiefeſt protection: in ſo much as ſtanding thus abandoned of all hope, they were conſtrained, with the loſſe of many of their men, to retire with ſpeed into the Caſtle and Citadell, which being very weakly manned, they were conſtrained to yeeld to diſcretion within a few houres after. By this meanes the *Venetians* being eſtſoones made Lords of the whole, laboured to appeaſe the tumult, and ſaue the Citie, whereof the greateſt part, by the inſolencies of the others, were ranged to their deuotion, nothing receiuing ſpoile or harme, but certaine houſes of the *Iewes*, and ſome others of *Padua*, which had afore declared themſelues enemies to the *Venetian* name. This accident hapned the day of *S. Marina*, a day ſolemnly celebrated at *Venice* by publike decree, as a moſt happie day, and the beginning of the reſtoring of their Commonweale. The bruite of this victorie did much moue the whole countrey thereabouts; and there was great likelihood that *Vincenſa* had done the like, if *Conſtantine* of *Macedo-*

The Venetians determine to recouer Padua

The Venetians recouer Padua

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nia, who by chance was neare at hand, had not entred with a very ſmall ſtrength. As ſoone as the *Venetians* had recouered *Padua*, they ſuddenly became maiſters of the whole countrey, the commons of townes and the country people fauoring them. They recouered alſo by this meane the towne and caſtle of *Legnago*, a place of great conueniencie to trouble the countreys of *Verona*, *Padua* and *Vincenſa*. Beſides this they aſſayed to take the tower *Marquiſano*, within eight miles of *Padua*, being a paſſage of ſingular oportunitie to enter into *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and to diſtreſſe the countrey of *Mantua*; but by the reſcues which the Cardinall of *Eſte* ſent, their enterpriſe was defeated.

The taking of *Padua* did nothing ſtay the *Freneh* king (as many thought) from returning beyond the Mounts, who as he was vpon his diſcamping, made in the towne of *Biagraſſa* new conuentions with the Popes Legat, by the which the Pope and the King bound each other to a mutuall protection, with libertie that either of them might contract with any other Prince, ſo farre forth as it was not preiudiciall to the preſent confederation. The King promiſed not to hold in his protection, nor to accept into the ſame hereafter, any ſubiect, homager, or dependant, either directly or indirectly of the Church, expreſly diſanulling all articles of protection vntill that day: a promiſe litle beſeeming the honour of ſo great a King; for that, a litle before, when the Duke of *Ferrara* came vnto him, although at the firſt he was angrie with him for that without his knowledge he had accepted the title of *Gonfalonnier* of the Church, yet afterwards being reconciled with him, he had taken him into his protection, for a conſideration of thirtie thouſand duckats. Beſides, it was agreed, that the Pope ſhould diſpoſe at his diſcretion the Biſhopricks that then were voide in all the lands of the Kings obedience; but for ſuch as ſhould fall voide within a certaine time, they ſhould be at the nomination of the King; for whoſe better ſatisfaction, the Pope ſent the Buls of Cardinalſhip to the Biſhop of *Albie*, by the ſaid Cardinall of *Pauie*, promiſing to indue him with the Hat as ſoone as he came to *Rome*. This contract being made, the King haſted immediatly out of *Italy*, carrying with him into *France* no ſmall glorie for ſo great a victorie, ſo ſuddenly gotten vpon the *Venetians*: and yet he carried home by this victorie, neither the more tranquillitie of mind, nor greater aſſurance for his affaires: a matter that often hapneth, that in things obtained, after they haue bene long deſired, men find neither that contentment, nor that pleaſure which they imagined before: yea men might diſcerne matter prepared for greater dangers and innouations, together with a more manifeſt incertaintie of his mind touching the deliberations he had to make by reaſon of thoſe accidents that were newly happned. For, if things ſucceeded well with the Emperour, his feare was farre greater of him then formerly it had bene of the *Venetians*. And if the greatneſſe of the *Venetians* began to be reſtored, he muſt be conſtrained to dwell in continuall ſuſpitions and perpetuall expences, to keepe the things he had taken from them: and not that onely, but alſo he muſt contribute to *Maximilian* both in men and money; for that in abandoning him, he was to feare leſt he would knit with the *Venetians* againſt him, and withall, leſt the Catholicke King would be of the faction, and haply the Pope. Beſides, meane aides and ſuccours would not ſuffice to entertaine him in amitie with *Ceſar*, but they muſt be ſuch, as by them he might obtaine the victorie againſt the *Venetians*. And on the other ſide, if he ſent him ſtrong and able ſuccours, beſides that it would draw with it intollerable expences and harmes, it would bring him into the ſame dangers by the greatneſſe of *Ceſar*. The King weighing theſe difficulties, ſtood in the beginning in doubt touching the mutation of *Padua*, to wit, whether he ſhould hold it agreeable or troubleſome: but after, conferring the ſuretie which the depriuation of the firme land from the *Venetians* might bring to him, with the perplexities and dangers which he feared to ſuffer by the greatneſſe of *Ceſar*, and with hope to obtaine of him for money, in regard of his neceſſities, the Citie of *Verona*, which he deſired much, as a place of ſingular oportunitie to ſuppreſſe the mouings on the ſide of *Germanie*: he iudged it at laſt more to his profit and ſuretie, to haue things remaine in that eſtate, that (there being great apparence of a long warre betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*) both the parties made wearie by ſo continuall expences, might become more weake. And he was the more confirmed in this opinion when he had contracted with the Pope, with whom he hoped to haue a confederation well aſſured and reſolued: and yet he left vpon the limites of *Verona*, *Monſieur de Paliſſa* with ſeuen hundred Lances to be at *Ceſars* command, as well for the preſeruation of things gotten, as to obtaine that which the *Venetians* poſſeſſed as yet; and becauſe they were conueyed into *Vincenſa* by the commande-

ment of *Cæsar*, the Citie of *Verona* was assured, which was in great danger and suspition for the small numbers of men of warre that were within it: and by that meane the *Venetian* armie which lay encamped before the Citadell, was retired. There happened also another good aduenture to the *Venetians* afore the Kings departure: for their horsemen which were within *Legnaguo*, making continuall incursions ouer the whole countrey, euen to the gates of *Verona*, and doing them great harmes, against whom, the garrison of *Verona* being but two hundred horsemen and seuen hundred footmen, and vnable to make resistance; the Bishop of *Trent*, whom *Cæsar* had appointed Gouernour ouer it, determined to plant his campe there, and to that end called thither the Marquis of *Mantua*, who expecting the preparations that were in hand, lay encamped with those bands which the *French* king had giuen him, in the Ile of *Escalo*, a great village in the countrey of *Verona*, neither enuironed with walls, nor made strong with other fortifications. But whilest he lay there without doubt of any thing, he serued as a notable example to all Captaines, how much it imports them at all times and in all places, to be vigilant, and so to manage their affaires, that they may haue confidence in their proper forces, without reposing in this vaine imagination, either that their enemies be farre off, or that they are but weake. For, as the Marquis had couenanted with certaine estradiots of the *Venetian* armie to come to him in that place, to take his pay and follow his ensigne, who from the beginning of the conference had communicated the deuice with their Captaines: and as the Captains, vpon this occasion had ordained to assaile him suddenly, *Luke Maluezzo* with two hundred light horsemen, and *Zitolo de Perousa* with eight hundred footmen, which were secretly come from *Padua* to *Legnaguo*, being ioyned to the bands which were within, and fifteene hundred men of the countrey, and sending before certaine horsemen, who cried *Turco, Turco*, (that was the surname of the Marquis) making as though they were those estradiots that were expected, they conueyed themselues in the peepe of day, without that there was any doubt made, to the Isle of *Escalo* the same morning that was appointed; where, without any resistance, they entred, and finding all the souldiers without guard, and such as followed the person of the Marquis sleeping, they put them to the spoile, and tooke prisoner amongst others, *Monsieur de Boyssi* Lieutenant to the Marquis, and nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboise*; and the Marquis vnderstanding the alarme, leaped naked out at a window, and hid himselfe in a corne field: but he was discouered to the enemy by a paisant of the same place, who (following the common affection of the countrey people) respected more the estate of the *Venetians*, then his particular profite, and made as though he would saue the Marquis for the great offers he made him, but did the contrary: so that the Marquis being led from thence to *Padua*, and after to *Venice*, was there put prisoner in the litle Tower of the publicke Pallace, to the wonderfull reioycing of euery one.

The Marquis of Mantua prisoner.

Cæsar till this day had giuen no impediment to the proceedings of the *Venetians*, for that he had not yet leuied a force sufficient to put himselfe in the field: and hauing bene busied many dayes in the mountaine of *Vincensa*, where the countreymen bearing deuotion to the *Venetian* name, and reposing much in the difficulties of the place, were drawne into manifest rebellion against him: and after descending into the plaines (*Padua* being already taken by the *Venetians*) he was encountred with multitudes of paisants in a passage of good situation & strength, where he was in no litle perill. But after he had put them to the chase, he came to *Escalo* vpon the frontier *Vincentine*, where the *Venetian* armie had recouered a great part of the countrey of *Vincensa*, and taken *Serauallo*, a passage of importance, where they executed many cruelties vpon the *Almains*; which was recompenced with the like crueltie by *Maximilian* vpon the *Italian* footmen and paisants, winning vpon them the passage not many dayes after. But as yet his forces being not very great, he occupied the time in small enterprises, sometimes besieging this borough, and sometime that passage, with very litle honour and reputation for the name Imperiall. And as alwayes his conceptions were farre greater then his forces or occasions, so he solicited at the same time with the confederates the vnion of all their forces, to take the Citie of *Venice*, making vse, ouer and aboue the preparations by land, of the sea armies of the *French* king, the King of *Aragon*, and the galleys of the Pope, being at that time conioyned and assembled into one Nauie. To which demand, notwithstanding no mention was made in the confederation of *Cambray*, the *French* had consented, if the conditions had bene such, as the benefite of the conquest had turned to a common profite: but it was a thing grieuous to the Pope, and which both then and at other times, when it was communed vpon more amply, was alwayes opposed by the King of

Aragon,

Aragon, (for that he ſuppoſed it would be profitable to the *French*) vſing this colour, that it was a thing both vniuſt and very diſhoneſt. But whileſt the countreys of *Padua*, *Vincenſa*, and *Verona*, ſuffered theſe torments by the armies of the *Almaines* and *Italians*, the countrey of *Friul* and thoſe places which were for the *Venetians* in *Iſtria*, were more miſerably afflicted: for that the Prince of *Henault* being entred by *Cæſars* direction into the countrey of *Friul* with ten thouſand men trained, after he had attempted in vaine to take *Montfalcon*, he carried by force the towne and caſtle of *Cadora*, with a pitifull execution and butcherie of thoſe that defended it. And on the other ſide, certaine light horſemen and footbands of the *Venetians* followed with many of the countrey men, tooke by force the towne of *Valdiſera*, and by accord, the towne of *Bellona*, where was no garriſon for the *Almains*. And beſides this, the Duke of *Brunſwicke*, whom the Emperour had likewiſe ſent thither, being repulſed at *Vdnia* the principall towne of *Friul*, was marched to *Ciuital d'Auſtrich*, a towne ſituate in a high place vpon the riuer of *Natiſona*, where *Federike Contarin* lay in garriſon with a very ſmall companie, repoſing much in the forces of the people, who had minds well reſolued to defend themſelues: to whoſe ſuccours, as *Iohn Paul Gradinic* Magiſtrate of *Friul* was coming with eight hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen, he was put to flight by certaine bands of the *Almaines*: and yet, notwithſtanding they had beaten *Ciuital* with their artillery, they could not carrie it, neither with the furious aſſault which they gaue, nor with the rumor they ſpread that they had defeated the ſuccours that came to reſcue them. In *Iſtria*, *Chriſtopher Frangipan* defeated neare the borough of *Vermes*, the Commiſſaries of the *Venetians*, accompanied with the bands and ſouldiers of the countrey: a ſucceſſe that put into his hands the new Caſtle and the towne of *Raſpruch*, to the great terrifying of the whole countrey, with the damages, ruines, and burnings that he made. For this cauſe the *Venetians* ſent thither *Angeo Treuiſan* Captaine of their ſea armie, with ſixteene galleys, who taking vpon his arriuall the towne of *Fiumo*, addreſt himſelfe to occupie the towne of *Trieſto*: but the ſucceſſe falling contrary, he turned his ſtrength to *Raſpruch*, and recouered it by force, and afterwards retired with his galleys to *Venice*, *Friul* and *Iſtria* remaining in a pitifull eſtate, for that ſometimes the *Venetians* commanding, and ſometimes the *Almaines* preuailing, thoſe townes which the one part had taken and ſacked, were eftſoones recouered and preyed vpon by the other. Which calamitie falling out often, the liues and goods of men ſtood continually as a prey, and the whole countrey was horribly waſted and ſpoiled. During theſe accidents of temporall armes, there was diſputation at *Rome* touching ſpirituall armes, ſixe Embaſſadours of *Venice* (ſince the reobtaining of *Padua*) being gone thither in habite and ſhew miſerable: for where afore they were wont to come in with great pompe and magnificence, and be receiued with a reuerence of the whole Court; now they were neither followed nor accompanied, but making their entrance by night, for ſuch was the pleaſure of the Pope, when they could not be admitted into his preſence, they went to the houſe of the Cardinall of *Naples* to negociate with him and the other Cardinals and Prelates appointed; the Embaſſadours of *Cæſar*, the *French* and *Spaniſh*, hindring as much as they could, that they ſhould not obtaine the abſolution of the Church paines: and of the contrary the Archbiſhop of *Yorke*, whom *Henrie* the eight (who by reaſon of the death of *Henrie* the ſeuenth his father, had a few moneths before ſucceeded to the Crowne of *England*) had ſent thither in their fauour, ſoliciting manifeſtly for them with all his endeuours.

But at this time an expectation of farre greater things occupied the minds of all men: for *Cæſar* leuying all the power he was able of himſelfe, with ſuch aides as he could gather of all his friends, prepared to beſiege *Padua* with a puiſſant armie: and on the other ſide, the *Venetians* iudging their vniuerſall ſafetie to conſiſt in the defence of that Citie, laboured to ſtrengthen it with all prouiſions neceſſarie for the defence thereof. They cauſed to enter, beſides the bands appointed for the guard of *Treuiſa*, their whole armie with all the forces they could gather from all parts; and conueyed thither infinite numbers of all ſorts of artilleries, with all kind of victuals, ſufficient to nouriſh them for many moneths, and furniſhed the towne with an innumerable multitude of paiſants and carpenters, by whoſe helpe beſides that they made many mounts, and ſluces of wood and iron, to the end they ſhould not be depriued of the water that was brought from *Padua* by the towne of *Limini*, they had made & continually did make about the walls of the Citie maruellous fortifications. And albeit the prouiſions and munitions were ſuch as greater could not be deſired, yet in an action of ſo great importance, the care and dili-

gence of the Senate was incredible, omitting no oportunitie wherein occaſion was giuen to recouer their loſſes, and defend their libertie that remained. For the Senators ceaſſed not day and night to thinke vpon, to admoniſh, and to propound ſuch things as they iudged to be either neceſſary or profitable: whereof as they diſcourſed dayly in the Senate, *Leonard Loredan* their Duke, a man much reſpected for his age, and of no leſſe reputation for the dignitie of his place, whereunto he was called many yeares before, ſtanding vp, reaſoned in this manner:

The Oration of Leonard Loredan.

If, as the truth is, (right worthy Senators) not onely all the hope we haue to recouer our dominion, but alſo to preſerue our libertie, conſiſts in the defending of *Padua*; and if on the contrary, it be moſt certaine, that of the loſſe of *Padua* will deſcend the laſt deſolation of our country, we muſt neceſſarily grant, that the prouiſions and preparations which hitherunto we haue made, notwithſtanding they were very great, haue not yet bene ſufficient, either for that that appertaineth to the ſuretie of that Citie, or for that which reſpecteth the dignitie of our Commonweale. For in an action of ſuch danger and importance, it ſufficeth not to make ſuch preparations, as that there may be great hope of the defending of *Padua*, but they muſt be ſo mightie, that ſo farre forth as may be foreſeene by the wit of man, they may ſtand aſſured againſt all the accidents of fortune, who being mightie ouer all the things of the world, hath yet her greateſt power ouer the actions of warre. It is not a reſolution worthy the ancient renowne and glorie of the *Venetian* name, wholly to commit the publike ſafetie, our vniuerſall honour, and the proper liues of our wiues and children, to the vertue of ſtrangers and mercenarie ſouldiers; but we muſt willingly runne thither on heapes, to defend it with our breaſts and armes. For if we looke not now to the preſeruation of that Citie, there remaines no other place wherein we may trauell for our ſelues, ſhew our vertue, or expend our treaſure for our ſafetie. Seeing then the time to helpe and ſuccour our countrey is not yet paſt, we ought not to ſhunne any paines or trauell whatſoeuer, nor expect till we remaine a prey to thoſe that ſeeke to ſacke our goods, and moſt cruelly to drinke our bloud. The conſeruation of our countrey comprehends not onely the publike good, but together with the ſafetie of the Commonweale, is reſpected the ſecuritie of euery one in particular, hauing ſuch affinitie and coniunction together, that the one cannot conſiſt without the other. For the Commonweale falling into ſeruitude, who knowes not that the ſubſtance, the honours, and liues of priuate men, ſhall become a prey to the couetouſneſſe, to the voluptuouſneſſe, to the cruelties, and to the vile affections of the enemies? But though there were no other reſpect in the defending of a Commonweale, then the preſeruation of the countrey, is it not a thing worthy of noble Citizens full of glorie and reputation in this world, and moſt pleaſing to God? For it is the opinion, euen of the Gentiles, that in heauen is appointed a place particular for the perpetuall fruition and comfort of ſuch, as either ſuccoured, preſerued or augmented their countrey. And what countrey did euer better deſerue to be reſcued and ſupported by her children then this of ours, who for many ages hath retained the principalitie and firſt place of all the Cities of the world, and by whom the Citizens receiue infinite commodities, profites and honours? It is wonderfull, if you conſider the gifts which it hath receiued of nature, or the things which declare her perpetuall greatneſſe and happie fortune; or elſe thoſe effects which expreſſe her vertue, together with the nobilitie of the wits of her inhabitants. For her ſituation makes men amazed, being the onely Citie in the world ſeated amongſt the ſalt waters, hauing all her parts ſo conioyned, that at one time men may enioy the commodities of the water, and the pleaſure of the land. It is aſſured againſt the inuaſions of the land, for that it ſtandeth not on the firme land; and from thoſe of the ſea, for that it is not ſeated in the plaine and deepe ſea. I may alledge to the dignitie and reputation of this Citie, the wonderfull maieſtie of publike pallaces and priuate manſions, builded at incredible charges, and poliſhed with ſtrange marbles and ſtones of ſingularitie, brought hither from all parts of the world, together with a ſtately aſpect of excellent pourtraits, imageries, ſculptures, pillars, and other workmanſhips of worthy regard. But what Citie can be found at this day where there is a greater concourſe of all ſtrange nations, coming hither partly to dwell ſafely in this free and almoſt diuine countrey, and partly for the exerciſe of their trafficke and negociations, whereby our Commonweale is repleniſhed with all ſorts of merchandize and trafficke, whereby our citizens are continually enriched, and whereby our Commonweale doth draw ſuch a reuenue of that onely which is contained within the circuite of this Citie, that many abſolute Kings receiue not the like of their whole kingdomes? I omit the great affluence of men skifull in all arts and ſciences, and the qua-

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litie of wits, and other vertues of men, from the which, ioyned to other conditions, is deſcended the glorie of thoſe actions which by this Commonweale and her deſcendants, haue bene made more great, then (ſince the imperie of the *Romanes*) by any other Principalitie or State in the world. I will not ſay alſo how admirable it is to ſee ſo great abundance of all things, in a Citie wherein nothing groweth, and yet repleniſhed with inhabitants. At the beginning our towne was ſtraited vpon theſe litle rocks, barren and naked of all things; and yet the vertue of our elders, ſtretching out firſt into the next ſeas and townes adioyning, and afterwards increaſing by happie ſucceſſe vpon the ſhores and prouinces further off, yea hauing runne euen to the vttermoſt limites of the Leuant, they got both by ſea and land ſo great an Empire, and held it ſo long, and augmented in ſuch ſort their power, that hauing bene of long time redoubted to all the other townes in *Italy*, it was neceſſary that the policies and forces of all the other Chriſtian Princes ſhould be banded and ioyned together to abate and depreſſe it. Matters aſſuredly hapned by the aide and fauour of the omnipotent God, for that the obſeruation of iuſtice indifferently adminiſtred in this Citie, is highly commended in all the world: for the onely bruite whereof many peoples and nations haue willingly ſubmitted themſelues to our gouernment. And further, is there any Citie, or any Empire, whereunto our countrey ſhall giue place? What Citie, what Empire, or what Principalitie excelleth our countrey, for matter of religion, and pietie towards God? Where may be ſeene more Monaſteries, more Temples full of ſo many rich and precious ornaments and things of admiration dedicated to the ſeruice of God? Where ſo many Hoſpitals and places of pitie, prepared with incredible charge for the perpetuall comfort of the afflicted, and continuall exerciſe of charitie? And certainly for all theſe things our countrey is by good right to be commended before any other; but farre more worthy are her praiſes for the glorie of this onely, that our countrey had at one time both her beginning and her libertie, and there was neuer ſeene any man borne or die in *Venice*, which was not borne and died a freeman; and likewiſe her libertie was neuer troubled: which felicitie is principally come to paſſe by the ciuill concord, which hath ſtood alwayes ſo rooted and confirmed in the hearts of men, that whenſoeuer they enter into our Senate, and into our counſels, they ſhake off all diſcords and priuate quarels. Of this ſ forme of gouernment is the cauſe, which being tempered and compounded of all the beſt ſorts of publike adminiſtration, and of ſuch a well conſenting harmonie agreeing in it ſelfe, that it hath remained for many ages vndefiled, without ciuill ſedition, without armes, and without effuſion of bloud amongſt the Citizens: a praiſe particular to our Commonweale, and whereof neither *Rome*, nor *Carthage*, nor *Athens*, nor *Lacedæmon*, nor any other of thoſe Commonweales which haue bene moſt renowned and beſt eſteemed of the Ancients can boaſt: yea there is found among vs ſuch a kind of gouernment and policie, that thoſe who haue made the greateſt profeſſion of ciuill wiſedome, could neuer imagine or deſcribe ſuch a one. Shall then the children and citizens of ſo glorious a countrey, which hath always bene the very bulwarke of the faith, and the beautie of the whole Chriſtian commonweale, be ſlow in the execution of their dutie? And ſhall there any be found who will refuſe to commit to danger the life of himſelfe and his children, for the protection thereof? which being comprehended in the defence of *Padua*, who is he that will refuſe to go thither in perſon to defend it? And albeit we be well aſſured that the forces that be there already, are ſufficient for the defence of it, appertaines it not to our honour, and concernes it not the glorie of the *Venetian* name, to make knowne to all the world, that we our ſelues did ſpeedily runne thither to defend and preſerue it? Such was the deſtinie of that Citie, that in a few dayes ſo great an eſtate ſhould fall out of our hands, wherein we haue not to complaine ſo much of the malice of fortune, (for that ſuch aduentures are common to all Commonweales and kingdomes) as that failing of our conſtancie, which till this day hath bene inuincible; and without all memory of the glorious examples of our elders, we haue with too ſudden deſpaire, giuen place to the mightie blowes of aduerſitie, and haue not expreſſed to our children that valour and vertue, which our fathers haue left well teſtified to vs. Now occaſion is offered vs to recouer that honour which is not yet loſt, if we will our ſelues ſhew the minds of men, but onely altered without any perill of abſolute ruine. For if we oppoſe againſt all fortune, and willingly offer our ſelues to dangers, we ſhall redeeme the infamies receiued; and when the world ſhall perceiue that our ancient generoſitie is not loſt, men will rather attribute the diſorders paſt to a certaine fatall tempeſt, which neither the counſels nor conſtancie of men could reſiſt, then impoſe vpon vs either blame or

« dishonour. And therefore if it were reasonable that we went altogether to the rescue of *Padua*,
« and if for certaine dayes we might leaue this Citie without preiudice of her defence and other
« publike affaires of importance, my selfe, without expecting your resolution, would be the first
« that should open the way, not seeing wherein I might better employ these last dayes of my old
« age, then with my presence to participate in so glorious a victorie, or else not to remaine aliue
« after the ruine of my countrey, but to die together with others; a calamitie which my mind hath
« horrour to expresse. But for that *Venice*, neither can, nor ought to be depriued of her publicke
« counsels, wherein consisteth no lesse the defence of *Padua* in counselling, prouiding and ordai-
« ning, then in the force and armes of such as be there already: and the vnprofitable troupes of
« old persons will stand in that Citie rather as a charge and burden, then as a succour and neces-
« sarie aide: and seeing withall it is not conuenient, for any thing that may happen, to disfurnish
« *Venice* of all her youth; my aduice is, respecting these reasons with the regard to accidents that
« may occurre, that there be made a choise of two hundred Gentlemen of the principals of our
« youth, and euery of them to go to *Padua*, with such proportion of friends and seruants as his a-
« bilitie will beare, and to continue there so long as shall be necessarie for the defence of that Ci-
« tie. My two sonnes with a great reuenue shall be the first to execute that, which I their father
« and your Prince haue proposed vnto them; whose liues and persons in so great a danger, I do
« willingly offer to the succor of their country: so shal *Padua* be more assured; so shal the mercena-
« rie souldiers that be there, seeing our youth cheerfully assisting all actions that concerne that ser-
« uice, reioyce exceedingly, and haue the more courage, being well assured that seeing our sons
« and kinsmen are ioyned with them, they shall haue no want of victuals and munitions, nor of
« any other aide or supply. The youth and the rest that go not, shall be so much the more encou-
« raged by this example, to vndergo, when need shall so require, all quarrels and dangers. You
« Senators, (whose words and doings serue as an example and mirrour to the whole Citie) who-
« soeuer among you haue sufficient abilitie, striue that your sonnes may be enrolled in the num-
« ber of those that shall communicate in so great a glorie: for hereby will ensue not onely an assu-
« red and certaine defence of *Padua*, but also we shall procure to our selues with all nations, this
« reputation, namely, that we our selues are they, who with the danger of our owne liues, do de-
« fend the libertie and safetie of the most worthy and flourishing countrey that is in the world.

The Gentlemē of Venice go to the succours of Padua.

This counsell of the Prince was heard with great attention and approbation, and with all speed put in execution. And the flower of the noble yong Gentlemen of *Venice*, drew to them as many of their friends and followers fit for armes, as they could, and went to *Padua*, being accompanied to their embarquing with all the other Gentlemen, and with an infinite multitude of people, who celebrated with many praises, and with vowes full of pietie and affection, so great a readinesse to succour their countrey. They were receiued at *Padua* with no lesse ioy and applause of all men, the Captaines and souldiers extolling the valour of those yong Gentlemen, who not trained nor experienced in the trauels and dangers of warre, preferred the loue of their countrey afore their proper life: so that encouraging one another, they expected very ioyfully the coming of *Cesar*; who labouring to assemble the bands of souldiers that came to him from many places, was by this time come to the bridge of *Brento*, three miles from *Padua*, and hauing taken *Limini* by force, and cut off the course of the water, he stayed for the artillerie which was coming out of *Germanie*, which was no lesse terrible for the quantitie then for the qualitie; of which when part was brought to *Vincensa*, and *Philip Rosse* and *Federike Gonsague de Bossolo* with two hundred light horsemen went forth to guard it, they were encountred by fiue hundred light horsemen that issued out of *Padua*, being led by the paisants, who in all that warre did much seruice for the *Venetians*; and ouerthrowne fiue miles from *Vincensa*, where *Philip* remained prisoner, and *Federike* by the fauour of the night escaped in his shirt. From the bridge *Brenta*, *Maximilian* caused his companies to march about twelue miles, drawing towards *Polesina de Rouigna*, the better to open to himselfe the commoditie of victuals; and taking the borough of *Este* by assault, and putting it to sacke, he went to encampe at *Monselica*, where the towne standing in the plaine being abandoned, the second day he tooke the Castle standing on the top of a high rocke. Afterwards he tooke by composition *Montagnana*, from whence returning towards *Padua*, he incamped at the bridge of *Bassanello* neare *Padua*, and assayed in vaine to turne the riuer of *Brenta* which from thence hath his course to *Padua*: at which place all the artilleries and munitions which he expected being arriued, and all the regiments of men of warre which lay dis-

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perſed in diuers places being come together, he approched the towne with all his armie: and hauing beſtowed foure thouſand footmen in the ſuburbes which are called *S. Croſſe*, his opinion was to aſſaile it on that ſide. But afterwards being aduertiſed that it was the ſtrongeſt part of the towne both by ſituation and by walls, and that it was the beſt fortified, and alſo for that he there receiued great harmes by the artilleries of *Padua*, he determined to remoue and tranſport his armie to the gate *Portello*, bearing his aſpect to *Venice*; becauſe he was informed that the towne was moſt weake in that place, and withall to giue impediment to the ſuccours which were to come from *Venice* to *Padua* either by land or by water. But for that he could not go thither for the diſcommoditie of certaine marriſhes and waters that ouerflowed the countrey, but by fetching a great circuite, he came to the bridge of *Bouolento*, which is ſeuen miles from *Padua*, where be paſtures and feeding grounds vpon the banke of *Baguillon* towards the ſea, betweene *Padua* and *Venice*. Into this place, being enuironed with waters, and in the moſt ſure part of the countrey of *Padua*, were withdrawne three thouſand paiſants with great heards of cattell, who being forced by the footbands of the *Spaniſh* and *Italians* that were in the vauward, were almoſt all taken or ſlaine, the victors for the two dayes following doing nothing elſe but ouer-run the whole countrey, euen to the ſea, driuing away infinite heards of cattell feeding in that quarter. There were alſo taken vpon *Brenta* diuers barks, which laden with victuals were going vp to *Padua*. And at laſt, the fifteenth day of September, after he had conſumed much time vnprofitably, and giuen leiſure to the enemie both to fortifie and refurniſh the towne with victuals, he approched the walls of *Padua* on that ſide towards the gate *Portello*. There hath not bin ſeen in *Italy* in this age, nor haply a long time before, a ſiege of more great expectation, nor wherein the minds of men were more buſily occupied, then this, as well for the nobilitie of the Citie, as for the importance that was in the loſing or keeping of the ſame. For *Padua* a moſt noble and ancient Citie, and renowmed for the Vniuerſitie of ſtudies, and by which do paſſe the riuers of *Brenta* and *Baguillon*; it is compaſſed with three orders of wals, and which peraduenture hath as great a circuite of ground, as any of the greateſt Cities of *Italy*; is ſeated in a countrey fertill, and where the aire is temperate and wholeſome: and although the *Venetians* won it out of the poſſeſſion of the family of *Carrato* more then two hundred yeares ſince, yet it retaines many great and ſtately buildings, with many memorable markes of antiquitie, well expreſſing her ancient greatneſſe and beautie. And of the conquering or defending of ſo great a Citie, depended, not onely the confirmation or diminution of the *Almaine* imperie in *Italy*, but alſo the very eſtate of the Citie of *Venice*. For *Padua* being defended, the Commonweale of *Venice* abounding in wealth, and being at vnitie in her ſelfe, with ſtore of prompt wits, and ſubiect to no ſuch variations as the affaires of Princes are, may eaſily hope to recouer in ſmall time a part of her iuriſdiction: and ſo much the more, by how much the moſt part of thoſe ſubiects which had thirſted after mutations, hauing not found effects anſwerable to their conceptions, and knowing by compariſon what difference there was betweene the moderate gouernment of the *Venetians*, and that of the *Almaines*, farre different from the maners and cuſtomes of the *Italians*, and greatly diſordered by the confuſions and damages of the warre, they began to be better affected to their ancient gouernment: but on the contrary, if *Padua* were loſt, the *Venetians* ſhould loſe all hope to be able to reſtore the glorie of their Commonweale, yea there was great danger that the very Citie of *Venice* diſpoiled of ſo great an eſtate, & depriued of great riches, & many treaſures, both by the diminution of publike reuenues, and by the loſſe of ſo much goods poſſeſſed by priuate perſons in the firme land, would not be able to maintaine defence againſt the armies of the Princes confederate, or at leaſt would in time become a prey as well to the *Turkes* (to whom they are neighbours in many places, and with whom they haue had alwayes either warre, or peace vnfaithfull and ill aſſured) as to the Chriſtian Princes. But all men were in no leſſe doubt, the mightie preparations that were made on all ſides keeping wonderfully in ſuſpence the common iudgements, which were very vncertaine on whether part the better fortune would fall, either to the aſſailants or to the defendants. For in the armie of *Caſar*, beſides the ſeuen hundred *French* Lances, which *Monſieur la Paliſe* commanded, there were two hundred men at armes which the Pope had ſent to his aide; two hundred more ſent by the Duke of *Ferrara*, vnder the charge of the Cardinall of *Eſte*, notwithſtanding the quarrels that were betweene them were not yet reconciled; and ſixe hundred *Italian* Lances vnder ſundry Captaines which he had taken into his pay. He was no leſſe ſtrong in footmen then in horſemen: for he

The deſcription of Padua.

had eighteene thouſand *Almaine* footmen, ſixe thouſand *Spaniſh*, ſixe thouſand aduenturers of diuers nations, and two thouſand *Italians*, leuied and payed by the Cardinall of *Eſte* vnder the ſame title. There followed him a wonderfull proportion of all ſorts of artilleries, with great quantities of munitions, whereof the *French* King had ſent him part. And albeit for the moſt part his owne ordinarie bands were not payed, yet, what with the conſideration of the greatneſſe and authoritie of ſuch a Leader, and the hope to ſpoile and ſacke *Padua*, and to haue at their deuotion all that the *Venetians* poſſeſſed as yet, they abandoned not their ſeruice for that, but flocked to him dayly in greater numbers, chiefly for that all men knew, that he that of his owne nature was moſt liberall and full of humanitie to his ſouldiers, would not faile of their paiment by couetouſneſſe or will, but by diſabilitie or want. This was the ſtrength of *Cæſars* armie, not wholly compounded of his owne forces, but alſo of ſtrangers and mercenaries. But as touching the defence of *Padua*, the armie which the *Venetians* had in that Citie, was no leſſe mightie: for they had there ſixe hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horſemen, fifteene hundred eſtradiots, commanded by theſe notable Captaines, the Count *Petillane* Generall of the whole, *Bernardino de Montono*, *Anthonie de Pio*, *Luke Maluzzo*, *Iohn Greeke*, with other inferiour leaders. There were beſides the horſemen, twelue thouſand footmen of the beſt experienced and trained in all *Italy*, vnder the charge of *Denis de Naldo*, *Zitoſe de Perouſa*, *Lactantius de Bergamo*, *Saccoio de Spoleto*, with many other officers: ten thouſand footmen, as well *Slauonians*, *Greekes*, as *Albanois*, whom they had drawne from their galleys, of whom albeit many were not much profitable to the ſeruice, yet ſome of them were well trained and able to do neceſſary office. Beſides theſe, they had the youth of *Venice* and their followers, who albeit they were much reſpected for their nobilitie and pietie to their countrey, yet for that they offered themſelues readily to all dangers, and for the example which they gaue to others, they were of great importance. There was alſo great ſtore of all prouiſions neceſſarie, great quantities of artilleries, wonderfull plentie of all ſorts of victuals, the people of the plaine countreys being no leſſe carefull to bring in their prouiſions for their common ſuretie, then the magiſtrates and officers of *Venice* to giue order for their continuall refurniſhing, and a multitude almoſt innumerable of paiſants, who being leuied at a certaine price, laboured inceſſantly: in ſo much as that Citie being very ſtrong for the valour and numbers of the defendants, was wonderfully fortified with rampiers in the whole circuite of the walls: for they had almoſt filled vp all the waterditch which runneth along the walls, and at euery gate of the towne and other places conuenient, builded many forts and cloſe baſtillions without, but ſo as they were annexed to the walls, and had entries and conueyances into the towne, and being wel repleniſhed with artilleries, they beat ſuch as entred into the trench. And yet to the end § taking of thoſe baſtillions ſhould bring no danger to the town, they had made vnder each of them a caue filled with barrels of gun-powder, to blow thē vp into the aire when they could be no longer defended. And not altogether repoſing in the greatneſſe & goodnes of the old wall, notwithſtanding they had viewed it diligently, and repaired it where it was needfull, caſting downe the battlements; they made round about the Citie within, a Paliſſado or fortification of ſtakes, trees, and other peeces of wood, as farre diſtant from the wall as it was in thickneſſe, and with a wonderfull diligence filled vp to the top of the wall with good earth and well rammed, all the voide place that was betweene. This fortification no leſſe wonderfull in effect, then for labour and trauell ineſtimable, wherein were employed an infinite number of men, did not yet ſatisfie the expectation of thoſe to whom the defence of that Citie was committed, but the wall being in this ſort fortified and redoubled, they caſt a trench of ſixteene fadome in breadth, and as many in depth, which drawing narrower in the bottome, and ſtanding thicke with murdering houſes and litle towers full of ſhot, ſeemed impoſſible to be forced: and theſe fortifications were made with hollow vaults and caues, according to the example of the baſtillions, hauing conueyances to be ouerthrowne by fire when they would. And yet to be further prepared for all occaſions, they raiſed behind the trench a rampier of the ſame or greater largeneſſe, which ſtretched out as farre as the circuite of the towne, except in certaine corners and places, wherein they knew it was impoſſible to plant artillerie: and before the rampier they caſt a parapet of ſeuen fadome, which was a defence to thoſe that fought vpon the rampier, that they could not be ſtricken with the artilleries of the enemie. And to the end the courage of the ſouldiers and men of the towne might eaſily anſwer thoſe prouiſions and fortifications, when the Count *Petillane* had aſſembled the whole armie in the place of *S. Anthonie*,

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and had encouraged them with ſpeeches of great grauitie and valour, to conſider vpon what termes ſtood their common ſafetie and honour, he bound himſelfe, and cauſed to be bound by ſolemne oath all the Captaines, all the armie, and thoſe of the towne, to employ themſelues faithfully in the defence of the Citie, euen to death.

Then the armie of *Ceſar* being drawne neare the walls of *Padua*, with ſo great a ſtrength, and againſt ſo mightie a preparation, he ſtretched out his campe from the gate *Portello* vnto the gate of *All Saints* which leades to *Treuiſa*, and from thence enlarged it to the gate of *Codalonga* which goeth to the Citadell, ſo as it contained three miles in length. *Maximilian* himſelfe was lodged in the Monaſterie of *S. Helen*, diſtant a quarter of a mile from the Citie walls, being as it were in the midſt of the *Almaine* footmen: and after he had giuen to euery one his charge, according to the diuerſitie of nations and places of their encamping, he began to plant his artilleries for the batterie, which could not be accompliſhed (albeit in his perſon being inuincible in mind, and of a bodie hardned with paine and trauels, he performed a wonderfull diligence, running through all places day and night, and being preſent in all actions) but with longneſſe of time and great difficultie, as well for the great quantitie and intollerable greatneſſe of ſome of them, as alſo for that the whole campe, and ſpecially thoſe places where they ſought to plant them, were continually beaten and diſtreſſed with the artilleries of the towne. At laſt, the perpetuall induſtrie of *Maximilian* ioyned to the valour of his ſouldiers, made way to plant his artilleries, and the ſame day the *French* and the footmen of the *Almaines* gaue an aſſault to the tower of the gate on that ſide where *Monſieur la Paliſſa* had the charge, but more to ſound and proue their countenance, then with intention to fight in good earneſt: and therefore finding the reſiſtance valiant and well furniſhed, they retired eftſoones to their tents. The day following, the artilleries ſhot furiouſly without ceaſſing, the greateſt part of them by their incredible hugeneſſe and vnmeaſurable quantitie of powder that was vſed, piercing through the rampiers, beat downe the houſes that were neare the walls: and now in many places a great ſpace of the wall was caſt downe, and the baſtillion built at the gate of *All Saints* was beaten downe to the ground; but for al that the defendants, afflicting the camp with continual volleys of ſhot, ſhewed no ſigne of feare: and the eſtradiots that in great valour were lodged in the ſuburbes, refuſing to retire into the towne, and the light horſemen making continuall incurſions in all places, skirmiſhed with their enemies ſometimes before, and ſometimes behind, driuing them euen to their tents, ſometimes they diſtreſſed ſuch as were guards to the forragers and victuallers, and ſometimes ouerrunning and ſpoiling the whole countrey, they troubled all the wayes, except that which goeth from *Padua* to the mount of *Aban*: and yet there was in the campe a wonderfull abundance of victuals, euery houſe and place being plentifully furniſhed; for that neither the feare of the paiſants, nor the carefull diligence of the *Venetians*, nor the infinite harmes of the ſouldiers on both ſides, could waſte or draine vp the great plentie of that moſt fruitfull and fertill countrey. At the ſame time alſo *Luke Maluezzo* iſſued out of *Padua* with many horſemen for the conuoy of fortie thouſand duckats which were ſent thither from *Venice*: and albeit in his returne the enemie charged him vpon the taile, yet he brought in the treaſure in ſafetie, without any other loſſe then of ſome of his men at armes. By the ninth day the artillerie had executed ſo well, that it ſeemed there was no further neceſſitie to ſhoote, and therefore the day following, the whole armie prepared in order of battell to approch the wals; but perceiuing that the ſame night they within the towne had made the water of the ditch to ſwell and riſe, which afore was abated, and *Ceſar* holding it not neceſſarie to commit his ſouldiers to a manifeſt danger, euery one returned to his lodging. The next day (the water eftſoones abated) they gaue an aſſault (but with ſlender ſucceſſe) to the baſtillion which was made vpon the point of the gate of *Codalonga*, and therefore the Emperour purpoſing to do what he could to force it, cauſed to be turned thither the artilleries that were planted in the quarter of the *French*, lying betweene the gates of *All Saints* and *Codalonga*: wherewith hauing ruined ſome part, two dayes after he commanded the *Almain* and *Spaniſh* footmen, accompanied with certaine men at armes on foote to giue the aſſault, who fighting valiantly aſcended the baſtillion, and ſet vp there two enſignes. But the fortreſſe of the ditch was ſuch, and no leſſe the vertue of the defendants, (amongſt whom *Zitolo* of *Perouſa* fighting brauely and with great honor, was ſore hurt) and ſo plentifull the inſtruments of defence, not onely of artilleries, but alſo of ſtones and wildfires, that they were conſtrained to deſcend by heapes, many being wounded and many ſlaine: in ſo much as the armie that ſtood

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in readineſſe to giue the aſſault to the wall, as ſoone as the baſtillion ſhould be taken (as they thought) retired, and diſarmed, without making any other attempt. *Maximilian* by this experience loſt all hope of the victorie; and therefore determining to go his way, after he had beſtowed his artilleries in ſure places, he retired with all his armie to the towne of *Limini* which is towards *Treuiſa*, the ſeuenteenth day after he was encamped before *Padua*: and afterwards with many baites and reſting places he went to *Vincenſa*, from whence when he had taken of that people the oath of fidelitie, and diſmiſſed almoſt all his armie, he tooke his way towards *Verona*, being not a litle diſcontent that his deliberations had ſucceeded no better, but much more for that they were maruellouſly taxed, both in his armie and throughout all *Italy*: and no leſſe the execution of the things determined. For no man doubted, that the cauſe why he tooke not *Treuiſa*, and that he loſt *Padua*, was any other then his owne fault; and alſo that his too late arriuing afore *Padua*, made the action more hard, for that thereby the *Venetians* had time to make prouiſion of ſouldiers, to repleniſh *Padua* with victuals, and to make ſuch admirable preparations and fortifications. And he himſelfe denied not, but that had bene the cauſe that the Citie was defended; but putting off the faults of his varietie and diſorders, and caſting them vpon others, he complained of the Pope and the *French* king, for that the one had ſuffered the Embaſſadours of *Venice* to go to *Rome*, and the other had bene too ſlow in ſending ſuccours; the ſame giuing occaſion to the world to beleeue that they were eſtranged from him, and had likewiſe encouraged the countrymen of the mountaines of *Vincenſa* to draw into rebellion; for the ſubduing of whom, after he had conſumed many dayes, he likewiſe found (for the ſame cauſe) the like difficulties in the plaine countrey: Alſo that to open way, and aſſure himſelfe of victuals, and to free himſelfe from many inconueniences, he was conſtrained to take all the townes of the countrey: That herein the ſlow marching of the *French* had not onely much hurt him, but if they had come in due time, the reuolt of *Padua* had not happened: And that as well for this, as for that the Kings of *France* and *Aragon* had diſmiſſed their armie at ſea, the *Venetians* being freed from all other feares, had the better oportunitie to furniſh and fortifie *Padua*. And he complained further, that theſe difficulties were very plauſible to the King of *Aragon*, as meanes the more eaſily to induce him to conſent that the adminiſtration and gouernment of the kingdome of *Caſtile* ſhould remaine to him. But theſe complaints did nothing better his conditions, nor recouer his authoritie loſt, not knowing how to vſe ſo faire occaſions: for the *French* King was well content that ſuch an opinion was generally conceiued of him, and the Pope cared not much, who of his owne inclination being ſuſpitions and diſtruſtfull, and conſidering that the Emperour alwayes wanted money, and was importunate in demanding of it, was vnwilling that his name ſhould increaſe in *Italy*. At *Verona* he receiued the oath of fidelitie, and in that Citie the *Florentine* Embaſſadours, whereof *Peter Guicciardin* my father was one, couenanted with him in the name of that Commonweale (induced thereunto, beſides other reaſons, by the perſwaſions of the *French* King) to pay him within a ſhort time fortie thouſand duckats: for which promiſe they obtained of him moſt ample priuiledges, for the confirmation as well of the libertie of *Florence*, as of the dominion and iuriſdiction of the townes and eſtates which they held, together with acquittance and diſcharge of all duties and demands for the time paſt. Thus *Ceſar* being reſolued to returne into *Germanie*, to giue order (as he ſaid) for the warres he intended to make in the Spring of the yeare, ſent for *Monſieur de Chaumont* to come and commune with him about the preſent affaires: and when he was come vnto him at the village of *Ars* in the territorie of *Verona*, he layed afore him what danger there was, that the *Venetians* would come and recouer *Ciuitella* and *Baſſana*, places of great importance, which they prepared to aſſaile, being made proud by the defence of *Padua*: alſo that there was danger leſt they would do the like afterwards to *Monſelica*, *Montagnana* and *Eſte*: That it was neceſſarie, not onely to looke to the keeping of theſe places, but alſo to be carefull of the meanes to recouer *Legnaguo*: and that he himſelfe being ſufficiently able to leuie prouiſions neceſſarie for ſuch effects, it was needfull that the King ſhould aide him, whoſe places would fall into manifeſt danger, if the peeces which he held were not ſupported. To theſe demands, *Monſieur de Chaumont*, in whom was no power to make any certaine reſolution, gaue anſwer, that he would aduertiſe the King, and that he hoped the anſwer would be conformable to his deſire. After this conference, *Ceſar* went to *Chiuſa*, leauing the Marquis of *Brandenbourg* for the guard of *Verona*; and a litle after, *Monſieur de Paliſſa* remaining with fiue hundred Lances vpon the countrey of *Verona*, alledging the difficulties of lodging

lodging and many other incommodities, after he had gotten leaue of him, almoſt by importunitie, he retired to the frontier of the Duchie of *Millan*: for that the Kings intention was, that if his men of warre ſhould remaine in garriſon and do nothing, they ſhould not abide vpon his eſtate, but ſhould returne to the ſeruice of *Maximilian*, to expect ſuch enterpriſes as he would embrace, but chiefly that of *Legnagno*, the which though it was much deſired and ſolicited by him, yet was it ſo much deferred by his accuſtomed difficulties, that the raines fell ſo faſt by the propertie of the ſeaſon, that it was impoſſible to encamp in that country, which for the lowneſſe thereof is much ſubiect to waters: and therefore the Emperour being brought into theſe ſtraits, deſired a truce with the *Venetians* for certaine moneths. But they taking courage by theſe diſorders, and ſeeing how ſlowly the Confederates miniſtred to his aide, iudged it not for their profite to conſent to any ſurceaſſing of armes.

At laſt the Emperour returned to *Trent*, leauing thoſe places that he held in great danger, and all *Italy* in great doubt: for there was raiſed a new contention betweene the Pope and the *French* King, the foundation whereof although it ſeemed to proceed from light occaſions, yet it was feared leſt it aroſe of ſome ſecret practiſes and cauſes of greater importance then ſuch as were made knowne; which was this: A Biſhopricke being voide in *Prouence* by the death of the incumbent, dying in the Court of *Rome*, the Pope had diſpoſed of it againſt the liking of the *French* King, who pretended that ſuch an action was contrary to the capitulation which the Cardinall of *Pauie* had made betweene them; wherein although it were not expreſſed in words, that there ſhould be equall obſeruation touching the Biſhopricks that ſhould fall voide in the Court of *Rome*, as in thoſe that ſhould fall vacant in other places, yet that the Cardinall had promiſed him ſo by word of mouth: which the Cardinall denying to be true, more perhaps for feare then for any other occaſion, the Pope affirmed, that he tooke no knowledge of any thing that was promiſed in ſecret, but that in the ratification he had regard to that that appeared in the writing, wherein he had ſet downe diſtinctly all the contents of the capitulation, article by article, and the caſe concerning the Biſhops dying in the Court of *Rome* being not therein comprehended, he was no further bound. And therefore the ſame diſcontentment increaſing, the King (reiecting, contrary to his cuſtome, the counſell of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who had alwayes aduiſed him to be at accord with the Pope) made ſequeſtration of the fruites of all thoſe benefices which the Churchmen reſident in the Court of *Rome* held in the Duchie of *Millan*: and on the other ſide, the Pope refuſed to giue the Cardinals Hat to the Biſhop of *Albie*, who, according to the promiſe made to the King, was gone to *Rome* to receiue it. And although the Pope, ouercome by the requeſts of many, diſpoſed in the end of the Biſhopricke of *Prouence* according to the Kings mind, and made a new agreement with him touching the proceeding in benefices that hereafter ſhould fall in the Court of *Rome*; and in that regard the ſequeſtrations to ceaſſe on the one ſide, and on the other part the Hat to be transferred to the Biſhop of *Albie*: yet theſe things ſuffiſed not to moderate the mind of the Pope, who was not a litle kindled for many reaſons, but ſpecially for that hauing from the beginning of his Popedome very vnwillingly transferred the Legation of the Realme of *France* to the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, as hurtfull to the Court of *Rome*, and preiudiciall to his authoritie; it was moſt grieuous vnto him (to auoide the diſpleaſure of the *French* King) to continue it to him: and therefore perſwading himſelfe that the ſame Cardinall aſpired with all his thoughts and meanes to the Popedome, he ſtood in feare and doubt of euery progreſſe and mouing of the *French*. Theſe were the apparent cauſes of his diſcontentment; but by that which was diſcerned afterwards, he propoſed to him ſelfe greater ends, deſiring vehemently, either for greedineſſe of glorie, or for ſome ſecret hatred againſt the *French* King, or at leaſt longing for the libertie of the *Genoways*, that the King might loſe all that he poſſeſſed in *Italy*: and he ceaſſed not to complaine openly of him and the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*; but ſo, that it ſeemed his diſcontentment proceeded chiefly of feare. And yet, as he was of nature obſtinate and inuincible, and for the moſt part accompanied the diſpoſition of his mind with outward demonſtrations: ſo though he aſpired in his thoughts to an end of ſo great conſequence and hard to obtaine, truſting onely to himſelfe, and in the reuerence and authoritie which he knew Chriſtian Princes bare to the Papall ſeate, he woud not enter into alliance nor depend vpon any; but ſhewing both by words and deeds how litle account he made of all, he forbare to ioyne with *Maximilian*, and refuſed to enter into ſecret intelligence with the King Catholike, but eſtranging himſelfe from all the reſt, he inclined onely to the part of the

Maximilian returneth into Germanie.

the *Venetians*, reſoluing dayly more and more to abſolue them; iudging it a thing very conuenient for the common ſafetie of *Italy*, and for his particular ſuretie and greatneſſe, not to ſuffer them to periſh. Againſt this the Embaſſadours of *Maximilian* and the *French* King, made great reſiſtance, with whom was publikely concurrant in the ſame buſineſſe the Embaſſadour of the King of *Aragon*, notwithſtanding ſecretly he ſolicited the Pope to the contrary, fearing the greatneſſe of the *French* King in regard of the kingdome of *Naples*, and repoſing litle in the diſpoſition of *Cæſar*, for the ſlender ſtabilitie that was in him. Theſe Embaſſadours alledged, that it was not reaſonable, that the Pope ſhould do ſo great a benefite for thoſe whom he was bound to purſue with armes; ſeeing that by the confederation of *Cambray* euery Confederate was bound reciprocally to aid one another till there was abſolute recouery of all thoſe places which were named for euery one in particular: Wherefore then ſeeing *Cæſar* had not yet conquered *Treuiſa*, none of them was freed of that bond: beſides that, he might iuſtly refuſe abſolution to the *Venetians*, for that they had not reſtored to the Church the townes of *Romagna*, either willingly, or in the time ſet downe in the monition: nay, they had not as yet fully obeyed, for that they were admoniſhed, beſides the townes, to reſtore the fruites, which they haue not accompliſhed. But hereunto the Pope anſwered, that ſince they were returned to penance, and had ſought for abſolution with great humilitie, it was not the office of Chriſts Vicar to perſecute them any further with ſpirituall weapons to the preiudice of ſo many thouſand ſoules, ſpecially hauing obtained of them the Townes, and by that meanes the occaſion ceaſſing for which they had bene ſubiect to the cenſures of the Church: That touching the reſtitution of the fruites, it was but a matter accidentall, and vrged more to aggrauate their diſobedience, then for any other reaſon; and that it was not meete that that ſhould ſtand againſt them as a matter of importance: That it was an action of another nature to purſue them with temporall armes, wherein (ſeeing he had determined in the league of *Cambray* to perſeuere) he offered himſelfe readie to be concurrant with the others; although any of the Confederates might iuſtly leaue off, for that if *Cæſar* had not *Treuiſa*, it was through his owne fault, in refuſing the firſt offers which the *Venetians* made to him by their Embaſſador *Anthonie Iuſtiniã*, to leaue him all that they poſſeſſed in the firme land; and alſo the other offer, which they made him many times ſince, to giue him ſufficient recompence in exchange for *Treuiſa*. And thus not being retained by any contradiction of the Embaſſadours, he was ſlow to this action onely by the haughtineſſe of his mind, whereby it came to paſſe, that albeit he eſteemed the abſolution of the *Venetians* to be profitable vnto him, and to the plots he had layed, yet he had determined not to giue it them, but with great reſpect to his authoritie, and in ſuch ſort, as whatſoeuer was dependant of the Church, might be wholly freed from their oppreſſions: which was the cauſe that the *Venetians* being vnwilling to yeeld to two conditions which he propoſed vnto them among many others, he deferred to abſolue them. One of the conditions was, that they ſhould leaue the nauigation of the *Adriatique* ſea free to the ſubiects of the Church, which they reſtrained to all thoſe that would not pay them a certaine tribute for the merchandize they brought: the other, that they ſhould continue no longer at *Ferrara* (a Citie depending of the Church) the office of *Vicedomino*. The *Venetians* alledged, that they of *Ferrara* had conſented to it, Pope *Clement* the ſixt giuing no impediment, who at that time remained with his Court in the Citie of *Auignon*: and that Pope *Alexander* the fourth had giuen them the iuriſdiction and guard of the Gulfe with very large priuiledges; being hereunto moued, for that with their armes, by their vertue, and with their expences they had defended it againſt the *Saracens* and pirats, and made that nauigation ſafe for the Chriſtians. To theſe reaſons it was anſwered on ꝧ Popes behalfe, that they of *Ferrara* could not in preiudice of the Eccleſiaſtike iuriſdiction, conſent, that any other ſhould hold office or exerciſe dominiõ in *Ferrara*: & that the people of *Ferrara* had not willingly conſented, but forced by a long & grieuous war, and hauing in vaine craued aid of the Pope, whoſe cenſures the *Venetians* contemned, were conſtrained to accept peace at the diſcretion of thoſe, who could do more againſt them by arms then by reaſon. And wheras they ſay it was granted to thẽ by Pope *Alexander*, there appeareth nothing either in hiſtories or cõtracts, neither is there any other thing to cauſe vs to beleeue it, ſaue only the teſtimonie of the *Venetians*, which in their owne cauſe, of ſo great conſequence, is to be ſuſpected: & though there ſhould ſome ſuch thing appeare, yet it is more likely, that he, whom they ſaid had accorded to ſuch things in *Venice*, had done it by threatnings or for feare, then that a Pope of *Rome*, to whom afore all others appertained the defence of iuſtice, and the

recourſe

recourſe of the oppreſſed, would haue conſented to a thing ſo imperious and domageable to all the world.

In this eſtate of affaires, diuerſitie of intentions of Princes, and ſmall power and reputation of the Emperour, the *Venetians* ſent their armie to *Vincenſa* vnder the leading of *Andrew Gritti*, knowing that the people there deſired to returne vnder their obedience; and making their approch in the euening, after they had battered the ſuburbes of *Portello* with the artilleries, they tooke it. Touching the Citie, although there were very few ſouldiers in it, yet the *Venetians* had no great aſſurance to carrie it: but the townesmen, ſtirred vp by *Fracaſſe* (as the bruite went) after they had ſent Embaſſadours to them about midnight, let them in, and the Prince of *Henault* and *Fracaſſe* retired into the Caſtle. And it was aſſuredly beleeued, that if the *Venetian* armie, hauing obtained *Vincenſa*, had without delay approched *Verona*, that towne had done the like: but the Captaines thought it not fit to depart out of the towne vntill the Caſtle were taken, which they had the fourth day, for that the Prince of *Henault* and *Fracaſſe* finding themſelues too weake, left it abandoned. In the meane time 5 companies of *Ceſar* entred *Verona*, and three hundred Lances of the *French* King, vnder the charge of *Monſieur d'Aubigny*: in ſo much as containing a ſtrength of fiue hundred Lances and fiue thouſand footmen *Spaniſh* & *Almains*, it was now no more eaſie to take it. Not long after the *Venetian* armie approched *Verona*, being deuided into two parts, in either of which were three hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſmen, and three thouſand footmen. They hoped, that as ſoone as they were approched, there would be ſome commotion in the Citie, but becauſe they preſented not themſelues afore the walls all at one time, thoſe within the towne going to afront the former part which came beyond the riuer of *Adice*, and was already entred the ſuburbes, conſtrained them to retire; and *Luke Maluezzo* coming a litle after on the other ſide of the riuer with the other part, retired alſo: and both theſe ioyning together, incamped in the village of *S. Martin* within fiue miles of *Verona*, where vnderſtanding that two thouſand *Almain* footmen iſſued out of *Baſciana*, were gone to make pillage about *Ciuitella*, turning that way, they encloſed them in a valley called *Fidato*: but the *Almaines* being ſuccoured by thoſe of *Baſciana*, made their way by force, though not without ſome hurt by reaſon of the ſtraite paſſages, and leauing *Baſciana* abandoned, the *Venetians* tooke it. From *Baſciana* part of the armie went to *Feltre* and *Ciuital*, which places after they had recouered, they preſented themſelues before the Rocke of *Eſcalo*, which was taken as ſoone as the artilleries were planted. At the ſame time *Anthonie* and *Hierome Sauorgniana*, Gentlemen that followed the *Venetians* in the countrey of *Friul*, tooke Newcaſtle, which ſtandeth on a rough mountaine in the midſt of the Patrimonie (ſo is that part of *Friul* called which is beyond the riuer of *Taillement*:) and all this while there was no other thing heard of *Maximilian* (who being moued with the action of *Vincenſa*, was ſuddenly come to *Pietra*) then vaine rumours, and that he often trauelled from one place to another in great diligence, but without any effect.

The Venetian armie at Vincenſa.

After this, the *Venetian* armie drew towards *Monſelica* and *Montagnana*, both to recouer *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and to enter vpon the places of *Ferrara*, together with ſome boates, which the Senate, (reiecting the counſell of the moſt wiſe Senators, who iudged it raſhneſſe to intangle themſelues with new enterpriſes) had determined to ſend againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, well furniſhed with ſtrength and munition along the riuer of *Po*. They were moued to this action, not ſo much for the profite of the affaires preſent, as for the incredible hatred they had conceiued againſt him: it ſeeming to them that they could not iuſtly complaine of that he had done, to ſhake off the yoke of *Vicedomino*, and to recouer *Poleſina*; but that they ought not to ſuffer, that not being content with that which he pretended to appertaine to him by right, he aſpired to retaine that which did no way appertaine vnto him; for that at ſuch time as *Ceſar* raiſed his ſiege from before *Padua*, he receiued of him in fee the borough of *Eſte* (from whence is ſprong the ſurname of the family of *Eſte*) and by way of pawne, the borough *Montagnana*, for aſſurance of the money that he had lent him; to which places he had no right at all. They added hereunto the remembrance that his ſouldiers in the recouerie of *Poleſina*, puſhed on with an incredible hatred againſt the *Venetian* name, had executed great harmes vpon the Gentlemen, raging cruelly againſt their houſes, and ſetting them on fire. In theſe reſpects it was agreed, that their nauie commanded by *Ange Treuiſan*, compounded of ſixteene galleys, with a great number of ſmaller veſſels well furniſhed with men of warre, ſhould ſaile towards *Ferrara*: the which armie being en-

The Venetian army vpon the countrey of Ferrara.

tred into *Po* by the mouth of Fornacies, and hauing burnt *Coruola* with certaine other villages neare to *Po*, went ſpoiling all the countrey vp to the lake of *Scuro*, from which place the light horſemen who followed them as a ſtrength by land, made incurſions as farre as *Ficherolo*, which is rather a houſe of pleaſure then a Caſtle, but of great reputation, for that *Robert S. Seuerin* lay long time before it, being Captaine to the *Venetians* in the warre which they had againſt *Hercules* father to *Alphonſo*. The coming of this nauie, together with the rumor of the armie by land that was to follow, brought no litle amaze to the Duke of *Ferrara*, who, hauing but a ſlender ſtrength of ſouldiers, and the inhabitants of *Ferrara*, either for their ſmall numbers, or for their ignorance in warre, not ſufficient enough to oppoſe againſt ſuch a danger, he had no other meane to defend himſelfe vntill the ſuccours which he expected from the Pope and *French* king were come vnto him, then to let with force of ſhot beſtowed vpon the brinke of *Po*, that the enemies ſhould paſſe no further: for which cauſe when *Treuiſan* had in vaine aſſayed to paſſe, and ſeeing he could aduance nothing except he were ſuccoured by land, he came to an anker in the midſt of the riuer of *Po* behind a litle Ile, right ouer againſt *Puliſelle*, a place within eleuen miles of *Ferrara*, and very apt to annoy the towne. His intention was to expect there the army, who had gotten all *Poleſina* without any difficultie, hauing firſt recouered *Montagnana* by compoſition, whereby the magiſtrates of *Ferrara* were deliuered to them as priſoners, together with the Captaines of the footmen that were within. In this time of expectation of the armie, for the more ſafe riding of the galleys in the place where they lay, *Treuiſan* began to raiſe two baſtillions vpon the banks of *Po*, the one on that ſide to *Ferrara*, the other vpon the ſhore right againſt it, caſting withall a bridge vpon the veſſels to haue the more oportunitie to ſuccour that baſtillion that was on *Ferrara* ſide: the finiſhing whereof, the Duke purpoſing to hinder, but with a counſell haply more couragious then diſcreete, hauing called together as many of the youth of the towne as he could, with ſuch companies of ſouldiers as came to his pay, he ſent them continually to aſſaile the baſtillion on a ſudden: but the defendants receiuing ſuccous of their peoples which iſſued out of the veſſels, began to diſorder the enemie and put them to flight; and albeit the Duke himſelfe came to the medley with a freſh ſuccour of horſemen, and with his preſence brought a new heart to moſt of his people not trained in warre, and reduced them into order, yet ſuch was the furie of the enemie, for whom the ſuretie of the place fought, being manned with many peeces of ſmall ſhot, that in the end he was conſtrained to retire, leauing many of his people either dead or taken, and that not ſo many of the vnexperienced and baſe multitude, as of the moſt braue ſouldiers and nobilitie of *Ferrara*; amongſt whom was *Hercules Cantelmo*, a yong man of great hope, whoſe anceſtors aforetime were Dukes of *Sore* in the kingdome of *Naples*: for as certaine *Slauonian* ſouldiers led him priſoner into a galley, and contending amongſt themſelues to which of them he ſhould be priſoner, there was one of them, who, with a rare example of barbarous crueltie, miſerably ſtroke off his head. Wherefore the towne of *Ferrara* ſeeming to all men to be in great danger, *Monſieur de Chaumont* ſent to the ſuccours of it the Lord of *Chaſtillion* with an hundred and fiftie *French* Lances: and the Pope being kindled againſt the *Venetians* for entring into that action without any regard to the ſuperioritie which the Church hath there, appointed the two hundred men at armes which he had ſent to *Cæſars* aide, to be conuerted to the defence of *Ferrara*. But theſe ſuccours haply had come too late, if the *Venetians* had not bene compelled to looke to the defence of their owne eſtate. For as the troubles wherein *Maximilian* was (as hath bene declared before) were nothing grieuous to the *French* King, partly for the continuall feare he had of his proſperitie, and partly for that burning in deſire to make himſelfe Lord of *Verona*, he hoped by reaſon of his neceſſities to haue it of him at laſt, either by purchaſe or by engaging: but on the other ſide he was much diſpleaſed that the *Venetian* greatneſſe was eſtſoones reeſtabliſhed, which would turne him to continuall perill and perplexitie for his Duchie of *Millan*. And therefore *Cæſar* not hauing ſufficiently furniſhed *Verona* for want of money, the *French* King was conſtrained to enter into care of things, and by ſending thither new companies, beſides thoſe men at armes which were there already, ſo to prouide that that Citie returned not to their obedience. To this *Monſieur de Chaumont* gaue beginning, who, after the loſſe of *Vincenſa*, being come vpon the marches of *Verona*, he retained in the *French* kings pay two thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, which were within *Verona*, who began to draw into tumult for want of paiment: and he ſent thither for a greater ſuretie, other bands of footmen, according to the aduice of *Triuulce*; who, for that *Monſieur de Chaumont* feared leſt

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the King would be diſcontented with ſo great expences, made anſwer, that it was better the King ſhould charge him with the expence of his money, then to haue loſt or put in danger his eſtate. Beſides this, he lent to *Ceſar* eight thouſand duckats to pay the ſouldiers that were within *Verona*, but receiuing in pawne for the repaiment of that ſumme and others which afterward he ſhould aduance for his affaires, the towne of *Vallegge*, a place which the King eſteemed much for the ſuretie of *Breſſe*, for as much as it is within fiue miles of *Breſſe*, and is a paſſage ouer *Mincia*; yea ſuch a one, as he who poſſeſſeth *Vallegge* and *Peſquiero*, is maiſter of that riuer. The comming of *Monſieur de Chaumont* being followed with the moſt part of the Lances in the Duchie of *Millan*, together with the companies which he had put into *Verona*, and the rumour that ran of his preparation to beſiege *Vincenſa*, were the cauſes that the *Venetian* armie, leauing for the defence of *Poleſina* and to ſuccour their nauie, foure hundred light horſemen and foure hundred footmen, retired from the country of *Ferrara*, deuiding themſelues into *Legnaguo*, *Soaue*, & *Vincenſa*: and being carefull to aſſure *Vincenſa*, and to prouide that the country thereabout were not diſtreſſed by the garriſon of *Verona*, they fortified it with a wonderfull trench, large and full of water, enuironed with a rampier, whereon were diſperſed many baſtillions. It began from the foote of the mountaine which lieth below *Soaue*, and reaching about fiue miles along the plaine that leades from *Rouigna* to *Montfort*, it ended neare to certaine mariſhes which ioyne to the riuer of *Adice*. They alſo fortified *Soaue* and *Legnaguo*, by which meanes ſtanding vpon their gard, they aſſured all the countrey, chiefly for the winter ſeaſon. By the departure of the *Venetian* regiments, the danger of *Ferrara* was ſomewhat diminiſhed, but not altogether taken away; for though they were acquited of all feare to be forced, yet they were troubled with a ſuſpition leſt the people for the great harmes they receiued would diminiſh, or elſe fall into the laſt deſpaire. For the ſouldiers of the nauie and their followers, ranne vp euery day euen to the gates of the towne, and other veſſels of the *Venetians* which had on another ſide aſſailed the ſtate of the Duke of *Ferrara*, had taken *Comachio*. About this time arriued the companies of the Pope and the *French* king, and therefore the Duke, who (being warned afore by the harmes receiued in the aſſault of the baſtillion) was incamped in a ſtrong place neare to *Ferrara*, began to make many incurſions, to draw the enemies to battell, who hoping that their armie would returne, refuſed to fight vntil then. And it hapned one day that the Cardinall of *Eſte* hauing run vp neare to the baſtillion, as he returned backe, a ſhot came out of one of the veſſels of the enemies, which carried away the head of the Count *Lodowike de la Mirandola*, one of the Captaines of the Church, none other in ſo great a multitude being hurt, either with that or any other ſhot. At laſt the knowledge of the countrey, and of the nature and oportunitie of the riuer, made eaſie that which in the beginning had ſeemed hard and dangerous. For the Duke and the Cardinall, hoping to be able to deſtroy their nauie with the artillerie, if they could by any meanes bring it ſafely vpon the banke of the riuer, the Cardinall returned to charge the baſtillion with part of the bands, and giuing the repulſe to the enemie which were iſſued out to the skirmiſh, and making ſlaughter of ſome of them, he occupied and fortified that part that was next to the riſing, and ſo without all priuitie and knowledge of the enemie, vpon the beginning of the night, he drew the artillerie to the banke ſide right ouer againſt them, and planting it with great ſilence, he began to ſhoote vpon the enemies with a wonderfull furie. The veſſels ſought to ſaue themſelues by flying, but becauſe there was a long traine of great peeces of artillerie, which managed by men experienced, beat afar off, they rather changed the place of peril, then auoided ỹ danger, ſpecially when the Duke himſelf came vnto thẽ, who knew both how to make artilleries, & how to manage them. By reaſon of ſo many ſhots of artillerie, notwithſtanding the enemies for their part ceaſſed not to ſhoot, but in vaine, for that they that played vpon the brinke were couered with the riſing of the hill, their veſſels were conſumed with ſundry miſerable aduentures. Some of them that could no more gouerne themſelues againſt the furie of the ſhot, yeelded; others, being ſet on fire by the ſhot of the artilleries, were miſerably burnt with the men that were in them: others, for that they would not fall into the hands of the enemie, ſunke themſelues: and the Generall, leaping into a litle skiffe almoſt in the beginning of the skirmiſh, found ſafetie by the ſwiftnes of his oares, and his gally being galled through both ſides, was ſunk after it had fled about three miles, vſing continuall defence againſt the aduerſitie of her fortune. To be ſhort, the riuer being full of bloud, of fire, and of dead bodies, fifteene galleys fell into the power of the Duke, with certaine great ſhips, many foiſts, and an infinite number of ſmall veſſels. There died

A memorable accident.

about two thouſand bodies, ſome by ſhot, ſome by fire, and ſome by water: threeſcore enſignes were taken, but not the principall ſtandard, which was ſaued with the Generall: many recouered the ſhore, whereof ſome were gathered vp by the *Venetian* light horſemen, and ſaued by that meanes; others being purſued by the enemie, were taken priſoners, and others in flying receiued many harmes by the paiſants. The veſſels taken were carried to *Ferrara*, where, in memorie of ſo great a victorie, they were kept many yeares, vntill Duke *Alphonſo* hauing a deſire to gratifie the *Venetians*, made reſtitution. Immediatly after the ouerthrow of this nauie, Duke *Alphonſo* diſpatched with expedition three hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen to do the like to them that had taken *Comachio*, who recouered *Loretto* which the *Venetians* had fortified, and as it was thought, had broken the whole armie, if, ſeeing into their danger, they had not retired to *Bebia*, finding more ſuretie to auoide the perill, then to hope in fortune. This was the end of the ſiege of *Ferrara*, which continued about a moneth, the euent and iſſue whereof (which ordinarily is the true touchſtone whereby men may iudge of things) did well declare how much wiſer were the counſels of a few, who perſwaded that leauing all other enterpriſes, and reſeruing their treaſures to be employed in actions more conuenient and profitable, they ſhould onely looke to the preſeruation of *Padua*, *Treuiſa*, with other places recouered; then of ſuch, who though more in number, yet inferiour in diſcretion, and pricked forward with paſſions of hate and diſdaine, tooke pleaſure to be intangled with ſo many enterpriſes, which being vndertaken raſhly, were at laſt the cauſe of incredible expences, with ſhame & loſſe to the Commonweale. But about *Padua*, matters ſucceeded rather to the furtherance of the *Venetians* then otherwiſe. For, *Cæſar* keeping vpon the country of *Vincenſa* with foure thouſand footmen, a part of the regiment of the *Venetians* (and that neither ſtrong nor great) with the aide of the paiſants of that quarter, tooke almoſt before his eyes, the paſſage of *Eſcalo*, *Cogolo* and *Baſciana*, which is a place of importance, & conuenient to hinder the deſcending of the *Almaines* into *Italy*: and he complaining that by the departure of *Monſieur la Paliſſa* many diſorders had befallen him, went at laſt to *Boſſana* to aſſiſt the Diot which by his appointment was to be kept at *Inſpruch*: according to which example, *Monſieur de Chaumont* left off all his thoughts and deſires to performe the enterpriſe of *Vincenſa* and *Legnaguo*, conſidering withall that thoſe places were well manned and fortified, and the ſeaſon of the time very contrary; and retired to *Millan*, leauing good garriſon within *Breſſe*, *Peſquiero* and *Valegge*; and within *Verona* (for that *Cæſar* of himſelfe was not able to defend it) he beſtowed ſixe hundred Lances and foure thouſand footmen, who being ſeparate from the ſouldiers of *Cæſar*, were lodged in the ſuburbes of *S. Zena*, hauing yet the Citadell in their power for their greater ſuretie. *Verona* a noble and ancient Citie, is deuided by the riuer of *Adice*, a riuer both large and deepe coming from the mountaines of *Almaine*, and as it falls into the plaine, it goeth crooking on the left hand, touching vpon the foote of the mountaines, and ſo entreth into *Verona*, and when it iſſueth out, it runneth from the mountaines and ſpreadeth into a pleaſant and fertile plaine. That part of *Verona* which hath his ſituation vpon the deſcent and ſomewhat into the plaine, is beyond *Adice* towards *Almaine*: the other on this ſide *Adice*, and all in a goodly plaine, hauing *Mantua* for his proſpect. Vpon the mountaine neare *S. Georges* gate, ſtandeth the Caſtle of *S. Peter*, and within two croſ-bowes ſhot from thence drawing againſt the hill, is the Caſtle of *S. Felix*, ſtanding vpon the very top of the hill, both the one and the other being farre better fenced by the nature of the place then by art; and yet to loſe them, for that by the aduantage of their ſituation they commanded the Citie, were to put *Verona* in manifeſt danger. Theſe Caſtles were kept by the Lanceknights: but in the other part which is ſeparate from this by the riuer, is the old Caſtle looking towards *Peſquiero*, and hath his ſituation almoſt in the midſt of the Citie, going croſſe the riuer with a bridge: and three croſ-bowes ſhot from thence towards *Vincenſa*, ſtands the Citadell, and betweene them both, the walls of the Citie ioyne without, in forme of halfe a circle; but within, is a wall going from the one to the other, which is betweene two great ditches, and the ſpace betweene both the wals is called the ſuburbes of *S. Zena*, which, with the guard of the Citadell was appointed for the lodging of the *French*. Now whileſt armes were there as it were in reſt, *Maximilian* ſolicited continually to make truce with the *Venetians*, the Pope alſo interpoſing very diligently by the working of *Achilles de Graſſi* Biſhop of *Peſere*, and his Nuncio: and to this end his Embaſſadours went to the Hoſpitall which is aboue *Eſcalo*, to negociate with *Iohn Cornaro* and *Lewis Monſenigno* Embaſſadours for the *Venetians*. But by reaſon of the exceſſiue demands of

Deſcription of Verona.

Cæſar

Cæſar, this conference tooke no effect, to the great diſcontentment of the Pope, who wiſhed that the *Venetians* might be deliuered of all trouble, with whom he had wrought ſo much, to the end there ſhould be no matter of queſtion, to render to the Duke of *Ferrara* the towne of *Comacho*, which they had burned before: and they had promiſed him to vexe no more the eſtate of the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom he fauoured and ſupported much, both to make him beholding to him, for that he had obtained, and was to obtaine by his meane; and alſo for the hope he had that hereafter he would depend more vpon him then of the *French* king; againſt whom, being in continuall ſtudie to lay foundations of right great importance, he had ſecretly diſpatched a meſſenger to the King of *England*, and begun to work the *Swiſſers*, who were at that time entred into ſome quarrell with the *French* King: and when the Biſhop of *Sion* (whom the *Latins* call *Sedunenſis*) enemy to the *French* King, who by this meanes ſought to be Cardinal, came vnto him, he receiued him with great ioy.

About the end of this yeare, *Maximilian* and the King Catholike were reconciled, who were at diſcord touching the gouernment of the Realmes of *Caſtile*. This controuerſie was long debated in the Court of *France*; and albeit it ſuffered many great difficulties, yet in the end it was brought to perfection by the vndiſcreete counſell of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, who conſidered not how much this vnion was hurtfull to the affaires of his King. But, it may be, he thought that if by his working they might come to agreement, it would be a good meane to raiſe him to the Popedome. He wrought ſo then by his diligence and authoritie, that he induced *Maximilian* to conſent that the King Catholike, in caſe he had no iſſue males, ſhould be gouernour ouer thoſe Realmes vntill their litle ſonne *Charles* were come to the age of fiue and twentie yeers, who ſhould not take vpon him the title of King during the life of his mother who had the title of Queene, for that in *Caſtile* the males exclude not the females: That the King Catholicke ſhould pay to *Cæſar* fiftie thouſand duckats: That he ſhould aide him according to the treatie of *Cambray*, vntill he had conquered and recouered all that appertained to him: And laſtly, to pay to *Charles* euery yeare fortie thouſand duckats. By which conuention the King of *Aragon* was confirmed Gouernor ouer the Realme of *Caſtile*, and ſtanding now in ſtate to haue credite with *Cæſar*, ſince all controuerſies were determined, and that they both had equall intereſts touching their nephew; he might now more boldly looke into the meanes by which he might hinder the greatneſſe of the *French* King, which was alwayes ſuſpected vnto him in regard of the kingdome of *Naples*. About this time, the Pope entred into ſuſpition, that the Pronotarie *Bentiuole* remaining at *Cremona*, laboured ſecretly to returne into *Bologna*, for which cauſe he cauſed *Iulian de Medicis* to be retained in the Pallace of *Bologna* for certaine dayes: and attributing all things to the hatred of the *French* King againſt him, he made knowne the feare he had, leſt he would paſſe into *Italy* to ſubdue it, and to make Pope by violence the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*: and yet at the ſame time, he ſpake openly in derogation of the honor of *Cæſar*, as of a perſon incapable of ſuch a dignitie; and who by his incapacitie had brought the name of the Empire into great contempt. About the end of this yeare died the Count *Petillane*, Generall of the *Venetians*, a man of great age and long experience in the art militarie, and of that credite and truſt, that the *Venetians* neuer feared he would by raſhneſſe put their State in danger.

The Emperour and the king Catholike fall to accord touching the gouernment of Caſtile.

The death of the Count Petillane.

The yeare after, which was the yeare 1510, the ſame doubts and ſuſpitions continuing, warres began to ſtirre on all parts, but coldly, and according to the ſeaſon. For the *Venetian* armie lying encamped at *S. Boniface* vpon the countrey of *Verona*, held *Verona* as it were beſieged: from whence *Charles Baillon*, *Federike de Boſſolo*, and *Sacromoro Viſcount*, comming to their ſuccours, were charged by the eſtradiots, who ouerthrew them, and tooke priſoners *Charles* and *Sacromoro*, for *Federike* found ſafetie in the reſcue of the *French*, which iſſued out of *Verona* to their ſuccours: and a litle after, theſe eſtradiots brake another band of *French* horſemen, amongſt whom *Monſieur de Ceſy* was taken priſoner: and on the other ſide, two hundred *French* Lances iſſuing out of *Verona* with three thouſand footmen, tooke by aſſault a baſtillion towards *Soaue*, which was guarded by ſixe hundred footmen, and in their returne they ouerthrew a great multitude of paiſants. But whileſt the warre went on thus coldly, the minds of the Princes were in great paine and care, but ſpecially *Cæſar*, who not knowing how he might carrie the victorie of the warre againſt the *Venetians*, and poſting ouer (according to his cuſtome) his affaires from one Diot to another, had cauſed to be publiſhed the Diot at *Auſburg*; and being kindled againſt the Pope, for that the Electors of the Empire, puſhed on by his authoritie, made inſtance to negociate

1510.

ciate in the Diot rather for peace with the *Venetians*, then for prouiſions for the warre, he had cauſed to depart from *Auſpurg* the Biſhop of *Peſere* his Nuncio: and conſidering that the deliberations of Diots were vncertaine, tedious, and full of difficulties, the end of one breeding the beginning of another; and that the *French* King excuſed himſelfe dayly of the demands and enterpriſes that were propoſed to him, ſometimes alledging the ſharpneſſe of the ſeaſon, ſometimes requiring aſſignation certaine of the expences which were to be made, and eſtſoones proteſting that by the treatie of *Cambray*, he was not bound to aide him alone, but ioyntly with the Pope and King of *Aragon*, with whom it was reaſonable that the proceedings ſhould be mutual & common, as the confederation and bond was ioynt and general. For theſe reaſons, he entred into reſolution, that there was no remedie more readie for his affaires, then to induce the *French* King to embrace the enterpriſe to take *Padua*, *Vincenſa* and *Treuiſa* with his owne forces, and taking ſufficient recompence: which thing was liked by many of the Kings Councell, who conſidering that till the *Venetians* were wholly chaſed out of the firme land, the King ſhould dwell in continuall expences and dangers, perſwaded his Maieſtie vpon theſe reaſons, to free himſelfe of that feare with one great expence. And the King ſhewed himſelfe not altogether eſtranged from this counſell, being carried with the ſame reaſon, and therefore inclined to paſſe in perſon into *Italy* with a mightie armie (which he called mightie and puiſſant as often as he had in the ſame more then ſixteene hundred Lances, with his Gentlemen and Penſioners,) and yet being drawne by other reaſons into another mind, he ſtood very doubtfull in his mind, and more confuſed then he was wont, for that the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, a man of great authoritie and ſtomacke, afflicted with a long and grieuous maladie, looked no more to his affaires, which were wont to be diſpatched wholly by his direction. The King, beſides that of his naturall diſpoſition, he loued not great expences, was retained alſo by a deſire he had to *Verona*; for the accompliſhing whereof, it ſeemed to him a good meanes to haue *Ceſar* intangled with continuall warres: for which regard he had newly lent to him eighteene thouſand duckats to pay the Lanceknights that lay in garriſon in *Verona*, and promiſed him to make it vp fiftie thouſand, with condition that he might not onely hold the Citadell for his ſecuritie and pawne, but alſo the old Caſtle ſhould be ſet ouer to him, together with the next gate of the towne, the better to haue free entrie and iſſue: and that if the money were not reſtored to him within one yeare, the towne of *Valegge* ſhould remaine to him in perpetuall gouernment, with power to fortifie as well the towne as the Citadell at the charges of *Ceſar*. Theſe conſiderations drew the Kings mind into no ſmall doubts, but much more was he troubled with feare, leſt the Popes intentions would wholly vary and alter, if he ſhould either leade or ſend into *Italy* a new armie. For, the Pope, full of ſuſpition, and alſo ill contented that he ſhould ſeiſe vpon *Verona*, beſides that he perſeuered ſtill in a will to abſolue the *Venetians*, did all that he could to ioyne himſelfe with the *Swiſſers*: for which intent, he had ſent backe againe into that countrey, the Biſhop of *Sion*, with money to diſtribute amongſt them, and promiſe to indue himſelfe with the Cardinals Hat: and ſought with all his diligence, by what meanes he might eſtrange the King of *England* from the amitie of the *French* King; whom albeit his father at the inſtant of death had aduiſed, for his ſecuritie and benefite, to continue in aſſured league with him, and for that reſpect was yearely payed fiftie thouſand duckats: yet, being carried with the hote humours of youth, and the great quantitie of treaſure that his father had left him, it ſeemed he had no leſſe in conſideration the counſels of thoſe, who for the deſire of new things, and for an ancient hatred which the *Engliſh* do ordinarily beare to the *French* nation, perſwaded him for the warre, then the wiſedome and diſcreet example of his father, who refuſing all contentions with the *French*, had gouerned his kingdome in great obedience and tranquillitie, notwithſtanding he had aſpired to a ſtate new and full of troubles. All theſe things troubling not a litle the minde of the *French* King, who, the better to prouide for the affaires of *Italy*, was now gone to *Lions*, he feared leſt his marching into *Italy*, which the Pope deteſted openly, would ſtirre vp ſome new innouations by his meanes: and beſides, he ſaw that the King of *Aragon* diſſwaded him from it, but vnder demonſtrations of a friend, and as a louer of the common tranquillitie: in ſo much as amid theſe doubts which trauelled him on all parts, he had no more certaine nor preſent counſell, then with great labour and diligence, to ſtudie ſo to appeaſe the mind of the Pope, that at the leaſt he might ſtand aſſured that he were not his enemie. And in this thing it ſeemed occaſion fauored him greatly, for that it was beleeued, that by the death of the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, who

who was extremely ſicke, he ſhould be eaſed of thoſe ſuſpitions, from whence it was ſuppoſed his ill contentments did principally proceed. And for that the King was aduertiſed by good intelligence, that the Cardinall of *Auchx*, nephew to the Cardinall of *Amboyſe*, with others that managed his affaires in the Court of *Rome*, had with great raſhneſſe both in deed and with words laboured more to quicken and kindle, then to appeaſe and mollifie the Popes mind, as had bene very neceſſary, he would no more vſe their ſeruice in thoſe actions, but ſent to *Rome* in poſt the Lord *Albert Pio* Earle of *Carpie*, a man of great wit and dexteritie, to whom were giuen very large commiſſions, not onely to offer to the Pope the Kings forces and authoritie to ſerue his turne in all accidents, and vpon all occaſions, accommodating himſelfe as much as he could to his will and nature, but alſo to communicate with him frankly and ſimply the ſtate of all things that were practiſed, together with the requeſts that *Ceſar* made to him; and finally to referre to his will whether he ſhould paſſe into *Italy* or not, and whether he ſhould miniſter to the Emperour ſpeedily or ſlowly. He had alſo in charge to diſſwade the abſolution of the *Venetians*; but before he arriued, it was alreadie reſolued and promiſed by the Pope: becauſe the *Venetians* after long diſpute of their Embaſſadours with the Popes Delegates, which continued many moneths, conſented at laſt to the conditions, whereupon the difficulties ſtood, not finding any other remedie for their ſafetie, then to be ioyned with him. The conditions for the which the abſolution was to be giuen, were openly publiſhed in the Conſiſtorie the foure and twentieth day of February, in preſence of the ſame *Venetian* Embaſſadors, who confirmed thē by writing, according to the authentike direction from their Commonweale. Theſe were the particulars: That they ſhould not in any ſort diſpoſe of the benefices or dignities of the Church: and that they ſhould make no reſiſtance or difficultie againſt whatſoeuer ſhall be determined in the Court of *Rome* concerning the ſame: That they ſhould not gainſay that in that Court ſhould be proſecuted the cauſes for benefices with others appertaining to the Eccleſiaſtike iuriſdiction: That they ſhould not charge the goods of the Church, and exempt places of their temporall dominion, with tenths or any other ſorts of impoſition: That they ſhould renounce from the appeale againſt the Popes cenſure, and all rights gotten vpon the Church lands in what ſort ſoeuer, but ſpecially from all thoſe prerogatiues and rights by the which they pretended to hold the office of *Vicedomino* in *Ferrara*: That the ſubiects of the Church and their veſſels may freely traffike through their Gulfe, and that with ſuch ample facultie, that the merchandize of other nations brought in their bottomes, ſhould not be troubled nor ſubiect to pay any toll: That it ſhould not be lawfull for them in any ſort to meddle with *Ferrara*, or any townes of that State which were dependant on the Church: That all couenants and contracts which they had made to the preiudice of the Church, with any the ſubiects or vaſſals of the ſame, ſhould be cancelled and made voide: That they ſhould not receiue any Duke, Baron, or other ſubiect or vaſſall of the Church, that ſhould be an enemie or rebell to the ſea Apoſtolicke: That they ſhould be bound to make reſtitution of all the moneys which they had exacted vpon the reuenues of the Church, and to make amends for all the harmes which the Church had ſuffered thereby. Theſe obligations with the promiſes and ſufficient renouncements, being receiued in the Conſiſtorie, the *Venetian* Embaſſadours at a day appointed, according to ancient examples, were brought vnder the portall of the great Church of *S. Peter*, where falling at the Popes feete, being ſet in his Pontificall ſeate neare the brazen gates, aſſiſted with all the Colledge of Cardinals and a great number of Prelates, they asked him pardon in great humilitie, confeſſing their contumacie and faults committed: and after this, according to the cuſtome of the Church, were pronounced certaine prayers, and the vſuall ceremonies being ſolemnely performed, the Pope receiuing them into grace, gaue them abſolution, and enioyned them for penance to go viſite the ſeuen Churches. When they were abſolued, they entred into *S. Peters* Church, being guided by the great Penitenciarie: and after they had heard Maſſe, which was denied to them before, they were very honorably accompanied to their houſes by many Prelates and Courtiers, and not as perſons excommunicated and interdicted, but as reconciled Chriſtians and deuout children to the ſea Apoſtolike. Soone after they returned to *Venice*, leauing behind them at *Rome* *Hieronymo Donato*, a very learned man, and one of their number, who by his vertues and dexteritie of wit, becoming very agreeable to the Pope, did afterwards great ſeruice to his countrey in things which he negociated with him.

The Venetians abſolued.

The end of the eighth Booke.

THE NINTH BOOKE OF THE hiſtorie and diſcourſe of Guicciardin.

The Argvment.

Pope Iulio the ſecond forſaketh the league of Cambray, and practiſeth againſt the French King and the Emperor: he fauoureth the Venetians, and falleth out with the Duke of Ferrara. The French King and the Emperour enter league againſt the Venetians. Legnago taken by the French. The death of the Cardinall of Amboiſe. The Pope determineth to chaſe the French out of Italy. The Venetians beſiege Verona. The Pope taketh Mirandola, and makes warre vpon the Duke of Ferrara. The families of Bentiuole returne to Bologna. A Councell is publiſhed at Piſa againſt the Pope.

Maximilian was much moued for this abſolution which the Pope gaue to the *Venetians* with ſo reſolute a will, for as much as it touched him principally; but the *French* King was not much leſſe vexed, for that he deſired for his priuate profite that the greatneſſe of the *Venetians* ſhould not be eſtſoones reeſtabliſhed: neuertheleſſe he could not find out what were the intentions and laſt ends of the Pope: but feeding himſelfe with vain hopes concerning the difficulties of the affaires that were prepared againſt him, he perſwaded himſelfe that the Pope ſtirred onely for ſuſpition of his vniting with *Maximilian*; and that temporiſing with him, and giuing him no occaſion of greater feare, he would paſſe no further, but reſt ſatisfied with the abſolution he had giuen. But the Pope, growing more and more confirmed in his deliberation, and notwithſtanding the declarations and impediments of the confederate Embaſſadours, ſuffered the ſubiects and dependants of the Church to enter into the pay of the *Venetians*, who receiued into entertainment *Iohn Paul Baillon* as Generall of all their companies, ſtanding without a Gouernour ſince the death of the Count *Petillanè*: and tooke alſo into their wages *Iohn Lewis* and *Iohn Vitelli*, ſonnes to the late *Iohn* and *Camilla*, and made *Ranſo de Cere* Colonell of their footmen. And as in this action he made open declaration that he tooke the *Venetians* into his protection, ſo he laboured alſo to bring them to agreement with *Cæſar*, hoping by that meanes, not onely to ſeparate him from the *French* King, but withall to knit him with himſelf and with the *Venetians* to make warre vpon the King. And for the more eaſie ſucceeding of this deuice, taking his oportunitie vpon the neceſſities of *Cæſar*, he interpoſed his authoritie with the Electors of the Empire and the free townes, to the end that in the Diot of *Auſburg* there ſhould be no conſent of contribution. But the more he aduanced this practiſe, the more difficult he found it: for that *Cæſar* would not hearken to any motion of agreement, vnleſſe *Verona* might remaine to him: and the *Venetians* (in whom the Pope had hope of a greater facilitie) perſwading themſelues to be able to defend *Padua* in all fortunes, and that keeping that Citie, time would fauour them with more occaſions, demanded reſolutely the reſtitution of *Verona*, offering to pay in recompence a very great ſumme of money. The Pope omitted not alſo to make ſecret ſolicitation to the King of *England*, to raiſe warre againſt the *French* King, putting him in mind of the ancient emulations of thoſe two kingdomes, ſhewing him the occaſion which offered him a moſt happie ſucceſſe: for that if he would begin to leuie armes againſt the *French* King, many others, to whom his puiſſance and greatneſſe was either ſuſpected or hated, would do the like: and he encouraged him to embrace with that deuotion which had bene proper to the Kings of *England*, the glorie that was offered him, to be protector and preſeruer of the ſea Apoſtolike, which otherwiſe ſtood in manifeſt danger by the ambition of the *French* King: and in this practiſe the King of *Aragon* did communicate with the Pope, but very ſecretly. But (which was of greater importance) the Pope continuing ſtill with the *Swiſſers* the practiſes which were begun by the Biſhop of *Sion*, whoſe authoritie was great

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in that nation, and who ceaſſed not to make orations with great efficacie to this effect in their aſſemblies and councels, and to preach it in their Churches; he obtained at laſt that the *Swiſſers*, receiuing euery yeare a thouſand Florins of *Rhein* for euery Canton, ſhould be bound to the protection of him and the eſtate of the Church, with permiſſion to the Pope (for his defence againſt all men that would vexe him) to leuie certain proportions of footmen: and that which moſt helped him to obtaine this matter the more eaſily, was the diſagreement that began to kindle betweene them and the *French* King. For the *Swiſſers* becoming proud by the eſtimation that others had of them, and preſuming that all the victories obtained in *Italy* by the King now reigning, or by King *Charles* his predeceſſor, proceeded principally by their valour and of the feare of their armes, and that therefore they merited much of the Crowne of *France*; they demanded (the King ſoliciting them to make renouation of the alliance that now was determined) that he would augment their penſions, being then threeſcore thouſand Frankes by yeare, ouer and aboue the mercenarie contributions which were ſecretly diſperſed amongſt priuate perſons; penſions which had bene begun vnder *Lewis* the eleuenth, and continued vnto the preſent time. But for that they made their demands with preſumptuous audacitie, the King being offended with their inſolencie, and for that of peaſants and mountaine men (ſuch was his phraſe) they ſought ſo imperiouſly to taxe him, he began to ſhake them off with haughtie words, and in a maner to make ſhew as though he diſdained them, more reſpecting his dignitie royall, then regarding the preſent vtilitie: whereunto he was the more induced, for that at the ſame ſeaſon by the ſolicitation of *George Sopreſſan*, the *Valeſians* ſubiects of *Sion*, who were gouerned in ſeuen communities, which they call Courts, being corrupted by briberies and promiſes of penſions, were not onely confederate with him, but alſo bound to giue paſſage to his people, and refuſe it to his enemies, and withall to enter into his pay with ſuch numbers of footmen as their forces were able to beare: and in the ſame ſort did enter confederacy with him, the Lords of the three leagues, whom they call *Griſons*. And albeit part of the *Valeſians* had not yet approued theſe conditions, the King hoped to induce them to the ratification by the ſame meanes: in ſo much as he began to perſwade himſelfe that the amitie of the *Swiſſers* was now no more ſo neceſſarie to him, hauing determination to ſupply his warres with *Almaine* footmen, ouer and beſides the companies of the *Valeſians* and *Griſons*, and ſo ſtood in litle feare of their ſtirres, for that he beleeued they were not able to aſſaile the Duchie of *Millan* but by the ſtraits of *Bellinſona*, and other paſſages of great difficultie, through the which, if they ſhould march in great troupes, they might be eaſily reduced into neceſſitie of victuals by a ſmall armie: and if they came but in ſmall companies, a ſlender ſtrength would likewiſe ſuffice to make them retire. Thus remaining reſolute not to augment their penſions, he could not obtaine in the councels of the *Swiſſers* a renouation of the alliance, notwithſtanding many among them did earneſtly perſwade it, to whom in particular were retributed no ſmall rewards: and for that cauſe they conſented more eaſily to the confederation which was demanded of them by the Pope. By which new confederation the Pope ſeeming to haue layed a great foundation for the aduancing of his purpoſes; and beſides, proceeding in all things according to his nature, as ſuperiour to all men; and as though all muſt of neceſſitie receiue lawes of him, he began to ſow ſeeds of new controuerſies with the Duke of *Ferrara*, either puſhed on by the cauſe that was in queſtion betweene them, or elſe by hatred, for that hauing receiued of him ſo many benefites and honours, he depended more of the *French* King then of him. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, ſearching a beginning of quarrels, he imperiouſly commanded *Alphonſo* Duke of *Ferrara* to ſurceaſſe the working of ſalt at *Comachio*; for that it was not reaſonable that that which was not lawfull to him when the *Venetians* held *Ceruia*, ſhould now haue ſufferance, being poſſeſſed by the ſea Apoſtolike, to whom appertained the abſolute gouernment of *Ferrara* and *Comachio*: beſides, it was a matter of great profite, for that the working ceaſſing at *Comachio*, the ſaltpits of *Ceruia* miniſtred traffike to all the townes thereabouts. But Duke *Alphonſo*, who repoſed more in the coniunction which he had with the *French* King and in his protection, then he feared the Popes forces, gaue ſmall obedience to this commandement: but complained that he ſhould be conſtrained not to reape the fruite which grew to him in his proper houſe with ſmall labour, and to be driuen to buy of another for the vſage of his peoples, the ware whereof he had enough to repleniſh forreine countreys, alledging withall, that that ought not to be enforced for an example, which the *Venetians* had made him conſent vnto, more by force

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of armes then by courſe of iuſtice. Wherefore the Pope ſent to command him vnder great paines and accurſings to diſcontinue that worke. Such were the thoughts and actions of the Pope, inclined altogether to raiſe vp and ſupport the *Venetians*.

The league of Cæſar and the French king againſt the Venetians.

But on the other ſide, *Cæſar* and the *French* King, who deſired as much their embaſement, being diſcontented with the demonſtrations which the Pope expreſſed on their behalfe, and for this cauſe being more cloſely knit one to another, they met together, and concluded to inuade the *Venetians* that Sommer with great forces: and to that end the *French* King for his part ſhould ſend *Monſieur Chaumont* with a puiſſant armie, whereunto ſhould be ioyned the Lanceknights that lay at *Verona*: and on the other ſide, *Cæſar* ſhould enter into the countrey of *Friul* with thoſe forces which he hoped to obtaine of the Empire in the Diot of *Auſburg*: and hauing accompliſhed that action, he was to proceed to other enterpriſes according to the eſtate of occaſions and time. They ſolicited the Pope to ioyne his forces with theirs, according to the bond of the league of *Cambray*. But he, being much diſcontented with that motion, made anſwer, that he was no more bound to that confederatiõ which had alreadie had his perfectiõ, ſeeing it had bene in the power of *Cæſar* firſt to haue *Treuiſa*, and afterwards a recompence in money. *Cæſar* likewiſe demanded ſuccours from the King Catholike, both by vertue of the ſame capitulations of *Cambray*, and alſo vnder couenants made particularly with him, at ſuch time as he conſented to him the gouernment of *Caſtile*: and this ſolicitation was by way of requeſt, rather to aid him with mony then with men; but the King of *Aragon* being vnwilling to diſfurniſh himſelfe of the thing whereof he had moſt need, made anſwer, That he would ſend him foure hundred Lances: which was a ſtrength of litle profit for *Cæſar*, for that as wel in the *French* army as in his owne camp, there were great plentie of horſemen. At this time the Citie of *Verona* being much afflicted by the ſoldiers that guarded it, for that they were not payd, certain of the *Venetian* bands, being ſecretly called thither by ſome of the captains, iſſued out of *S. Boniface*, & approched the Citie by night to ſcale the Caſtle of *S. Peter*: and as they were entred *S. Georges* gate, whileſt they taried to faſten their ladders together (for that being ſingle, they ſufficed not to reach to the height of the wall) either they were heard by the warders of the Caſtle of *S. Felix*, or elſe they ſeeming to heare ſome noiſe, were fearfull, and retired, leauing their ladders behind them. By reaſon whereof the armie returned to *S. Boniface*, and at *Verona* the conſpiracie being diſcouered, many were puniſhed. In this ſeaſon the Pope had ſome inclination to be reconciled to the *French* King, not of good will, but for feare: for that *Maximilian* by way of brauado ſummoned him to lend him two hundred thouſand duckats, threatning that otherwiſe he would ioyne with the *French* King againſt him: and for that a bruite was ſpread, that in the Diot of *Auſburg* it was agreed to miniſter to him a ſtrong ſuccour, and for that peace had bene newly eſtabliſhed betweene the Kings of *England* and *France*, and publiſhed with great ſolemnitie: by reaſon whereof, he began to treate in good earneſt with *Albert de Carpi*, whom till that day, he had entertained with words and hopes generall. But he continued not long in that reſolution, both for that the Diot of *Auſburg* (without the forces and aides of which, there was no great reckoning to be made of the threats of *Cæſar*) not anſwering the expectation, determined for him no other ſuccours, then a ſupply of three hundred thouſand Florins of *Rhein*, in hope of which money he had alreadie made great expences: and the King of *England* ſignified vnto him that he had ſet downe an article in the peace, wherein was expreſſed that it ſhould be no peace as often as the *French* King ſhould offend the ſtate of the Church. In regard of theſe things, the Pope reentring into new ſtomacke, and returning to his former thoughts, began to make new complaints againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, for that the ſaid Duke ſince it was ſuffered to the ſubiects of the Church to ſaile and traffike frankly through the Gulfe of *Venice*, had impoſed new tributes vpon the goods which were brought to *Venice* by the riuer of *Po*; which thing the Pope alledged, that the vaſſall could not do (according to the order of law) without licence of the Lord of the ſoyle; and that it was a matter of great preiudice to the people of *Bologna*, who were his ſubiects: and therefore he made inſtance that they might be diſcharged, threatning that otherwiſe he would make warre vpon him: and to put him in the greater feare, he cauſed his bands of men of warre to march into the countrey of *Bologna* and into *Romagna*. Theſe things troubled not a litle the mind of the *French* King, being loath on the one ſide to fall at oddes with the Pope, and on the other ſide he felt himſelfe touched in honour and conſcience not to leaue abandoned the Duke of *Ferrara*, to whoſe protection he had bound himſelfe by receiuing thir-

The Pope threatneth the Duke of Ferrara.

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tie thousand duckats. And he was no lesse moued with the regard of his proper profite, for that Duke *Alphonso* depending wholly vpon him, and becoming so much the more at his deuotion, by how much he saw him persecuted by the Pope, and his estate being very commodious for the affaires of *Lombardie*, he esteemed it his proper interest to preserue him; and therefore he dealt with the Pope to make some accord betweene them by some meanes. But it seemed iust to the Pope that the King should withdraw himselfe from that protection, alledging that he had taken it vpon him against the capitulations of *Cambray*, by the which (made vnder colour to render to the Church that which was vsurped) it was forbidden that none of the confederates should take into protection any that was named by another, and that for his part, he had named the Duke of *Ferrara*: and further, that it was forbidden that none of them should meddle with the things appertaining to the Church: That the like also was confirmed in the confederation made particularly betweene them at *Biagrasso*, wherein was expresly prouided that the King should not keepe in his protection any that depended of the Church, nor should hereafter take any of them into his protection, and should cancel and make void all his former protections. To which things notwithstanding it was answered on the Kings behalfe, that by the same conuention it was prouided, that the King should haue power to dispose of the Bishopricks on this side the Mounts as he listed, which the Pope had violated in the first auoidance that fell, as likewise in fauour of the *Venetians*, he had broken the capitulations made at *Cambray*, and that therefore the King was at libertie not to obserue the things he had promised him: yet because he would not come to armes with the Pope for the quarrell of the Duke of *Ferrara*, he offered conditions, by the which, not offending directly his honor, the Pope in a great part might rest satisfied touching the interests which the Church and he pretended against Duke *Alphonso*: and besides this, he was content to bind himselfe (according to the Popes request) that the *French* armies should not passe the riuer of *Po*, but for the protection of the *Florentines* whereunto he was bound; and to molest *Pandolfe Petrucci* and *Iohn Paul Baillon*, vnder colour of money promised by the one, and detained by the other.

Monsieur Chaumont against the Venetians.

Whilest these things were in action, *Monsieur Chaumont* with an armie of fifteene hundred Lances, and ten thousand footmen of many nations, amongst whom were some *Swissers* which were priuatly leuied, and not by permission of the Cantons, being followed with great store of artilleries, with three thousand pioners, and bridges prepared to passe riuers; and hauing ioyned with him the Duke of *Ferrara* with two hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horsemen, and two thousand footmen, tooke *Polesina de Rouigna* without any impediment, the *Venetians* hauing abandoned it; and taking also the Tower *Marquisano* standing vpon the riuer of *Adice* towards *Padua*, he marched on to *Castelbaldo*, and had at the first summons the townes of *Montagnana* and *Este*, the one appertaining to *Alphonso d'Este*, by grant from *Maximilian*, who had giuen him the other in gage. When *Alphonso* had recouered these places, he sent backe the most part of his regiments vnder colour to encounter certaine galleys of the *Venetians*, which floted vpon the riuer of *Po*. The Prince of *Henault Maximilians* Lieutenant, marched in like sort out of *Verona* with three hundred *French* Lances, two hundred men at armes, and three thousand *Almaine* footmen, and ioyned with *Monsieur Chaumont*, following him alwayes within one remoue of his campe. They left behind them *Monselica*, which was holden by the *Venetians*, and marched towards the countrey of *Vincensa*, where *Lonigua* and the whole countrey yeelded without resistance; for that the *Venetian* armie, which was said to containe fixe hundred men at armes, foure thousand light horsemen and estradiots, and eight thousand footmen vnder *Iohn Paul Baillon* Generall, and *Andrew Gritti* Treasurer, hauing first abandoned *Soaue*, and alwayes retiring into places of suretie according as the enemie aduanced, and lastly hauing bestowed sufficient garrison within *Treuisa*, and a thousand footmen within *Mestro*, they were retired to *Brentelli*, a place within three miles of *Padua*, and of great suretie for their incamping, both for that the countrey is full of hils and risings, and the place it selfe standeth enuironed with the waters of these three riuers, *Brento*, *Brentello*, and *Baquillon*.

But the people of *Vincensa*, for that the armie was retired, finding themselues altogether abandoned, and vnable of themselues to defend their Estate, and knowing that they had no other hope then such as they might expect in the mercie of the victors, which they supposed they might more graciously obtaine by the meanes of *Monsieur Chaumont*; they sent to him to demand safeconduct to addresse Embassadours to him and the Prince of *Henault*; which being gran-

granted, they presented themselues in rufull maner, and full of sorrow and feare afore them, both being then at the bridge of *Barberano* ten miles from *Vincensa*, where all the Captaines and principals of the armie being present, he that was the chiefe of the Embassadours, spake in this sort:

"If it were well knowne how much this Citie of *Vincensa* (heretofore enuied of many her neighboring Cities for her riches and felicitie) hath suffered, since (more by the error and folly of her inhabitants, and haply more by a certaine fatall disposition, then through any other occasion) she returned vnder the iurisdiction of the *Venetians*, together with the intollerable harmes and domages she hath receiued: we do certainly beleeue (most inuincible Captaines) that in your hearts would be greater the pitie and compassion of our miseries, then the disdaine and hatred for the memorie of our rebellion; if the error of that night may be called rebellion, wherein our people, drawne into astonishment, for that the armie of our enemie had forced the suburbes of *Portello*; not to rebell, nor to shun the easie gouernment of *Cæsar*, but to deliuer our Citie from the sacke and extreme miserie, did send Embassadours to compound with the enemie. Whereunto our peoples, not accustomed to armes, nor acquainted with the dangers of warre, were altogether pushed on by the authoritie of *Fracasse*, a Captaine experienced in many seuerall wars: who either by subtiltie or feare (a matter not appertaining to vs to examine) gaue vs counsell to prouide by meane of accord, for the safetie of our wiues, of our children, and of our afflicted countrey. The same making manifest, that no ill impression of mind, but onely feare, increased through the authoritie of such a Captaine of *Cæsars*, was the cause, not that we determined by long counsel, but rather on a sudden, in so great a tumult, & in so fearful a noise of armes & thundring of artilleries, which we haue not bin accustomed to heare, we ran rashly vnder the rule of the *Venetians*, the felicitie and power of whom was not such, as ought of it selfe to allure vs thereunto. Now it is well knowne to all men what difference there is between faults committed by feare and errour, and offences proceeding of set malice and ill intention. But be it so, that it had not bene feare, but a willingnesse to rebell, and that it had bene begun by an vniuersall counsell and consent, and not in so great confusion, but rather by the vnbridled rashnesse of a few, not being contradicted by the others, and that the transgressions of this wretched Citie were altogether inexcusable; yet our calamities haue bene so great since that accursed reuolt, that we may truly say, that the punishment, without all comparison, hath bene greater then the fault. For, within our wals we haue bene miserably spoiled of all our goods by the garrison souldiers that were left vs: and who knowes not what we haue suffered without, by the continuall warre? And what remaines there entire to vs now in this miserable countrey? All the houses of our possessions are burned, all the trees cut downe, and all our cattell lost. This is the second yeare that we haue bene driuen to reape our harueſt afore the time, that we haue had no securitie to sow our seeds, that we are without reuenue, and without fruites, and without hope that this countrey so generally destroyed, can be euer redressed. We are brought to such a straight, and into so great miserie, that for the needfull supportation of our liues, and to furnish the intollerables charges which our necessities haue brought vpon vs, hauing consumed all that remaineth euen of our hidden treasure, we know not how for the time to come to nourish our selues and our families. Whosoeuer he be that hateth vs most, and is of a most cruell mind (hauing but heretofore seene our country) let him come & see it now: and we are sure he cannot refraine from weeping, when he shal consider that this Citie, the which was wont to be replenished with inhabitants, most sumptuous in magnificence, famous for stately buildings, the ordinarie retraite for all strangers, a Citie reioycing in bankets, iusting and pleasures; is now in a manner voide of dwellers, that the men and women therein are poorely apparelled, that there is not therein any one man who can assure himselfe to be able to feed himselfe and his family for one moneth; and in place of magnificence, feasts and pleasures, there is nothing else seene but penurie, publike sorowing of all the men, weeping and pitifull crying of all the women in euery street and quarter of the Citie. And these calamities (most gracious Prince of *Henault*) would be yet greater, if we considered not that on your will dependeth either the last desolation of our afflicted country, or the hope that we may yet once again vnder the wings of *Cæsar*, & vnder the gouernment of your wisedome and clemencie, we say not, take breath and raise our selues againe, for that is impossible, but consuming our liues in all extremitie, auoide at least an extreame and last destruction: a grace which we do the rather hope for, because your benignitie and humanitie is knowne to vs, wherein we doubt not but you will imitate *Cæsar*, with whose examples of clemencie

mencie all *Europe* is repleniſhed. All our wealth is conſumed, all our hopes determined, there remaineth nothing elſe to vs but our liues and perſons, againſt the which if crueltie ſhould be vſed, what profite would it be for *Cæſar*, or what praiſe to you? We beſeech you with moſt humble prayers, the which you may imagine to be mingled with the miſerable complaints of euery ſexe, of euery age, and of euery degree that is within this Citie, that it may pleaſe you to make the wretched and vnfortunate *Vincenſa* an example to all others of the clemencie of the *Almaine* Empire: that it may pleaſe you to follow the clemencie and magnanimitie of your anceſtors, who being victorious in *Italy*, preſerued the Cities by them ſubdued, many of them chuſing thoſe ſeates for their proper dwellings, from whence, to the great glory of the *Almaine* race, are deſcended ſo many noble houſes in *Italy*, as ſome of *Gonſagwo*, ſome of *Carraro*, and others of *Eſcalo*, who ſometimes were our Lords. Let *Vincenſa* now ſerue for an example, that the *Venetians*, aided and ſupported by vs in leſſer dangers, haue cowardly & diſhonorably left vs abandoned in the greateſt perils, wherein they ought to haue defended vs; and that the *Almains*, who had ſome reaſon to offend vs, haue frankly and glorioufly preſerued vs. Take vs, moſt inuincible Lord *Chaumont*, into your protection: remember the example of your King, whoſe clemencie to them of *Millan* and *Genes*, being drawne into voluntary rebellion, without any cauſe or neceſſitie, was greater then their fault: who after he had pardoned them, being wonne by ſo great fauours, haue alwayes bene moſt affectionate and ſeruiceable vnto him. Oh Prince of *Henault*, if the preſeruation of *Vincenſa* turne not to the profite of *Cæſar*, yet at leaſt it will bring him glorie, remaining as a perpetuall example of his benignitie: but if he deſtroy it, it can bring him no profite; and the ſeueritie which he ſhall vſe to vs, will be grieuous to all *Italy*. Clemencie will make the name of *Cæſar* more acceptable to all men; and as in actions of warre and managing of an armie, he is knowne much to reſemble the ancient *Cæſar*, ſo clemencie ſhal alſo be acknowledged in him, whereby the name of *Cæſar* was exalted to heauen, and his memory made more perpetuall to all poſterities, then by his armes. *Vincenſa* a flouriſhing and ancient Citie, which hath heretofore bene full of ſo great Nobilitie, is now at your deuotion: ſhe expecteth frõ you either her preſeruation or deſtruction, her life or her death. Take pitie of ſo many innocent perſons, and ſo many vnfortunate women and poore litle children, who in that lamentable night full of folly and errour, medled with nothing, and now with plaints and wailings expect your deliberation. Send foorth at laſt that ſo much deſired voice of mercie and clemencie, through the which our moſt wretched Citie coming to receiue new life, ſhall alwayes call you her preſeruer and patron.

Neither this ſo pitifull Oration, nor the compaſſion of ſo vnfortunate a Citie, could any whit aſſwage the mind of the Prince of *Henault*, but being full of pride and crueltie, not hauing ſo much command ouer his paſſions, as to make his words leſſe cruell then his deeds, he made them a moſt churliſh & inhumane anſwer, the which by his commandement was pronounced by his Chancellor in this ſort: Thinke not rebellious *Vincentines*, that your faire words can ſuffice to wipe out the memory of your faults committed againſt the maieſtie of the name of *Cæſar*, without any regard to whoſe dignitie, or reſpect to the benignitie wherewith you were receiued by him, you haue by common counſell and conſent of the whole Citie, called into your towne the *Venetian* armie, who forcing the ſuburbes with great difficultie, diſtruſted to take it, and began to go away. You haue called them in againſt the will of the Prince that repreſented the perſon of *Cæſar*: you conſtrained that Prince to retire into the Caſtle, and being full of rage and malice, haue ſacked the powder and munitions of *Cæſar*: you haue torne in peeces his pauillions diſplayed by him in ſo many warres and triumphing in ſo many victories. The *Venetian* ſouldiers haue not done theſe things, but the people of *Vincenſa*, diſcouering their violent thirſt after the bloud of the *Almaines*: and it was not long of you that the *Venetian* army tooke not *Verona*, which they had done, if knowing the occaſion, they had followed the victorie: neither did this happen by the counſell or perſwaſion of *Fracaſſe*, who abuſed by your ſlanders, hath clearely manifeſted his innocencie. It was by your malice; it was by a hatred, which without cauſe you beare to the *Almaine* name. Your offences are inexcuſable, and ſo great, as they deſerue no pardon. The clemencie that ſhould be vſed to you, would be both hurtfull and infamous, for that it is well knowne you would vpon euery occaſion do yet worſe: and theſe haue not bene your errors, but your wickedneſſe: and the harmes you haue receiued, haue not bene for a puniſhment of your faults, but for that you would obſtinately perſeuere in rebellion: and now being

« ing abandoned of the *Venetians*, you haue no other remedy to defend you, then to implore the « pitie and mercie of *Cæsar* whom you haue betrayed. The Prince was determined, following the « intention and commission of *Cæsar*, not to heare you, and yet he hath not denied you audience, « satisfying therein the will of the Lord *Chaumont*: but for all that he will not change the sentence, « which since the first day of your rebellion hath remained fixed in the mind of *Cæsar*: he will not « receiue you otherwise, then to discretion for your goods, your honors, & your liues. And hope « not that he will do that to shew you the more clemencie, but the better to make you serue for « an example of punishment to such as accursedly breake their faith to their Prince. The people of *Vincensa* astonished with this cruell answer, seeming for a while to suffer a generall priuation of all sense and feeling, began againe with teares and lamentable speeches, to recommend them to the mercie of the victor. But being repulsed by the same Doctor, who rebuked them with words more bitter and fierce then the first, they knew not what to answer, nor what to thinke, had it not bene that *Monsieur Chaumont* encouraged them to obey necessitie, and in giuing themselues wholly vp to the will of the Prince, to seeke to appease his wrath: declaring vn-to them the singular humanitie and curtesie of *Cæsar*, and that it was not to be suspected, that a Prince of so noble race, and so excellent a Captaine, would do a thing vnworthy of his name and vertue: and that they should not be amazed with the seuere answer that was made, but rather desire that noble and generous spirits should vtter sharpe and biting words, for that oftentimes by that meanes some part of their indignation is abated. He offe-red himselfe to do all that he could to mitigate the mind of the Prince, so far forth as they would preuent him by putting themselues wholly to his discretion. By whose counsell, and the consi-deration of their owne necessitie, the *Vincentines* falling eftsoones prostrate on the ground, re-ferred absolutely both their honors, liues and Citie to the power of the victor. And then *Mon-sieur Chaumont* began to solicite for them, declaring to the Prince, that in chastising them he was to respect more the greatnesse and glory of *Cæsar*, then the qualitie of their offence: That he should not set downe such an example to others that were fallen, or hereafter should fall into the like faults, lest despairing to obtaine mercie, they should become obstinate to the extremitie: That clemencie had alwayes caused Princes to be loued and respected, but crueltie without ne-cessitie, wrought alwayes a contrary effect, nor taking away (as many vndiscreetly beleeue) im-pediments and difficulties, but rather augmenting them and making them greater. By whose authoritie accompanied with the petitions of many others, together with the miserable wailings of the *Vincentines*, the Prince at last was content to promise them safetie of life, the disposition of all their goods remaining wholly at his will: a bootie greater in opinion then in effect, for that the Citie was left almost desolate both of men and goods: the which as the *Almaines* sought af-ter with great furie, vnderstanding that many of the towne and countrey were withdrawne with their goods into two caues in a certaine mountaine neare to *Vincensa*, called the grot of *Masano*, where by the strength of the place and difficultie to enter, they supposed to find securitie, the *Almaines* coming thither, after they had in vaine, and not without some harmes, assailed those that were within the great caue, they went to the lesser, and finding that they could not other-wise force it, they made great fires about it, and at last by the benefite of the smoke carried it, with the losse (as the bruite went) of more then a thousand persons.

The Vincen-tines yeild to discretion.

Vincensa being taken, greater difficulties appeared in other things then was expected in the beginning: for that not onely *Maximilian* did not stirre against the *Venetians* as he had promi-sed, but also the regiments which he had in *Italy* diminished continually for want of pay: in so much as *Monsieur Chaumont* was constrained to stay vpon the guarding of *Vincensa*; neuerthe-lesse he determined to go incampe before *Legnaguo*, a towne of such special regard, that if it were not taken, all that had bene done till that day serued to nothing. The riuer of *Adice* passeth by the towne of *Legnaguo*, and the lesser part of the same, which they call *Porto*, is towards *Montagna-na*, where the *Venetians* not reposing so much in the strength of the towne and valour of the de-fendants, as in the impediments of the waters, had cut the riuer in one place: and on the other side, where is the greater part of the towne, they had cut it in two places; so as the riuer falling through those trenches, had spread it selfe by many armes into the lowest places, and so couered the countrey about, that standing drowned for many moneths, it was almost become a marrish. But it hapned that the rashnesse and disorder of the *Venetian* bands, made these difficulties les-ser. For *Monsieur Chaumont* coming to incamp with his armie at *Minerua*, three miles from *Leg-naguo*,

nagno, and hauing ſent before certaine of his horſemen and footmen, who as they would haue paſſed the laſt arme of the water, which was within halfe a mile of *Legnaguo*, they encountred the bands of the footmen which had the guard of *Porto*, who were iſſued out to ſtop their paſſage. But the *Gaſcoines* and *Spaniards* ruſhing reſolutely into the water vp to the breaſt, repulſed them, and purſued them with ſuch valour and fury, that they entred with them pelmell into *Porto*, very few of the footmen of that place being ſaued, for that ſome were ſlaine in flying, and the greater part of thoſe other that ſought to retire into *Legnaguo*, were drowned as they would haue paſſed the riuer of *Adice*. By reaſon of this ſucceſſe *Monſieur Chaumont* altering his intention to encampe at *Minerua*, went the ſame night to lodge within *Porto*: and after he had cauſed to traile vnder the water the great artilleries, which the firme bottome of the earth did ſuſtaine, the ſame night he cauſed the trench of the riuer to be filled vp and ſtopt. And knowing that on that ſide to *Porto*, *Legnaguo* was inexpugnable by reaſon of the largeneſſe of the riuer, ſo great, that they could hardly fight on that ſide, (notwithſtanding betweene *Legnaguo* and *Porto*, for that it is incompaſſed with hils, it is not ſo large as below) he commanded to prepare a bridge to paſſe the artilleries and ỹ greateſt part of the armie to the other ſide. But finding that the barks which he had cauſed to be brought thither, were not anſwerable to the largeneſſe of the riuer, he incamped himſelfe neare the riuer oppoſite to *Legnaguo*, and cauſed Captaine *Molard* with foure thouſand *Gaſcoins* and ſixe peeces of artilleries to paſſe vpon thoſe barkes to the other ſide of *Adice*; who being paſſed, they began on both ſides the riuer to batter the baſtillion which was vpon the riſing of a hill at the vpper point of the towne: and part of it being beaten downe, notwithſtanding the defendants vſed all diligence to fortifie it, the night following, the Treaſurer of the *Venetian* camp, hauing more feare of his enemie then hope or confidence in his owne people, withdrew himſelfe ſuddenly into the Caſtle with certain *Venetian* Gentlemen. As ſoone as it was day, and their retiring being perceiued, the Captaine of the footmen that guarded the baſtillion rendred it to *Molard*, their liues and goods ſaued, and yet when he was come out, he and his footmen were ſtripped by the ſouldiers of the campe. The baſtillion being taken, the towne was immediatly put to ſacke by Captaine *Molard*, and the bands of footmen who guarded another baſtillion made on the other corner of the towne, hauing caſt away their armour, ſought ſafetie by flying through the marriſhes. Thus *Legnaguo* by the cowardiſe of ſuch as were within it, was more ſuddenly and more eaſily conquered, then was either expected or imagined. *Legnaguo taken by Chaumont.* The caſtle made no greater reſiſtance then the towne; for, the bulwarkes being beaten downe the day following by the artillery, as they began to vndermine one ſide of a tower with intention afterwards to giue fire to it, they within yeelded themſelues, with condition that the Gentlemen of *Venice* remaining in the power of *Monſieur Chaumont*, the ſouldiers ſhould depart without armour. Fortune in this victory mixed ſome of her gall among the felicities of *Monſieur Chaumont*, for that in that place he had aduertiſement of the death of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe* his Vnkle, by whoſe great authoritie with the *French* King, he who had bene raiſed to high promotions and honours, hoped for greater things. Now becauſe the *Almaines* had not ſufficient ſouldiers to leaue within *Legnaguo*, *Monſieur Chaumont* left there in garriſon an hundred Lances and a thouſand footmen, and ſo diſmiſſing the *Griſons* and *Valeſians*, he prepared to returne with the reſidue of his armie to the Duchie of *Millan*, following the commandement of the King, who would no more be at ſo great expences. Of this armie, for that the prouiſions on *Ceſars* part anſwered not the promiſes that were made, there came no effect of importance. Neuertheleſſe the King commanded him afterward to ſtay yet for the whole moneth of Iune, for that *Ceſar* being then come to *Inſpruch* full of difficulties, according to his cuſtome, but full of plots and hopes, made inſtance that he ſhould not depart, promiſing from time to time that he would paſſe into *Italy*. About which time the *Almaines* deſiring to recouer *Maroſtico*, *Ciuitella*, *Baſciano*, and other peeces thereabouts, to make the deſcending of *Ceſar* more eaſie on that ſide, *Monſieur Chaumont* with his armie incamped at *Lungaro* vpon the riuer of *Baquillon*, to the end to ſtop the *Venetian* companies for entring into *Vincenſa*, where there was but a very ſmall garriſon, and that they ſhould not oppoſe againſt the *Almaines*. But being aduertiſed there that the *Venetians* were retired to *Padua*, the *Almaines* ioyning themſelues againe with him, they went to the *Torricelli*, vpon the high way that leadeth from *Vincenſa* to *Padua*, and from thence leauing *Padua* on the right hand, they marched to *Ciuitella* with no litle diſcommoditie of victuals, being troubled by the light horſemen that were within *Padua*, and much more by ſuch as were *M. Chaumont incampeth at Lungaro.*

at *Monſelica*. *Ciuitella* yeelded without reſiſtance, by whoſe example alſo *Maroſtico*, *Baſciano*, with other peeces thereabouts, abandoned by the *Venetians*, did the like. Therefore things being diſpatched on that ſide, the armies returned to the *Torricelli*, and leauing *Padua* on the right hand, and turning on the left towards the mountaine, they encamped aboue *Brenta* neare to the mountaine, within ten miles of *Vincenſa*: the chiefe reaſon why they went to that place, was, for that the *Almaines* deſired to occupie *Eſcalo*, a paſſage very conuenient for the regiments that were to come out of *Germanie*, and the onely peece that of all other places from *Treuiſa* to *Vincenſa*, remained in the hands of the *Venetians*. From which place the Prince of *Henault* being departed with his *Almaines* and an hundred *French* Lances, he tooke the way of *Eſcalo*, which was fiue and twentie miles from thence: but he could paſſe no further, for that the countrey people, (full of incredible affection to the *Venetians*, and ſuch, as being taken priſoners, they choſe rather to die then to denie them, or to ſpeake ill of them) had taken many paſſages in the mountaine: ſo that after he had obtained by compoſition *New-caſtle*, which is alſo a paſſage of the mountaine, he returned to the incamping place at *Brento*, hauing ſent by another way many of his footmen towards *Eſcalo*; who, according to his direction, forſooke the way of *Baſciano*, to auoide *Couolo*, which is a ſtrong paſſage in thoſe mountaines, and compaſſing more low by the way of *Feltre*, they found very few people within *Feltre*, which they ſacked and burned, and ſo tooke the way to *Eſcalo*, which, with *Couolo*, they found abandoned. About that time alſo the ruines were nothing leſſe in the countrey of *Friul*, for that being ſometimes aſſailed by the *Venetians*, and ſometimes inuaded by the *Almaines*, now defended and eſtſoones pillaged by the Gentlemen of the countrey, and whileſt the one aduanced and the other gaue backe, as occaſion ſerued, there was ſeene in euery place nothing more then dead carkaſſes of men, townes ſacked, and fortreſſes burned: and it hapned oftentimes that the ſame places which had bene firſt ſacked by one partie, were ſhortly after ſacked and burned by the other; and except certaine ſtrong peeces, all the reſidue of the countrey was expoſed to this miſerable deſtruction. But becauſe in thoſe actions there was nothing done worthy of memory, it would be no leſſe ſuperfluous to recount the particulars, then troubleſome to vnderſtand ſo many variable reuolutions, which brought forth no effect importing the ſubſtance of the ware.

Conuention between Cæſar and the French king.

But now the time approching that the *French* armie ſhould depart, there was made this new conuention between *Cæſar* and the *French* King, that his armie ſhould yet continue for the moneth following, with couenant that the extraordinary expences, ſuch as ran ouer and aboue the payes of the bands which the King had defrayed till that time, ſhould be payed hereafter by *Cæſar*, together with the regiments of the footmen for that moneth. But becauſe *Cæſar* was not then prouided of money, that the ſumme ſhould be ſet downe of thoſe expences, and the King to make it vp by way of loane to the ſumme of fiftie thouſand duckats: which if *Cæſar* did not repay within one yeare following, together with the other fiftie thouſand which were lent him before, the King ſhould take into his hands *Verona* with all the territories, till he were ſatisfied. *Monſieur Chaumont* hauing receiued the Kings commandement to follow ſtill thoſe warres, turned all his wits and deuices to take *Monſelica*, and therefore as ſoone as foure hundred *Spaniſh* Lances led by the Duke of *Terminy* were arriued, who, being ſent by the King Catholike to the ſuccours of *Maximilian*, had according to their cuſtome marched very ſlowly; the armies after they had paſſed the riuer of *Brento*, and afterwards the riuer of *Baquillon* at the village of *Purlo*, within fiue miles of *Padua*, arriued at *Monſelica*, not without great ſcarcitie of victuals and forrages, by reaſon of the incurſions of the horſemen that were within *Padua* and *Monſelica*, who beſides this tooke *Sonzin Benzone* of *Crema*, a Captaine for the *French* King, being gone with a very ſlender ſtrength of horſemen to view the ſcouts: and, for that he was the author of the rebellion of *Crema*, *Andrew Gritti* reſpecting more that he was a ſubiect to the *Venetians*, then a ſouldier of the enemies, cauſed him to be hanged preſently. In the towne of *Monſelica* which ſtandeth in the plaine, is a riſing as it were a ſtonie hill (by reaſon whereof it is called *Monſelica*) which is very high, on the top whereof is a Caſtle, and at the back of that hil which goeth always leſſening, there be three circuits of wals, the loweſt whereof comprehended ſo much ſpace, that it well needeth two thouſand men to defend it againſt a whole armie. The enemies abandoned ſuddenly the towne, wherein the *French* being beſtowed, they planted their artillery againſt the firſt circuite, and after they had well battered it in many places, the footmen of the *Gaſcoins* and *Spaniards* began to approch the wall in diſorder, ſtriuing to enter by many breaches. There were

The taking of Monſelica.

within

within for the defence of it ſeuen hundred men, who ſuppoſing it had bene an aſſault appointed and ordered, and ſeeing their diſabilitie to make reſiſtance if the aſſault were giuen in ſundry places, after they had made a ſmall defence, began to retire according to an agreement made amongſt themſelues before (as was beleeued:) but they made their retrait in ſuch diſorder, that the enemie who had already begun to enter the firſt circuit, purſuing them with light skirmiſh to the top of the hill, entred pelmell with them the other circuits, and ſo to the caſtle: where the greateſt part of them that were in garriſon being ſlain, the reſidue which were withdrawne to the tower, offering to yeeld vpon ſuretie of life, were not accepted by the *Almaines*, who at laſt put fire to the tower: ſo as of ſeuen hundred footmen and fiue Centurions, whereof *Martin de Bourg* of *Tuſcane* was the principall, there were very few ſaued, euery one hauing leſſe compaſſion of their calamities, for the cowardiſe they had ſhewed. And the *Almaines* ſhewed no leſſe crueltie againſt the buildings and walls; for not hauing ſufficient companies to guard them, they did not onely diſmantle the fortreſſe of *Monſelica*, but alſo conſumed the towne with fire: after which day thoſe armies did nothing of importance, ſauing that foure hundred *French* Lances ran vp euen to the gates of *Padua*. About this time the Duke of *Ferrara* departed from the campe, and *Monſieur Chaſtillon* with him, whom *Monſieur Chaumont* ſent with two hundred and fiftie Lances for the guard of *Ferrara*, where the people liued in great ſuſpition, for that the bands of the Pope were not farre from thence: notwithſtanding the *Almaines* perſwaded much *Monſieur Chaumont* (according to the agreement formerly made betweene them) to go incampe before *Treuiſa*, alledging that the actions which had bene done with ſo great expences, were of litle importance, if *Treuiſa* were not taken: for, touching *Padua*, there was no hope to be able to haue it. But on the contrary, *Monſieur Chaumont* replied, that *Caſar* was not deſcended againſt the *Venetians* with ſuch forces as he had promiſed: and that thoſe that were ioyned to his army, were reduced to a very ſmall number: that within *Treuiſa*, where the *Venetians* had made very great fortifications, there were ſtore of ſouldiers: that the ſtore of victuals was worne out of the countrey, and that it was very difficult to bring prouiſion to the campe from farre places, for the continuall vexation of the light horſemen and eſtradiots of the *Venetians*, who being aduertiſed by the diligent eſpiall of the countrymen of euery litle mouing that was made, and being beſides in great number, ſhewed themſelues alwayes in euery place where they might endomage them. Theſe diſputations ceaſſed, by reaſon of a new commandement that came from the *French* King to *Monſieur Chaumont*, that leauing in the army of the *Almaines* foure hundred Lances and fifteene hundred *Spaniſh* footmen of the Kings pay, beſides thoſe that were in garriſon in *Legnaguo*, he ſhould ſuddenly returne with his army to the Duchie of *Millan*: for that many great troubles and dangers began already to appeare, whereof the Pope was the cauſe. By reaſon whereof *Monſieur Chaumont* leauing the gouernment of thoſe companies to *Monſieur Perſi*, he followed the Kings commandement; and the *Almaines* diſtruſting to be able to do any thing more of importance, put themſelues into *Loniguo*.

The Popes deliberation to chaſe the French out of Italy.

The Pope had of long time ſet downe in his mind an obſtinate reſolution, not onely to repoſſeſſe the Church of many Eſtates, which he pretended to appertaine to him, but alſo to chaſe the *French* King out of all that he held in *Italy*: and that which induced him thereunto, was either a ſecret and ancient ill will that he bare him, or a iealouſie which he had nouriſhed a long time, and now was conuerted into extreame hatred: or elſe a deſire of glorie, to be the deliuerer (as he boaſted afterwards) of *Italy* from forreine nations. To theſe ends he had abſolued the *Venetians* of the Church cenſures: to theſe ends, he was entred into intelligence and ſtraight alliance with the *Swiſſers*, making ſemblance to proceed in theſe things, more for his proper ſuretie, then for deſire to offend another: and to theſe ends, not being able to withdraw the Duke of *Ferrara* from the deuotion of the *French* King, he was determined to do all that he could to occupie that Duchie, giuing it out that he ſtirred onely for the quarrell of ſalt and tribute. And yet to the end not fully to diſcloſe his thoughts vntill he were better prepared, he dealt continually with *Albert Pio*, to haue agreement with the *French* King; who perſwading himſelfe that all his diſcontentment came for that he had taken the Duke of *Ferrara* into his protection, and being very deſirous to auoide his ill will, he conſented to contract with him new couenants, referring himſelfe to the capitulations of *Cambray*, wherein was expreſſed, that none of the Confederates ſhould intrude vpon any thing appertaining to the Church, inſerting therein ſuch words and clauſes as might make it lawfull to the Pope to proceed againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, ſo far forth

as concerned the particularitie of the tribute and ſalt, to which ends the King ſuppoſed the Popes thoughts did chiefly tend: interpreting the protection which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*, as though there was left to him a lawfull libertie to contract with the Pope in that maner. But the nearer the King approched to the demands of the Pope, the further was he eſtranged and ſeparate from him, being nothing moued for the newes he heard of the death of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*. For, to ſuch as perſwaded him to the peace, and tooke their argument vpon this, that his ſuſpitions were now finiſhed, he anſwered, that the ſame King liued, and therefore the ſame iealouſies continued; alledging for confirmation of that ſaying, that it was well knowne, that the accord made by the Cardinall of *Pauie* had bene violated by the Kings owne determination, contrary to the will and counſell of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*. Yea ſuch as looked more deeply into the Popes proceedings, found that his ſtomacke and his hopes were ſo much the more increaſed, and not without cauſe; for the qualities of the King being ſuch, as he ſtood in more need to be gouerned, then he was fit to gouerne, doubtleſſe he was much weakned by the death of the Cardinall of *Amboiſe*, ſince that beſides his long experience, his abilitie of wit was great, and had ſuch grace and authoritie with the King, that he almoſt alwayes followed his counſell, whereby it came to paſſe, that truſting to his greatneſſe, he would oftentimes take vpon him of himſelfe to giue a forme and reſolution of affaires: a matter which was not found in ſuch as ſucceeded him in the gouernment, who durſt not ſpeake to the King of ſuch things as they thought would diſpleaſe him, much leſſe could they determine: beſides, he repoſed not ſuch confidence in their counſels, and being many in number, reſpecting one another, and as yet not greatly truſting in their new authoritie, they proceeded more coldly and more careleſſy then either the importance of the preſent affaires required, or was neceſſary againſt the heate and importunitie of the Pope: who not accepting any of the offers made by the King, required him at laſt to renounce, not with condition and limitation, but abſolutely and ſimply, the protection which he had taken of the Duke of *Ferrara*. And the King labouring to perſwade him, that ſuch a renunciation would bring him great infamie, he anſwered in the end, that ſeeing the King refuſed to renounce ſimply, he would neither contract with him, nor be againſt him; and that not binding himſelfe to any perſon, he would ſtudie to maintaine the ſtate of the Church in peace, complaining more then euer of the Duke of *Ferrara*: who, his friends counſelling him to giue ouer the making of ſalt, had made this anſwer, that he could not follow their aduice without preiudicing the rights of the Empire, whereunto the iuriſdiction of *Comachio* did directly appertaine. But beſides this, many entred into a certaine doubt and opinion, which tooke increaſing with time, that *Albert Pio* the *French* Kings Embaſſadour, not proceeding ſincerely in his legation, ſtirred vp the Pope againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, for a burning deſire he had (wherein he continued till his death) that *Alphonſo* ſhould be depriued of the Dukedome of *Ferrara*. The reaſon was, for that *Hercules*, father of *Alphonſo*, hauing had certaine yeares afore of *Gilbert Pio* the moitie of the dominion of *Carpy*, giuing him in recompence the borough of *Saſſuola* with certaine other lands, *Albert* feared (as oftentimes it falls out, that the weakeſt is compelled to yeeld to the will of the ſtronger) that in the end the other moitie either by compulſion or corruption would deuolue to him. But whatſoeuer the truth was, the Pope ſhewing ſignes of a perſon vnreconcileable againſt *Alphonſo*, and hauing alreadie determined to make warre againſt him, he prepared to proceed againſt him with the cenſures of the Church, ſeeking to iuſtifie the grounds of this action; and ſpecially by giuing out ẏ he had found among the Records of the Chamber Apoſtolik, the inueſtiture of the towne of *Comachio*, giuen by ẏ Popes to the houſe of *Eſte*. Theſe were the publike behauiours of the Pope, but in ſecret he ſolicited to ſet abroach farre greater troubles, ſuppoſing that he had layed a good foundation to his affaires, in contracting amitie with the *Swiſſers*, and hauing the *Venetians* at his deuotion: and withall that he ſaw the King of *Aragon* had the ſame end with him, or at leaſt was not ſoundly ioyned with the *French* King: that the forces and authoritie of *Cæſar* were ſo weake, that he had no need to feare him: and laſtly, that he was not without hope to procure the King of *England* to ſtirre. But that which ſhould moſt haue appeaſed him, did moſt ſtirre vp his ſpirits, which was the knowledge he had that the *French* King hauing no diſpoſition to make warre againſt the Church, nouriſhed a ſetled deſire to haue peace: inſomuch as it ſeemed to him that it would alwayes remaine in his power to draw him to peace, yea though he had leuied armes againſt him. For which reaſons growing dayly more inſolent, and redoubling openly

his

his complaints and threats againſt the *French* king and the Duke of *Ferrara*, he refuſed in the feaſt of the celebration of *S. Peter* (a day wherein, according to ancient cuſtome, are offered the tributes which are due to the ſea Apoſtolike) to accept the tribute of the Duke of *Ferrara*; ſaying, that the grant of *Alexander* the ſixt, who in marrying his daughter, had from foure thouſand duckets, reduced that offering to an hundred yearely, was of no force, becauſe it was to the preiudice of his Sea: beſides, he would not afore this time giue licence to the Cardinall of *Achx* and other *French* Cardinals to returne into *France*; and vnderſtanding that the Cardinall of *Achx* was gone to take the pleaſure of the fields with certain grayhounds, he entred into a vaine ſuſpition that he would ſecretly ſtart away, and therfore ſent ſpeedily after to take him, and held him priſoner in the caſtle *S. Ange*. Thus diſcloſing himſelfe now openly againſt the *French* king, and for that cauſe ſeeing himſelfe ſo much the more conſtrained to lay the greater foundations, he granted to the King Catholike the inueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, vnder condition of the ſame tribute with the which the Kings of *Aragon* had obtained it, notwithſtanding he had refuſed afore to beſtow it otherwiſe then for fortie thouſand duckats: a rate afore time impoſed vpon the *French* king when he obtained it. That which moued the Pope hereunto, was not ſo much the bond which in other inueſtitures of the ſame kingdome, was wont to be made to him to entertaine euery yeare for him three hundred men at armes for the defence of the Church, as often as need required, as the deſire he had to make him his friend, and the hope that his aides (vpon occaſion) might do much to leade him into an open contention with the *French* King: whereof were already diſcerned certaine ſeeds and beginnings, for that the King Catholike ſuſpecting much the greatneſſe of the *French* King, and no leſſe iealous of his ambition, for that not content with the limits of the league of *Cambray*, he ſought to draw *Verona* to his obedience; and beſides all this, being puſhed on by the memory of ancient quarrels, he deſired greatly that there might be found ſome impediment in his affaires; and therefore ceaſſed not to counſell a peace betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, which was not a litle deſired by the Pope: and albeit he proceeded very ſecretly in theſe actiõs, yet he was not able altogether to couer his thoughts; inſomuch as his armie by ſea being fallen vpon *Sicile*, which he ſent to aſſaile the Ile of *Gerbes* (an Iland anciently called by the *Latines* the great *Sirta*) the King was entred into ſuſpition, and the minds of men that were well acquainted with his ſubtilties, were occupied with many doubts.

But troubles begã to ariſe to the *French* king frõ thoſe parts which he doubted leaſt, & in a time wherein he had no expectation of any mouing of armes to be prepared againſt him. For the Pope working alwayes vnder hand, ſolicitèd that at one time *Genes* might be aſſailed both by ſea and land: that twelue thouſand *Swiſſers* might deſcend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: that the *Venetians* aſſembling all their forces, ſhould take the field to recouer their townes holden by *Ceſar*: and that his owne armie ſhould enter vpon the country of *Ferrara*, with intention to paſſe afterward into the Duchie of *Millan*, if things began to ſucceed happily to the *Swiſſers*. And he hoped that *Genes* being aſſailed vpon the ſudden, there would eaſily ariſe ſome mutation, for that there were many that bare no ſound affection to the gouernment of the *French*, and for that the faction of *Fregoſa* would riſe into mutinie, going thither vnder colour to make *Octauian* Duke, whoſe father and vnkle had poſſeſſed the ſame dignitie: that the *French* men amazed for the commotion of *Genes*, and being inuaded by the *Swiſſers*, would reuoke to the Duchie of *Millan* all the bands which they had with *Ceſar* and the Duke of *Ferrara*, which would be a cauſe that the *Venetians* ſhould eaſily recouer *Verona*, and afterwards ſet vpon the Duchie of *Millan*: that his regiments ſhould do the like after they had (as he hoped) made an eaſie conqueſt of *Ferrara*, being abandoned of the *French*; ſo that the eſtate of *Millan* could not defend it ſelfe againſt ſo many enemies, and ſo ſudden a warre. He began at one time the warre againſt *Ferrara* and againſt *Genes*: for albeit the Duke of *Ferrara* (againſt whom he proceeded, the more to haſten the execution, as againſt a notorious offender) offered to giue him the ſalts that were made at *Comachio*, with obligation that hereafter there ſhould be no more made; yet after he had diſmiſſed his Embaſſadours, he cauſed his armie to march againſt him, which with the onely ſummons of a trumpet, and no defence appearing, obtained *Cente* and *Pieua*, the which boroughs appertaining formerly to the Biſhopricke of *Bologna*, Pope *Alexander* in marrying his daughter, had annexed them to the Duchie of *Ferrara*, recompencing that Biſhopricke with other reuenues. Againſt *Genes* were ſent eleuen galleys of the *Venetians*, guided by *Grillo Contarin*, and one of the Popes, carrying *Octauian Fregoſa*, *Ieronymo Dorea*, with many other of the

The Popes army againſt Ferrara & Genes.

baniſhed men: and by land at the ſame time, and for the ſame expedition, was diſpatched *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with an hundred men at armes, and ſeuen hundred footmen: this Captaine hauing left the pay of the *Florentines*, and being entertained by the Pope, abode vpon the territories of *Lucques* vnder colour to furniſh his band, giuing out a bruite that he was afterwards to go to *Bolognia*: and albeit *Monſieur Chaumont* entred into ſome ſuſpition of *Genes* by reaſon of his abiding, yet not knowing that the army by ſea was to come, and the Pope hauing ſubtilly ſpread a bruite, that the preparations of the *Swiſſers*, and the lingring of *Marke Anthonie* were to execute ſome ſurpriſe vpon *Ferrara*, he made no other prouiſion for *Genes*, then to ſend thither a few footmen. *Marke Anthonie* with his companies marched to the vale of *Biſagna*, within a mile of the walls of *Genes*, although he was not receiued (according to the Popes hopes) either into *Serezana* or into the towne of *Spetia*: and at the ſame time the armie by ſea which had occupied *Seſtria* and *Chiauera*, was come from *Rapale* to the mouth of the riuer *Entelle*, which falleth into the ſea neare the port of *Genes*: into which Citie, vpon the firſt bruite that the enemies approched, there was entred for the *French* King the ſonnes of *Iohn Lewis de Fieſquo* with eight hundred men of the countrey, with whom was ioyned the Cardinals nephew of *Finalo*, with an equall proportion of ſouldiers, which both aſſured the towne, and kept ſuppreſſed all commotions. By meanes whereof the Pope and the exiles being deceiued of their principall hope, ſeeing beſides a continuall flocking of ſouldiers out of *Lombardie* and the riuer of *Ponant*, together with ſixe great Galleys entring the hauen guided by *Preian*, they thought that to tarry longer there, would bring more perill then profite: and therefore both the nauie by ſea and the armie by land returned to *Rapale*, and in returning aſſayed to take *Portoſino*, where died *Franciſco Bolani*, a patron of one of the *Venetian* galleys. And from thence their armie by ſea hoiſſing ſaile to go to *Ciuitauecchia*, *Marke Anthonie Colonno* doubting he could not paſſe ſafely by land for the commotions of the countrymen and popular fury alwayes raging againſt ſouldiers that retire in diſfauour, imbarked himſelfe in the galleys with threeſcore of the beſt horſemen, ſending the reſidue by land to *Spetia*, the moſt part of whom were ſtript, as well vpon the countrey of *Genes*, as vpon the marches of *Lucques*, and the frontiers of the *Florentines*. This attempt was done with very ſmall honour to *Grillo* and *Octauian*, for that for feare they abſtained to charge the veſſels of *Preian*, who being inferiour, it was ſuppoſed that before he entred the hauen, they might haue ſet vpon him with a great aduantage. After they were gone, *Preian* iſſued out of the hauen with ſeuen galleys and foure ſhips, and followed the *Venetian* nauie which was ſtronger then he in galleys, but weaker in number of ſhips. Both the one and other fell with the Ile of *Elba*, the *Venetians* in the port of *Lungono*, and the *French* in the hauen of *Ferrato*, who after they had accoaſted the enemie to the mount *Argentaro*, returned againe to *Genes*. About this time the Popes ſouldiers were entred into *Romagna* vnder the Duke of *Vrbin*, againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*; where hauing taken the towne of *Lugo*, *Bagnacaual*, and all the reſidue that the Duke held on this ſide *Po*, they encamped before the Caſtle of *Lugo*: and whileſt they lay there, without vſing diligence, and in no good order, being aduertiſed that the Duke of *Ferrara* with the *French* bands, and an hundred and fiftie men at armes of his owne, with many troupes of light horſemen, was marching to the reſcue of it, the Duke of *Vrbin* raiſed the ſiege ſuddenly, leauing three peeces of artillery in prey to the enemie, & retired to *Imola*. *Alphonſo* taking the aduantage of this occaſion, recouerd all that they had taken from him in *Romagna*: but the campe Eccleſiaſtike being againe aſſembled and increaſed, reconquered eftſoones the ſelfe ſame places eaſily, and immediatly after forced the caſtle of *Lugo*, hauing battred it many dayes: and after the taking of it, an occaſion of greater ſucceſſe preſented it ſelfe vnto them. For there being no garriſon in *Modena*, for that the Duke being buſied about the defending of other places where the danger was neareſt, could not prouide of himſelfe, nor obtaine of *Monſieur Chaumont* to ſend thither two hundred Lances, the Cardinall of *Pauie* paſſing with the army to *Frankcaſtle*, obtained that Citie preſently by compoſition, whither he was inuited to come by *Gerard* and *Francis Maria Rangons* Gentlemen of *Modena*, whoſe authoritie was ſo great (chiefly *Gerard*) that they were able to diſpoſe of it as beſt liked them: and it was beleeued, that they were puſhed on more by ambition and deſire of innouation, then by any other occaſion. *Modena* being loſt, the Duke fearing leſt the like would happen to *Regge*, beſtowed preſent garriſon there, and *Monſieur Chaumont* doing after the hurt receiued, that which would haue profited more in the beginning, ſent thither two hundred Lances, notwithſtanding he had many impediments for the deſcending

ſcending of the *Swiſſers*. The confederation betweene the *French* King and the *Swiſſers*, was determined many moneths before, the King continuing in his reſolution not to augment their penſions, contrary to the counſell of all his Nobles, who aduiſed him to conſider of what importance it would be, to make thoſe armies his enemies, with the which he had before danted all men. And therefore they being already drawne into armes vnder the authoritie and promiſes of the Pope, and incited by the Biſhop of *Sion*, but ſpecially made angry with the Kings obſtinacie in denying their demands, were reſolued by an vniuerſall conſent of the Communalties in an aſſembly holden at *Lucerna*, to make warre againſt him. But *Monſieur Chaumont* foreſeeing theſe ſtirres, had ſet good guard vpon the paſſages towards *Coma*, and taken from the riuers all the boates and barks, and withdrawne into places of ſtrength all victuals and prouiſions, and laſtly had taken from the mils their grinding inſtruments. And being vncertaine, whether the *Swiſſers* would deſcend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, or paſſing the mount *S. Bernard*, enter into *Piemont* by the vale of *Auguſto*, go to *Sauona*, with intention to domage *Genes*, or elſe paſſing the *Appenin*, to go againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*; he had induced the Duke of *Sauoy* to deny them paſſage; and for their more impediment, he ſent with his conſent fiue hundred Lances to *Turea*, not ceaſſing neuertheleſſe in the meane while to do all that he could to corrupt with preſents and promiſes the chiefe Commanders of that Nation, to withdraw them from riſing. But it was in vaine, ſo great was their hatred, and ſo much were they incenſed (chiefly the commons) againſt the *French* king: in ſo much as eſteeming it to be their proper cauſe, notwithſtanding the difficulties that were in the Pope to ſend them money, for that the Fookers bankers of *Germanie*, who had promiſed to defray it for him, ſhrunke backe for feare to offend *Ceſar*, ſixe thouſand of them leuied by the Pope began to march in the beginning of September: amongſt whom were foure hundred horſemen, halfe of them armed with ſhot, fifteene hundred footmen with caliuers, and fiftie harquebuſiers, without artillerie or other prouiſion of bridges or boates: who turning to the way of *Belinſona*, and hauing taken the bridge of *Treſa*, left abandoned by ſixe hundred *French* footmen which were there in garriſon, they incamped at *Vareſa*, expecting there (as they ſaid) the Biſhop of *Sion* with new companies. This troubled much the minds of the *French*, both for an ordinary feare they had of the *Swiſſers*, and more particularly for that at that time they had a very ſmall number of men at armes in *Millan*, part of them being diſtributed for the guard of *Breſſa*, *Legnaguo*, *Valegge*, & *Peſquiero*, and three hundred Lances being gone to the ſuccours of the Duke of *Ferrara*, and fiue hundred being ioyned with the armie of the *Almaines* againſt the *Venetians*. Yet neuertheleſſe *Monſieur Chaumont* aſſembling his forces, came with fiue hundred Lances and foure thouſand footmen into the plaine of *Chaſtillon* within two miles of *Vareſa*, hauing ſent *John Iaques Triuulce* to the mount of *Brianſa*, to the end that not ſo much with the bands which he brought with him, which were in very ſmall number, as with the fauour of the men of the countrey, he might endeuour to keepe the *Swiſſers* from taking that way: who as ſoone as they were arriued at *Vareſa*, ſent to demand paſſage of *Monſieur Chaumont*, ſaying they would go to the ſeruice of the Church: by reaſon whereof it was doubted they would paſſe to *Ferrara* by the Duchie of *Millan*, by which way (beſides the impediments of the *French* companies) they ſhould haue found difficultie to haue paſſed the riuers of *Po* and *Oglia*: or elſe taking the left hand, would turne by the hils below *Coma* and *Lucques*, to paſſe the riuer of *Adda*, which there is narrow and not rough, from whence they might be guided by the hill of the countrey of *Bergamo* and *Breſſia* to the riuer of *Oglia*: and hauing paſſed ouer there, they might deſcend either by the countrey of *Breſſia* or by *Guiaradadda* vpon the marches of *Mantua*, which is a countrey large, where there are neither townes nor forces to reſiſt them. Such was the valour of that nation, and the reputation of their militarie diſcipline, that *Monſieur Chaumont* had no intention to ſet vpon them, by any meanes, no although they ſhould deſcend into the plaines, but with his horſmen & footmen ioyned together, and with his field peeces, to accoaſt and houer vpon them to cut off their victuals, and to giue them as many impediments as he could to paſſe the riuers (without tempting fortune): and in the meane while from thoſe places neare *Vareſa* that were well furniſhed with horſemen and footmen, he giuing them oftentimes falſe alarums, keeping them in breath all the night. At *Vareſa*, where the *Swiſſers* were now in great want of victuals, a new ſupply of foure thouſand came and ioyned with them, and the fourth day after their coming, they marched all together towards *Chaſtillon*, keeping vpon the left hand along the hils, marching alwayes in cloſe ranke,

The deſtilling of the Swiſſers to the Duchie of Millan.

in

in good order, and without making any haſte. They were in euery file foure ſcore or an hundred, and in the laſt files were all the harquebuſiers and caliuers; and marching in this ſort, they defended themſelues valiantly againſt the *French* army, which alwayes accoaſted them, and skirmiſhed with them both behind and before; yea ſometimes an hundred or an hundred and fiftie of them would iſſue out of their ſquadron, to entertaine skirmiſh, aduancing, ſtaying, and retiring in ſuch ſort, as there could be diſcerned no diſorder in their doings. In this ſort they arriued the firſt day at the paſſage of the bridge of *Vedan*, which was guarded by Captaine *Molard* with certaine *Gaſcoines*, who being driuen backe with the ſhot of their harquebuſes, they lodged the ſame night at *Appiana*, eight miles from *Vareſa*, and *Monſieur Chaumont* encamped within *Aſſaron*, which is a great village towards the hill of *Brianſa* ſixe miles from *Appiana*. The day following, they drew along the hils, towards *Cantu*, *Monſieur Chaumont* accoaſting them alwayes with two hundred Lances, for that by reaſon of the roughneſſe of the places, the artilleries remained more lower together with the footmen that guarded them: and yet in the mid way either for the domages which the *French* had giuen them that day, as *Monſieur Chaumont* boaſted, or for that ſuch was their reſolution, leauing the way of *Cantu*, and turning more on the left hand, they went retiring by the high places towards *Coma*, encamping for that night in a ſuburbe of that Citie, and in the villages thereabout. From the ſuburbe of *Coma*, they made another lodging at *Chiaſſo* three miles more forward, keeping the *French* men in doubt, whether they would returne to *Belinſona* by the valley of *Lungaro*, or draw towards the riuer of *Adda*; where, albeit they were not furniſhed with bridges, yet many ſuppoſed that hauing made a bridge of boates, they would aſſay to paſſe all at once. But the next day putting them out of this doubt, they went and harboured at the bridge of *Treſa*, and from thence retired by troupes into their houſes, being reduced into the vttermoſt extremitie of victuals and want of money. It was beleeued that this ſo ſudden retrait was done for want of money, and for the difficulties to paſſe the riuers, but much more for the neceſſitie of victuals. In this ſort the *French* men were deliuered for this time, of a danger which they eſteemed not litle, although the King making his matters greater then they were indeed, affirmed that he could not but hold it profitable for his affaires to ſuffer them to paſſe, making this queſtion, whether of theſe two things would make the Pope more weake, either to be without ſouldiers, or to haue an armie that came to offend him, as did the *Swiſſers*, whom, with ſo many forces and ſo much treaſure, he had had all the paine in the world to manage.

The Venetians recouer moſt part of their townes after the departing of Chaumont.

The perill of the *French* had yet bene farre greater, if at one time they had bene aſſailed in many places, according to the purpoſe of the Pope: but as the enterpriſe of *Genes* was afore the mouing of the *Swiſſers*, ſo the armie of the *Venetians* aduanced not ſo ſoone as was determined, notwithſtanding they had had a ſingular occaſion and commoditie, for that the *Almaine* bands within *Vincenſa*, with whom were the *Spaniſh* footmen, and the fiue hundred *French* Lances, being much diminiſhed ſince the departure of *Monſieur Chaumont*, the *Venetian* armie iſſuing out of *Padua*, recouered without great trauell *Eſte*, *Monſelica*, *Montagnana*, *Maroſtico*, and *Baſciana*: and paſſing further, the *Almaines* alwayes drawing towards *Verona*, they entred into *Vincenſa* which they had abandoned: and ſo hauing recouered all thoſe peeces, except *Legnaguo*, which with ſo great expences and trauell of the *French* men, they had loſt in the whole Sommer; they came to *S. Martin* fiue miles from *Verona*, into which Citie the enemies retired, whoſe retraite had not bene without danger, if (as the *Venetians* ſay) there had bene greater courage in *Luke Maluezzo*; who was then their Generall, for that *Iohn Paul Baillon* had left their pay. For, the *Venetians* being come to the village of *Towre*, the enemies leauing great ſtore of victuals in their lodgings, tooke the way to *Verona*, the whole *Venetian* armie following them, and the light horſemen continually annoying them: and yet the *French* ſuſtaining valiantly the reareguard, chiefly with the artillery, they paſſed the riuer of *Arpan*, and marched without danger to *Newtowne*, the *Venetians* incamping within halfe a mile of them: and the day after, the *Venetians* not following them carefully, by reaſon, as they ſaid, their footmen were not able to follow the horſemen, they retired ſafely into *Verona*. The *Venetians* ſtayed certaine dayes at *S. Martin*, and then approching neare *Verona*, not without blame, for the vnprofitable ſtay they had made, they began to employ their artilleries (which they had planted vpon the oppoſite mountaine) againſt the Caſtle of *S. Felix* and the next wall: and haply they made choiſe of that place for that it was difficult to be fortified, and for that the horſemen could not ſtirre but very incommodiouſly:

diouſly. The *Venetian* army contained eight hundred men at armes, three thouſand light horſemen, the moſt part eſtradiots, and ten thouſand footmen, beſides a great quantitie of paiſants: and within *Verona* were three hundred *Spaniſh* Lances, one hundred Lances of *Almaines* and *Italians*, and more then foure hundred *French* Lances, fiue hundred footmen payed by the King, and foure thouſand *Almaines*, no longer vnder the Prince of *Henault*, who was dead certaine dayes afore. The people of *Verona* being ill affected to the *Almaines*, were vp with their weapons in their hands; a matter wherein the *Venetians* had much hoped, whoſe light horſemen paſſing at the ſame time the riuer of *Adice* at a foord beneath *Verona*, ouerranne the whole countrey. The artilleries of the *Venetians* battered the wall with great fury; notwithſtanding the artillery planted within by the *French*, and couered with their defences, did greatly diſtreſſe thoſe that were without, who had no rampiers: *Lactantius Bergame*, a Colonell of the greateſt account with the *Venetians*, had his buttocks ſtriken away with a ſhot of the artillery, of which he died within few dayes after. At laſt the artillery without hauing done a wonderfull execution, and beaten downe a great part of the wall, euen to the beginning of the ſcarpe, and ſo diſmounted and broken their Cannons that the artillery within was of litle or no ſeruice, the *Almaines* were not without feare to loſe the Caſtle, notwithſtanding it was well rampierd: to the loſſe whereof, to the end the loſing of the Citie ſhould not be ioyned, they determined in caſe of neceſſitie to retire to certaine rampiers which they had made in a place neare, to beate vpon the ſudden with their Cannons, which they had already planted, the face of the inner part of the Caſtle, hoping to make ſuch an opening, that the enemies ſhould find ſmall ſafetie to tarry there. But the valour of thoſe that were within, was farre aboue the vertue of the other; for that in the *Venetian* army were no other footmen then *Italians*, who being ordinarily payed euery fortie dayes, followed that ſeruice, more for that they found in other places very ſlender preferment, then for any other reaſon. Beſides, the *Italian* footmen, not accuſtomed to the order of ſeruice beyond the Mounts, nor reſolute in the field, were at that time almoſt alwayes reiected of euery one that had meanes to furniſh their ſeruice with footmen ſtrangers, ſpecially with *Swiſſers*, *Almains* and *Spaniards*. Therefore the towne being defended with a greater valour then it was aſſaulted, there iſſued out one night about eighteene hundred footmen, with certaine *French* horſemen to charge the artillery; and the footmen that guarded it being eaſily put to flight, they choaked two great peeces, ſtriuing to draw them into the towne: but the alarum being ſuddenly raiſed through all the campe, *Ettolo de Perouſa* came to the reſcue with many footmen, who fighting valiantly, finiſhed his life with great glorie. And *Denis de Naldo* coming on with the greater part of the army, the enemie was compelled to leaue the artillery and retire; yet with great praiſe, ſith that in the beginning they brake the guard that defended the artillery, and after ſlue part of ſuch as came firſt to the reſcue: and laſtly, retired almoſt all in ſafetie. In the end the *Venetian* Captaines being diſcouraged by this accident, ſeeing the inhabitants made no mutinie, and iudging withall, that their abiding there would be no leſſe vnprofitable then full of perill, for the ill ſuretie of their campe (their footmen being lodged in the mountaine, and their horſemen in the valley very farre from the footmen) they determined to retire to their old lodging at *S. Martin*, wherein they made the more ſpeed, for that they vnderſtood that *Monſieur Chaumont* would come to the reſcue of the towne, hauing already auoided the perill of the *Swiſſers*. When the campe brake vp, the forragers of *Verona* accompanied with a great ſtrength, entred the valley of *Poliento* ioyning to the mountaine of *S. Felix*: but many light horſemen of the *Venetians* being ſent out for reſcue, and ſeizing firſt of the entry of the valley, put them all to the ſword, or to the fortune of priſoners. From *S. Martin* the *Venetian* army drew to *S. Boniface*, being fearfull of the comming of *Monſieur Chaumont*: at which time thoſe that were in garriſon within *Treuiſa*, tooke by compoſition the towne of *Aſola* neare the riuer *Muſono*, wherein were eight hundred *Almaine* footmen: and afterwards the Caſtle. And in *Friul* they proceeded with the ſame variations and accuſtomed cruelties, no more making warre vpon the enemies, but proſecuting on all parts the deſtruction of buildings, and the ſpoiling of the countrey: which calamities likewiſe conſumed *Iſtria*. About this time it came to paſſe that the Marquis of *Mantua* was deliuered out of priſon after a very memorable maner, procured by the Pope, whereunto he was induced by an ancient affection which he bare to him before, and by a deſire to ſerue his turne of him, and the commoditie of his eſtate in the warre againſt the *French* King: and it was beleeued through all *Italy*, that he had bene the worker of his deliuery: but I haue bene informed by

Verona beſieged by the Venetians.

The calamities of Friul and Iſtria.

The Marquis of Mantua eſcapeth out of priſon.

by an author worthy of credite, and through whose hands at that time passed the whole gouernment of the estate of *Mantua*, that his libertie was wrought by another meane: for that he doubting lest the *Venetians* (as the truth was) either for the hate they bare him, or for the suspition they had of him, would keepe him perpetuall prisoner; after there had bene vsed in vaine many trials and remedies, it was determined in the Councell of *Mantua*, to haue recourse to *Baiazet* Prince of the *Turks*, whose amitie the Marquis had entertained many yeares, by sending him messages with sundry presents; who, taking knowledge of his calamitie, sent for the Gouernour of the *Venetian* Merchants lying at *Pera* in *Constantinople*, and told him, he must promise him that the Marquis should be deliuered: and the Gouernour refusing to promise that which was not in his power to performe, offered to write to *Venice*, where he doubted not but there would be set downe a resolution conformable to his desire; but *Baiazet* replying proudly, that it was his will that he should make an absolute promise, he was constrained to condescend thereunto; which being signified to the State of *Venice* by the Gouernour, the Senate considering that it was not now time to stirre vp so mightie a Prince, determined to set him at libertie. But to hide his dishonour, and to reape some fruite of his deuice, he gaue eare to the Popes desire, by whose meane it being concluded (but secretly) that to assure the *Venetians* that the Marquis should not moue against them, his eldest sonne should be put into the Popes hands, the Marquis was conueyed to *Bologna*, where after he had deliuered ouer his sonne to the Agents of the Pope, being now at libertie, he went to *Mantua*, excusing himselfe both to *Cæsar* and the *French* King by the necessitie he had to redresse his owne estate, that he came not to their armies to do them seruice, as freeholder to the one, and souldier to the other, (for the *French* King held him always in the number of his Pensioners) although in very deed his intention was to remaine a neuter.

The Pope determineth to assaile Genes.

Matters being thus vnhappily begun, had nothing diminished the hopes of the Pope, who perswading himselfe more then euer of the mutations of *Genes*, determined to assaile it againe. By reason whereof the *Venetians* following him more by necessitie, then that they approued of his furious dealing, augmented their nauie which was at *Ciuitauecchio* with foure great ships; and when the Pope had ioyned thereunto one of his Galeasses with some other vessels, perswading himselfe that his name would most easily induce the *Genowayes* to rebell, he blessed his banners publikly with Pontificall ceremonies; all men maruelling, that now whē his thoughts were made manifest, and that within *Genes* were many souldiers, and a strong nauie within the hauen, how he could hope to obtaine that, which he was not able to atchieue when the hauen was disarmed, when there was but a small garrison within the Citie, and when there was no doubt at all of him. To the armies at sea which were followed by the banished faction, and also by the Bishop of *Genes*, sonne of *Obietto de Fiesquo*, were to be ioyned the land forces. For *Federike* Archbishop of *Salerne*, brother to *Octauian Fregosa*, leuied with the Popes money companies of footmen and horsemen in the countrey of *Lunigiana*, *John de Sasatella* and *Reinold de Sasseto* his Captains, hauing commandement to be readie with their regiments at *Bagno de Porretto*, to make an approch to *Genes* as occasion should require. But in that Citie had bene made mightie prouisions both by sea and land, and therefore at the bruite of the approch of the nauie of the enemie, wherein were fifteene light galleys, three great galleys, one galeasse, and three *Biscain* ships, the *French* nauie lanching out of the hauen of *Genes* with two and twentie light galleys, went to meete them at *Portouenere*: and the diuersitie of vessels was to them a suretie, for that being inferiour to the enemies being vnited together in one strength, but superiour or at least equall in force in respect of the galleys, they might alwayes by their swiftnesse in dispersing saue themselues from the ships. The two nauies approched one another aboue *Portouenere* within the shot of the artillery, and after they had exchanged betweene them certaine volleys of shot, the Popes nauie went to *Sestria*, which is in the coast of Leuant, from whence they presented themselues afore the port of *Genes*, *John Fregosa* entring within ỹ port with a Brigantine: but the towne being so straitly guarded that the contrary faction could not rise, and the artillery of the tower of *Codisa* thundring without ceassing, they were constrained to retire. Afterwards they sailed to *Portouenere*, and spending many houres afore it without any effect, despairing of the successe of the whole enterprise, they returned to *Ciuitauecchia*; from whence the *Venetian* vessels departing with the Popes consent to returne into their owne seas, they fell distressed at *Far de Messina* with such a furious tempest, that fiue of their galleys were lost, & the others were cast vpon the coast of *Barbarie*, from whence, being much bruised, they fell at last into the ports of the *Venetians*.

tians. The forces that ſhould haue come by land, were not in this action, for that the companies that were leuied in the countrey of *Lunigiana* ſtirred not, iudging it an enterpriſe full of perill to enter the coaſt of *Leuant*, for the preparations which the *French* had made: and ſuch as were readie at *Bagno de Porreto*, making excuſe that the *Florentines* would not ſuffer them to paſſe, marched no further, but entring into the mountaine of *Modena*, which yet obeyed the Duke of *Ferrara*, they aſſailed *Fanana*, which though they could not obtaine at the beginning, yet in the end (for that the mountaine men ſaw no hope of ſuccours from the Duke of *Ferrara*) they yeelded to them. Thus till this day had nothing ſucceeded to the Pope of all that he had attempted againſt the *French* king: for that there was no mutation at *Genes*, as he did aſſuredly promiſe himſelfe; neither did the *Venetians*, after they had in vaine aſſailed *Verona*, hope for any aduancement on that ſide: neither did the *Swiſſers* accompliſh any thing, their action being rather in demonſtration then in effect: and touching *Ferrara*, whither the *French* had ſent ready ſuccours, and the Winter approching, there was no apparence of any danger; onely he had ſurprized *Modena*, a recompence vnworthy of ſo great emotions. But it ſeemed to be with the Pope, diſappointed of ſo many hopes, as the Poets haue left written of *Anteus*, who being tamed by the forces of *Hercules*, as often as he was throwne to the ground, ſo often did appeare in him a greater ſtrength and courage. Euen ſo was it with the Pope in his aduerſities; for when he ſeemed moſt deiected and moſt oppreſſed, then did he moſt lift vp himſelfe with a ſpirit more conſtant and reſolute, promiſing himſelfe for the time to come more then euer: and yet he had almoſt no other foundations then of himſelfe; and that which he preſuppoſed (as he would openly ſay) that albeit he was vtterly voide of valiant and loyall armes, hauing no other aſſured friends then the *Venetians* who by neceſſitie ran the ſame fortune; neuertheleſſe for that his enterpriſes were not vndertaken for any particular intereſt, but of an onely and ſincere deſire to ſet *Italy* at libertie, he doubted not, with the aide of God, to manage them to an iſſue honorable, happie and commendable. He could not hope much of the *Venetians*, for that they were alreadie drained of money, and oppreſſed with many difficulties: and the King Catholicke ſeemed rather to counſell him ſecretly, then to aide him openly; for that on the other ſide he vſing his ordinarie ſubtiltie, entertained amitie with *Maximilian* and the *French* King: and albeit he made him many promiſes, yet he held him in ſuſpence with many exceptions and delayes. And touching the trauell he had vſed to ſeparate *Cæſar* from the *French* King, and to bring him to agreement with the *Venetians*, it ſeemed euery day more vnprofitable: for that *Cæſar*, at ſuch time as the Pope had ſent out an armie againſt the Duke of *Ferrara*, had ſent an Herald to charge him not to moleſt him: and *Conſtantine de Macedonia* being gone in the Popes name to ſolicite an accord betweene him and the *Venetians*, he did not onely refuſe to heare him, but giuing to vnderſtand that he would more firmly knit himſelfe with the *French* King, he ſpake of ſending vnto him the Biſhop of *Gurci* to negociate with him of all their affaires. Alſo the Electors of the Empire, notwithſtanding they bare great inclination to the name of the Pope, and to the deuotion of the ſea Apoſtolike, would not heare ſpeake of the expences: in ſo much as being addicted onely to the affaires of *Germanie*, they were not to do him any great ſeruice in thoſe actions. And it ſeemed he could not hope much more of the King of *England*, notwithſtanding he was yong, and deſirous of innouations; and had made profeſſion to affect the greatneſſe of the Church, and had heard his Embaſſadours, not without ſome inclination of mind: for that being ſo farre remoued from *Italy*, as well by land as by ſea, he was not able of himſelfe to embaſe the *French* king, hauing withall ratified the peace with him, and by a ſolemne Embaſſage ſent to that end, receiued the full confirmation. Certainly any other, who had ſo weake foundations, and ſo great impediments, would haue abated in courage, ſeeing withall he had the meanes to obtaine peace with the *French* King, with ſuch conditions as a conqueror could hardly deſire greater. For the King conſented to abandon the protection of the Duke of *Ferrara*, though not directly in regard of his honour, yet indirectly to ſatisfie the Pope, referring it to the arbitration of the law, but into the hands of ſuch Iudges as would haue pronounced according to the Popes will: who albeit he was certaine that he might obtaine this forme of peace to his quiet and honour, yet he added, that ouer and beſides theſe, he would haue the King to leaue *Genes* at libertie, proceeding in theſe actions with ſuch obſtinacie, that not one of his deareſt familiars durſt once aduiſe him to the contrarie: and which more is, the Embaſſadour of *Florence* offering to ſound him according to the Kings commandement, put him into great

Pope Iulio.

and to refuſe the depoſing of the *Gonfalonnier* from the Magiſtracie, and that if the enemies were obſtinate herein, they ſhould looke to the defence of their libertie and common countrey, ſparing neither goods nor life in that action. Then all mens thoughts being turned to the warre, and to the prouiſions of money, they ſent men to the towne of *Prato*, ten miles from *Florence*, which they thought would be the firſt place that would be aſſailed by the Viceroy: who after he had gathered together his army at *Barberina*, together with the artillery which was drawne with great difficultie, both for the ill way of the *Appenin*, and alſo for that for want of money they lacked labourers and inſtruments neceſſary for the cariage, he tooke the way to *Prato*, as had bene formerly iudged: where being arriued at the breake of day, he began the ſame day to batter the gate *Mercatala* with two Falconets about the ſpace of an houre, but he preuailed litle there, for that it was well rampiered within. The *Florentines* had beſtowed within *Prato* about two thouſand footmen, the moſt part of their garriſon ſouldiers, and the reſidue leuied in haſte of all ſciences and baſe trades; and in that number there were very few experienced and trained to the warre. They had alſo ſent thither with an hundred men at armes *Luke Sauello* an ancient Captaine, but yet neither for his age, nor by experience, had attained to any degree of martiall knowledge: and the men at armes were the very ſame who a litle before had bene ſtripped in *Lombardie*. Hereunto was added, that by reaſon of the ſhortneſſe of the time, and the ignorance of ſuch as had the charge to make prouiſions, there was great want of artilleries within *Prato*, and not halfe the munitions and other things neceſſary to defend the place. The Viceroy had in his armie two hundred men at armes, fiue thouſand *Spaniſh* footmen, and two Cannons onely, which was an armie very ſmall in numbers and other prouiſions, but great in valour, for that the footmen were all of thoſe bodies, who with ſo great reputation were retired from the battell of *Rauenna*, and who like men of warre repoſing much in their vertue, deſpiſed greatly the ignorance of their aduerſaries. But being come, without hauing taken order for victuals, and finding ſmall ſtore in the country (for that although the harueſt was hardly finiſhed, it was all carried into places of ſtrength) they began immediatly to fall into want, wherewith the Viceroy being terrified, he began to incline to accord, whereof there was continuall ſolicitation, namely, that the *Florentines* ſuffering that the *Medices* might returne equall with the other Citizens, and without ſpeaking any more of the depoſing of the *Gonfalonnier*, the Citie ſhould pay to the Viceroy, to the end that he might withdraw his armie from off their dominions, a certaine ſumme of money, which was ſuppoſed not to exceed thirtie thouſand duckats: and therfore the Viceroy had granted a ſafeconduct to the Embaſſadors elected for that expedition, and had abſtained vntill their coming any more to aſſaile *Prato*, if they within had in any ſort furniſhed him with victuals. There is nothing that flieth faſter away then occaſion: nothing more dangerous then to iudge of the intention and profeſſion of another: and nothing more hurtfull then an immoderate ſuſpition. All the chiefe Citizens deſired agreement, being accuſtomed by the example of their elders, to defend their libertie againſt armes with gold: and therefore they made requeſt, that the Embaſſadours elect ſhould depart incontinently, being charged among other things to ſee them of *Prato* furniſh the *Spaniſh* armie with victuals, to the end the Viceroy might expect with patience if the compoſition that was now in hand would ſort to any effect. But the *Gonfalonnier* perſwading himſelfe (againſt his naturall timorouſneſſe) that the enemies deſpairing to be able to do any thing, would depart of themſelues, or fearing the *Medices* by what meanes ſoeuer they ſhould returne to *Florence*, or his deſtinie puſhing him on to be the cauſe of his owne ruine, and the calamitie of his country, he held artificially in delay the diſpatch of the Embaſſadours, not ſuffering them to depart the day that was appointed according to the reſolution which had bene made: in ſo much as the Viceroy when he ſaw himſelfe preſſed with the want of victuals, and being vncertaine whether the Embaſſadours would come, diſlodged by night from the gate *Mercatala*, and incamping before the gate called *Serraglio*, from the which the way goeth to the mountaine, he began to batter the next wall with two Cannons, chuſing that place for the commoditie of a high heape of earth ioyning to the wall, by the which he might eaſily aſcend to the breach of the wall aboue that was battered: the which facilitie for them without, being turned into a difficultie for them within the towne, for that the breach that was made aboue the heape of earth, remained within very high and far from the ground, one of the Canons was broken at the firſt execution, and the other with the which the battery was continued, had ſo loſt his force with often ſhooting, that

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the bullets came very ſlackly to the wall, and did litle harme. Neuertheleſſe, after they had in the ſpace of many houres made a breach in the wall of more then twelue fadomes, certaine of the *Spaniſh* footmen being gotten vp to the heape of earth, began to aſſaile the breach; from thence they got to the top of the wall, where they ſlue two of the footmen that guarded it, for whoſe death the reſidue beginning to retire, the *Spaniards* climbed vp quickly by the helpe of ſcaling ladders: and albeit there was within neare the wall a ſquadron of ſhot and pikes, beſtowed there to ſuffer none of the enemies to ſtay vpon the wall, and to make ſlaughter of the firſt that raſhly ſhould leape in, or otherwiſe get downe; yet as ſoone as they ſaw the enemies vpon the wall, they brake their ranke, and of themſelues abandoned the defence of the place: ſo the *Spaniards* being amazed to ſee ſo great cowardize and litle experience in men of warre, made their entrie in ſundry places without impediment, and began to run through the towne, where was ſeene no other thing then flying, violence, ſpoiling, bloud, murders, and crying; the footmen of the *Florentines* making no reſiſtance, but caſting away their weapons, offered their bodies to the rigour of their enemies: from whoſe couetouſneſſe, luſt and crueltie, nothing had eſcaped, if the Cardinall *de Medicis* hauing beſtowed guards in the great Church, had not ſaued the honour of women, which in their calamitie were fled thither for ſafetie. There were more then two thouſand men that died, not fighting (for not one fought) but in flying, or crying for mercie: and all the reſidue were made priſoners, together with the *Florentine* Commiſſioners. *Prato* being loſt, they of *Piſtoya*, not falling otherwiſe from the iuriſdiction of the *Florentines*, agreed to relieue the Viceroy with victuals, receiuing his promiſe not to be diſtreſſed by his armie. *Prato taken by the Spaniards.*

But as ſoone as the ſucceſſe of *Prato* was knowne at *Florence*, by reaſon whereof the Embaſſadours that went to the Viceroy, being on the halfe way, were returned, there was diſcerned great alteration in the minds of euery one. The *Gonfalonnier* repenting the vanitie of his counſell, being amazed, and hauing almoſt altogether loſt both reputation and authoritie, rather vngouerned then gouerning, and altogether vnreſolued, gaue himſelfe vp to the wils of others, without making prouiſion either for his owne ſafetie, or the common tranquillitie. Others, who deſired alteration of the gouernment, waxing bold, diſcõmended publikly the things preſent: but the moſt part of the Citizens who were not accuſtomed to armes, and who ſet afore their eyes the miſerable example of *Prato*, notwithſtanding they affected the popular gouernment, remained, by reaſon of feare, as a miſerable prey to whoſoeuer would oppreſſe them. By reaſon of theſe things *Paul Vettori* and *Anthonie Franciſquo Albizi*, Gentlemen ſeditious and deſirous of innouation, becoming more audacious (who had many moneths afore conſpired ſecretly with others in fauour of the *Medices*, and to agree with them of the maner of their reſtoring, had ſecretly ſpoken with *Iulian de Medicis* in a village of the *Florentine* territory neare to *Sienna*) determined to make experience to draw the *Gonfalonnier* out of the publike Pallace by force: and hauing communicated their counſell to *Bartholomew Valori* a yong man of the like condition, and intangled (by his vnreaſonable prodigalities) with ſundry debts, as was alſo *Paul Vettori*, they went the ſecond morning after the loſſe of *Prato*, being the laſt day of Auguſt, with a ſmall companie to the Pallace, where, for that the *Gonfalonnier* had left all things to aduenture, finding no great guard or reſiſtance, they entred his chamber, and threatned him to take his life from him if he would not depart the Pallace; but in caſe he would go out, they gaue him their faith to defend him from harme. Whereunto he yeelding, and the whole Citie riſing into tumult, many diſcloſing themſelues againſt him, and not one in his fauour, when (as they had appointed) he had preſently cauſed ỹ Magiſtrates to aſſemble, who, hauing according to the lawes great authoritie ouer ỹ *Gonfalonniers*, they required that he might be lawfully depriued of the Magiſtracy, threatning ỹ otherwiſe they wold kil him. In wch feare depoſing him contrary to their wil, they led him in ſafetie into ỹ houſe of *Paul Vettori*, frõ whẽce the night following, being wel accompanied, he was conueyed vpon the dominions of *Sienna*, and frõ thence making ſhew to go to *Rome* with ſafeconduct of the Pope, ſecretly taking the way of *Ancona*, he paſſed by ſea to *Ragouſa*, for that he was aduertiſed by his brother the Cardinal, that the Pope wold breake his promiſe with him, and ſpoile him of the money which he had, which was ſuppoſed to be in great quantitie. As ſoone as the *Gonfalonnier* was depoſed from the Magiſtracie, the Citie diſpatched preſent Embaſſadours to the Viceroy, with whom they compounded eaſily by meanes of the Cardinall *de Medicis*; for the Cardinall was content that in reſpect of him there ſhould be no

further mention, then of the reſtoring of him and his, and of all ſuch as had followed him; as priuate Citizens, with power to redeeme within a certaine time their goods that had bene alienated by the fiske; but reſtoring the moneys that had bene disburſed, and the increaſe that was made by ſuch to whom they had bene transferred: and touching common affaires, the *Florentines* entred the league. They bound themſelues (according to that which the *Medices* had promiſed at *Mantua* to the Biſhop of *Gurci* in recompence of their returne) to pay to the Emperour fortie thouſand duckats, to the Viceroy twentie thouſand, and for the armie foureſcore thouſand, the one halfe preſently, and the reſidue within two moneths: but vpon this condition, that the firſt paiment being receiued, the armie ſhould forthwith depart from off the lands of the *Florentines*, relinquiſhing all that they had taken. Beſides this, they contracted a league with the King of *Aragon*, with bonds reciprocall for certaine numbers of men at armes for the defence of their eſtates, and that the *Florentines* ſhould entertaine in their pay two hundred men at armes of the ſubiects of that King; and although it was not expreſſed vnder whom, it was intended vnder the Marquis of *Paluda*, to whom the Cardinall had promiſed, or at leaſt giuen hope, to make him Generall of the *Florentine* men of warre. The *Gonfalonnier* being driuen away, and the dangers of the warre remoued by the compoſition, the Citizens began to correct the gouernment in points wherein the former forme was thought vnprofitable: but with an vniuerſall intention (except of a very few, who were yong, and almoſt of no reſpect) to preſerue the libertie and the Councel popular. Therefore they determined with new laws, that the electiõ of the *Gonfalonnier* ſhould no more be for perpetuity, but for one yeare onely: and that to the Councell of the foureſcore, which changed from ſixe moneths to ſixe moneths, and by whoſe authoritie the cauſes of greateſt weight were determined, to the end there might be a continuall communitie of the Citizens of greateſt qualitie, ſhould be alwaies added all ſuch as had adminiſtred either at home or abroad the chiefe offices and honours: at home, ſuch as had bene either *Gonfalonnier* of iuſtice, or of the ten of the *Balia*, which is an office in that Commonweale of great authoritie; abroad, all ſuch as being choſen by the Councell of the fourſcore, had ſerued either as Embaſſadours to forreine Princes, or elſe as generall Superintendents in the warre: the ordinances of gouernment remaining firme and ſtable in all other matters. After theſe things were reſolued, they elected *Gonfalonnier* for the firſt yeare, *Iohn Baptiſta Rodolfe*, a noble Citizen, and who was eſteemed very wiſe; the people reſpecting (according to the maner of troubleſome times) not ſo much ſuch as by popular practiſes were moſt agreeable to them, as one, who by the great authoritie he had in the Citie, ſpecially with the Nobilitie, and by his proper vertue could ſupport and eſtabliſh the tottering eſtate of the Commonweale. But things were already too much out of order, and the common liberty had too many mightie enemies; in the bowels of the countrey an army ſuſpected, and within the Citie the moſt audacious of the youth deſirous to oppreſſe it, to whoſe wils was conformable the deſire of the Cardinall *de Medicis*, notwithſtanding in words he made ſhew of the contrary. For he who from the beginning eſteemed not the reſtoring of him and his as priuate Citizens, a recompence worthy of ſo many trauels and paines, conſidered further now, that this alſo could not long endure, for that together with his name, they ſhould be greatly hated of euery one, the other citizens liuing in continuall ſuſpition, that they would dreſſe ſome ambuſh againſt their libertie: and much more, for diſdaine that they had brought the *Spaniſh* army againſt their country, & bin the cauſe of the moſt cruell ſacke of *Prato*: and becauſe that for feare of armes the Citie had bene conſtrained to receiue ſuch baſe and vniuſt conditions. To this he was vrged by ſuch as afore had conſpired with him, and ſome others who in a Commonweale well ordered held no honorable place. But the conſent of the Viceroy was neceſſary, who expecting the firſt paiment, which for the ill condition of the citie could not ſo ſoone be procured, kept as yet within *Prato*, and had no fancie (whatſoeuer the cauſe was) that any new change ſhould be made in the Citie of *Florence*. Notwithſtãding the Cardinal declaring vnto him (& cauſing the Marquis of *Paluda* & *Andrew Caraffe* Earle of *S. Seuerin*, Captaines in the armie, to do the like) that the name of the *Spaniards* could not but be very odious to a Citie againſt which they had done ſo many harmes, and that in all occaſions they would ſticke alwayes to the enemies of the King Catholike; yea, that there was danger, leſt when the army ſhould depart, they would reuoke the *Gonfalonnier*, whom they had expulſed by conſtraint: and being further moued, for that the money was ſo long vnpayed which they had promiſed him, which if they had ſooner performed, the *Florentines* might haue

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layed a better foundation for a free gouernment, he consented to the desire of the Cardinall, who as soone as he had made agreement and resolution of the affaires with him, came with diligence to *Florence* into his houses, and many Captaines and souldiers of the *Italians* entred, some with him, and some separate, the Magistrates not hauing the courage to let their entrie, for feare of the *Spaniards* that were at hand. The next morning a Councell of many Citizens being assembled at the publike Pallace to consult of the present affaires, *Iulian de Medicis* being present and assisting the action, the souldiers charged the gate of the Pallace on a sudden, and climing vp by ladders, they made themselues maisters thereof, making pillage of the siluer vessell which was kept there for the seruice of the Citie; which together with the *Gonfalonnier*, compelled to giue place to the wils of such as could do no more with weapons then the Magistrate could with reuerence and authoritie, called together presently with the ringing of the great bell (by the direction of *Iulio de Medicis*) the people, to Parliament vpon the Pallace green: where, such as went thither being enuironed with armed souldiers, and by the yong men of the Citie that had taken armes for the *Medices*, they consented that to fiftie Citizens of the Cardinals naming, should be giuen the same authoritie in publike businesse, which the whole people had, (which large kind of power the *Florentines* call *Ampla balia*.) Now by the decree of these men, the gouernment being reduced to that forme which it caried before the yeare a thousand foure hundred ninetie and foure, and a garrison established within the Pallace, the *Medices* resumed the same state of greatnesse which their father had, but their gouernment was more imperious, and with a power more absolute. In this sort was oppressed the libertie of the *Florentines*, being brought to that degree principally by the disagreements of the Citizens; into which it was thought it would not haue come, if they had not behaued themselues so negligently in the defence of the publike businesse, specially in the lateſt times, not to speake of the neutralitie, which they vsed very vndiscreetly, and the cowardize of the *Gonfalonnier*, giuing too much head to the enemies of the popular gouernment. For the King of *Aragon* had not from the beginning so great a desire to subuert the libertie, as to turne away that Citie from the alliance of the *French* King, and to draw from thence some summes of money to pay his armie: in so much that as soone as the *French* had abandoned the Duchie of *Millan*, he sent to tell the Viceroy, that whether the affaires occurrent should draw him to another enterprise, or for any other occasion he should know that the restitution of the *Medices* would be difficult, determining according to the condition of the times, he should deale with the Citie as he thought good, and to the best aduantage for his affaires. This was his commandement in the beginning: but being afterwards discontented with the Pope for that he would haue done to *Alphonso d'Este* at *Rome*, and entring withall into suspition for the threats he gaue publikely against strangers, he gaue plainly to vnderstand to the same Embassadour of *Florence* that came to him in the beginning of the warre, (enioyning no lesse to the Viceroy) that there should be no striuing to alter the gouernment: either for that he iudged it would be a thing of more suretie for him to preserue the *Gonfalonnier*, who was enemy to the Pope, or else for that he feared lest the Cardinall of *Medicis* being restored, would depend more of the Pope then of him: but this last deliberation came not to the knowledge of the Viceroy vntill the day after the Commonweale was reduced into the power of the Cardinall. By this discourse it may be discerned, that if the *Florentines*, after the *French* were chased away, had diligently looked to assure their affaires by some agreement, or at least had made themselues strong with armes & trained souldiers, either the Viceroy had not marched against them, or at least finding resistance, he would easily haue compounded with them for money. But their destinie would not suffer them so to do, although besides that which might be coniectured by humane reasons, they had bene warned of the perils imminent to them, by signes from heauen: for, not long afore, the lightning that fell vpon the gate that leades from *Florence* to *Prato*, caried away from an ancient shield of Marble, the golden flower *de Luces*, which are the armes of *France* and another time a flash of lightening descending from the top of the Pallace into the chamber of the *Gonfalonnier*, touched no other thing then a great boxe of siluer, wherein were wont to be gathered the voices of the great Magistrate: and afterwards falling downe, it stroke so violently a great stone at the foote of the staires, which bare vp the whole weight of the building, that being remoued from his place without any hurt, it seemed to be pulled from thence with great dexteritie by men skilfull in Architecture.

At these same times, or a litle before, the *Genowaies* beating vpon the Castle of *Genes* with

The castle of Genes taken by the Genowaies.

the artilleries which the Pope had lent them, the Castle-keeper being corrupted with a bribe of ten thousand duckats, deliuered it vp to the townesmen; being hereunto moued, for that an armie by sea which was sent out of *Prouence* for the defence of the towne before the King had knowledge of the rebellion, hauing not the courage to take land, were retired, so that he had no hope to be succoured. But the Lanterne held out for the King, whereinto the same day certaine *French* vessels had conueyed victuals and other necessary prouisions. As soon as the matters of *Florence* were dispatched and the mony receiued, the Viceroy raised the camp to march to *Bressia*, which Citie, the *Venetian* armie, hauing appeased the *Swissers*, held besieged afore the gate of *S. Iohn*, battering at one time both the towne and the Castle with artilleries planted vpon the opposite mountaine. And likewise had hope to be let in at the gate of Piles by meanes of an intelligence, which proued vaine, for that it was disclosed. But when the *Spanish* armie arriued at the borough of *Gairo* which is neare to *Bressia*, *Monsieur d'Aubigny* Captaine of the *French* that were within, determined to giue vp the towne together with the Castle to the Viceroy, with composition that all the souldiers that were within, should issue out, their goods and liues saued, but their Ensignes folded, and the points of their weapons downeward, and leauing behind them their artillerie. And it was thought that *Monsieur d'Aubigny* preferred the Viceroy before the *Venetians*, hauing receiued a commandement a litle afore from his King, to deliuer it rather to the *Spaniards* or to *Cæsar*, not for any hatred that he bore them, but to entertaine matter of contention with *Cæsar* and the King of *Aragon*. The *French* men that kept *Legnaguo*, had followed the same counsell afore the *Spaniards* came into *Lombardie*: for, litle esteeming of the many offers of the *Venetians*, they surrendred it vp to the Bishop of *Gurci*, vnto whom *Pesquiero* yeelded at the same time that the Viceroy entred *Bressia*, the possession whereof the same Bishop desired to haue, but it pleased the Viceroy thē to retaine it for the League, in whose name he had receiued it. It happened otherwise to the towne of *Crema*, about the which lay incamped *Rance de Cere* with part of the *Venetian* souldiers: for that foure thousand *Swissers* which *Octauian Sforce* Bishop of *Loda* and Gouernour of *Millan* had sent to conquer it in the name of the future Duke *Maximilian Sforce*, being approched, *Benedict Cribario* who was corrupted by gifts, and a promise to be created a Gentleman of *Venice*, gaue it vp to the *Venetians*, with the consent of *Monsieur Duraz* that kept the Castle, who reposed no confidence for his safetie in the faith of the *Swissers*. Afterwards the Bishop of *Gurci* went to *Rome*, whom the Pope desiring earnestly to haue at his deuotion, forcing his nature, he caused him to be receiued through all his dominions with all sorts of honors: defraying his expences by the way, together with all such as followed him, making them great cheare. All the townes receiued him with excessiue and vnusuall honours, the wayes being filled with such as went to meete him, and in many seuerall places he was visited by sundry new Embassadours of Prelates and personages of honor whō the Pope sent vnto him: and he was desirous that the Colledge of Cardinals should haue gone to the gates of *Rome* to receiue him, but the Colledge refusing it, as a matter not onely new, but full of great indignitie, the Cardinals *Aginense* and of *Strigonia* went by the medowes halfe a mile out of the gates to receiue him in the name of the Pope, who led him to *S. Maria de Popolo*, he being in the middest betweene them as Lieutenant to *Cæsar*. And from thence, where the two Cardinals left him, accompanied with an innumerable multitude, he went to the Pope, who being in his Pontificall seate, in solemne habite, expected his coming in the publike Consistorie, where not many dayes before he had very honorably receiued the twelue Embassadours of the *Swissers*, whom all the Cantons had sent to him, both to giue him publike obedience, and to declare that that nation would be perpetuall defenders of the state of the Church, and to thanke him, that with so great honour he had giuen them the sword, the hat, the helmet, and the banner, together with the title to be the Defenders of the Ecclesiastike libertie. When the Bishop of *Gurci* was arriued, they began to debate of the establishment of the common affaires, whereof the principall point consisted in the remouing of particular quarrels & contentions, to the end that *Italy* might be so established, that with an vniforme courage and counsell it might be able to resist the *French* King: and that which herein was the most difficult, was the composition so many times practised betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*. For, the Bishop of *Gurci* consented willingly that *Padua*, *Treuisa*, *Bressia*, *Bergama* and *Crema* should remaine to the *Venetians*, so farre forth as they would render *Vincensa* to *Cæsar*, renouncing the rights they pretended to the townes that *Cæsar* held, and paying to him presently two hundred thousand

Bressia rendred by the French to the Viceroy.

Crema rendred to the Venetians.

The Bishop of Gurci at Rome

thouſand florins of *Rhein*, and thirtie thouſand yearely for euer in way of tribute. It diſpleaſed the *Venetians* to acknowledge themſelues tributaries for thoſe townes which they had poſſeſſed ſo many yeares as their owne: and no leſſe to giue ſo much money, notwithſtanding the Pope offered to lend them part of the ſumme. But that which troubled them moſt, was the reſtoring of *Vincenſa*; for they ſaid, that that were to ſeparate the bodie of their eſtate, and to deprive them of the commoditie to paſſe from the head and principall parts to the other members, and that thereby the poſſeſſion of *Breſſia*, *Bergama* and *Crema* would be vncertaine and ill aſſured. And beſides, to refuſe the more honeſtly, they ſaid, they had giuen their faith to the *Vincentines* the laſt time they put themſelues into their hands, neuer to ſeparate themſelues from them. Other conditions were debated betweene the Pope and the King of *Aragons* Embaſſadour, propounded partly more for reuenge of the complaints of others, then for any hope to obtaine them. For the Pope demanded that that King according to the contents of the confederation, ſhould aide him to conquer *Ferrara*: he required him to leaue off the protection of *Fabricio* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, againſt whom he had begun to proceed with ſpirituall weapons, for that they had forced the gate of *Latran*, and receiued *Alphonſo d'Eſte* who had rebelled againſt him, into thoſe townes whoſe iuriſdiction appertained directly to the Church. He required him to renounce the protections he had vndertaken in *Tuſcane*, of the *Florentines*, of the *Siennois*, of the *Lucquois*, and of *Plombin*, as matters done in diminution of the rights of the Empire, and generally ſuſpected of all *Italy*, but particularly of the Church: for that it was not profitable to the other Potentates that he ſhould haue ſo many alliances in *Italy*, and moſt dangerous for the Church, that a prouince belonging to the dominion of the ſame ſhould depend vpon his authoritie. To theſe things the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours replied, that they refuſed not to aide him againſt *Ferrara*, ſo farre forth as according to the bonds of the ſame confederation, he made paiment of the mony due to the armie for the time paſt, and made prouiſion for the time to come: That it was an action not praiſeworthy to proceed againſt *Fabricio* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, for that as well by reaſon of their dependances, as for that they were Captaines of authoritie, if they were purſued, it would be the cauſe of a new warre: That the King Catholike could not leaue them abandoned, without ſpeciall preiudice to his proper honour, and that their ſeuerall ſeruices in the warres of the Pope and himſelfe againſt the *French* King, deſerued no ſuch recompence: And touching the complaint he made of the protections of *Tuſcane*, that it proceeded not of any good or iuſt zeale, but to the end that *Sienna*, *Lucques* and *Plombin*, ſhould remaine a prey to his couetouſneſſe, intimating notwithſtanding that the King would referre himſelfe in thoſe things to the will of *Ceſar*. All the Confederates agreed with full conſent, that *Maximilian Sforce* ſhould enter vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, but *Ceſar* conſented not to inueſt him, nor to endue him with the name of Duke or any iuſt title. But the complaints of the Biſhop of *Gurci* and the *Spaniards* were againe renewed touching the occupation of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, in preiudice of the rights of the Empire, to the too much increaſe of the Popes greatneſſe, and weakening of the Duchie of *Millan*, which had need to be made more mightie, for that it lay alwayes open to the firſt inuaſions of the *French*: That in the capitulations of the League, the Pope had made mention of no other thing then of *Bologna* and *Ferrara*: That now he vſurped that which of long time paſt had not bene poſſeſſed by the Church of *Rome*, there being no certaine knowledge that euer ſhe had enioyed it, euen in the times moſt ancient: and that vnder colour of rights, whereof there appeared no authentike memorie, he ſhewing no other thing of the donations of Emperours, then a ſimple writing, which might be forged or feigned according to any mans fancie: and ỳ the Pope, notwithſtanding taking occaſion of the tumults of *Lombardy*, was his owne iudge, as in a matter manifeſt & notorious. Theſe diſputatiõs could not be eaſily reſolued. But that which moſt troubled the iſſue of things, was the controuerſie betweene *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*, by reaſon whereof the Pope did what he could, ſometimes prouoking them, ſometimes praying them, and ſometimes threatning them, for a deſire which he ſtill nouriſhed to preſerue the *Venetians*, for the common benefite of *Italy*, and for that he hoped by meanes of their ſuccours, to be able to take *Ferrara* without the aide of the *Spaniards*. The Embaſſadours of the King of *Aragon* laboured herein with great importunitie, fearing leſt to a common danger, there might be ſome cauſe giuen to the *Venetians* to turne their diſpoſitions to the *French*: but they were driuen to proceed circumſpectly, not to prouoke *Ceſar* to make alliance with the *French*, from whom their King

had ſeparated him with ſo great paine, and for that he would not for other reaſons breake amitie with him. The *Swiſſer* Embaſſadours likewiſe did their vttermoſt endeuour, for that being bound to defend the *Venetians*, who alſo in that regard were bound to pay them euery yeare fiue and twentie thouſand duckats, they deſired not to be brought to this neceſſitie to breake their promiſes, or to oppoſe themſelues againſt *Cæſar* if he offered to vexe them. At laſt, when the Biſhop of *Gurci* could not be brought to relinquiſh the demand which he made that the *Venetians* ſhould render *Vincenſa* to *Cæſar*, nor the *Venetians* to be diſpoſed to giue it vp, who were not yet agreed touching the ſumme of money, the Pope, who deſired aboue all things, to the end to ſuppreſſe the name and authoritie of the Conuenticle of *Piſa*, that *Cæſar* might approue the Councell of *Latran*, proteſted to their Embaſſadours, that he ſhould be conſtrained to perſecute their Commonweale with armes ſpirituall and temporall: which proteſtation not mouing them, he proceeded to confederate onely with *Cæſar*, the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour refuſing to deale in the action, either for that he had no commiſſion from his King, or for that that King, notwithſtanding he was reſolued in mind to aide *Cæſar*, ſought ſtill to nouriſh the *Venetians* with ſome hope. It was expreſſed in the proeme of the confederation, which was after ſolemnly publiſhed in the Church of *S. Maria de Popolo*: That the *Venetians* hauing obſtinately refuſed the peace, and the Pope, for the neceſſitie of the Chriſtian commonweale, had proteſted to abandon them; *Cæſar* did now enter and accept the league made in the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and eleuen, betweene the Pope, the King of *Aragon*, and the *Venetians*, according as the libertie was then reſerued for him; and promiſed to cleaue to the Councell of *Latran*, diſanulling the commiſſion, and reuoking all the procurations & acts done in fauour of the conuenticle of *Piſa*: binding himſelfe not to aide any one of the ſubiects or enemies of the Church, but chiefly *Alphonſo d'Eſte* and the *Bentiuoleis*, occupiers of *Ferrara* and *Bologna*: and to call home all the bands of *Almaine* footmen that were in the pay of *Alphonſo*, together with *Federike de Boſſolo* that held of him. On the other ſide, the Pope promiſed to aide *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians* with armes both ſpirituall and temporall, vntill ſuch time as he had recouered all that was contained in the league of *Cambray*. It was declared, that the *Venetians* were altogether excluded out of the league and truce made with *Cæſar*, for that in many ſorts they had impugned both the one and the other: That they were enemies to the Pope, to *Cæſar* and to the King Catholike, to whom they reſerued place to enter the confederation within a certaine time, and vnder certaine conditions: That the Pope could make no couenant with them without the conſent of *Cæſar*, or till *Cæſar* had recouered that which appertained to him, as was ſaid afore: That neither the Pope nor *Cæſar*, without reciprocall conſent, could contract or couenant with any Chriſtian Prince: That during the warre againſt the *Venetians*, the Pope ſhould do no hurt or diſpleaſure to *Fabritio* and *Marke Anthonie Colonno*, it being notwithſtanding left in his power to proceed againſt *Pompey* and *Iulio*, and ſome others that had bene declared rebels: That notwithſtanding he was ſuffered to poſſeſſe *Parma*, *Reggia* and *Plaiſance*, yet by this capitulation it was not meant to preiudice the rights of the Empire. When this confederation was publiſhed, the Biſhop of *Gurci* in the next ſeſſion of the Councell of *Latran*, adhered to the Councell in the name of *Cæſar*; and as his Lieutenant generall in *Italy*, diſanulled all commiſſions, acts and procurations, and teſtified in the preſence of the whole Councell, that *Cæſar* neuer conſented to the conuenticle of *Piſa*, diſauowing all ſuch as had vſed his name. This being done, the Biſhop of *Gurci* departed from *Rome*, to be preſent when *Maximilian Sforce* (being now come by commiſſion of *Cæſar* to *Verona*) ſhould take poſſeſſion of the Duchie of *Millan*: whoſe comming the Cardinall of *Sion* expected with an ill will, together with the Embaſſadours of the whole nation of *Swiſſers*, who were at *Millan*; for that they deſired that in the demonſtrations and ſolemnitie of the actions that were to be performed, it might appeare (as the truth was indeed) that the *Swiſſers* were the men that had chaſed the *French* men out of that ſtate, and by whoſe valbut and courage *Maximilian Sforce* receiued it. And yet the Viceroy obtained more by deuices & induſtry then by his authoritie, that they taried for the coming of the Biſhop of *Gurci*: who, after he had ratified at *Florence* in the name of *Cæſar*, the confederation made in *Prato*, and receiued certaine ſummes of money of the *Lucquois*, whom he tooke into protection, came at laſt to *Cremona*, where *Maximilian Sforce* and the Viceroy attended him: and from thence they went all together to *Millan*, to make their entrie, at the day appointed, into that Citie, with the ſolemnities and honours accuſtomed to new Princes. In which action, albeit it was

The Pope promiſes to the Emperour, to the preiudice of the Venetians

long

long disputed betweene the Cardinall of *Sion* and the Viceroy, which of them should giue him the keyes at the entrie of the gate, in signe of possession, yet, in the end the Viceroy giuing place, the Cardinall put into his hands the keyes of the towne in the vniuersall name of the *Swissers*: and that day, being one of the last dayes of December, he did all things both in shew and act, that were necessary to make knowne that *Maximilian Sforce* receiued the possession of them: who was receiued with an incredible gladnesse of all the people, for the great desire they had to haue a Prince proper and particular, and for that they hoped he wold resemble his grandfather or his father, of whom the memory of the one was very famous in that state for his excellent vertues, and touching the other, the despites they had receiued by the gouernment of strangers, had turned their hatred into good will: and these gratulations and ioyes were not yet finished, when the Castle of *Nouaro* was recouered, for that they within yeelded it vp. The confederation made at *Rome*, had not taken away all hope of agreement betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*, for that the Pope had suddenly sent to *Venice Iaques Staffiley* his Nuncio, with whom went three Embassadours of the *Swissers* to perswade them to accord: and on the other side, the Senate, the better to entertaine the good will of the Pope, and not to giue cause to *Cæsar* to inuade them with armes, had sent to their Embassadours a new direction to cleaue to the Councell of *Latran*, and commanded the men of warre as soone as the confederation was made, to retire vpon the territories of *Padua*: and therefore the Viceroy not willing to trouble the hopes of peace, had turned his armie towards *Millan*. But the same difficulties remaining touching the restitution of *Vincensa* and the money which *Cæsar* demanded, all these things were to no purpose: which was the cause that the Pope assailed not the Duke of *Ferrara*, whom (agreement being made betweene *Cæsar* and the *Venetians*) he supposed he should be able to vanquish with his owne forces and the aide of the *Venetians*, together with the bruite onely that the *Spaniards* were to come if need should be: for otherwise he had resolued to deferre that expedition till the Spring time, for that he esteemed it a hard matter to take *Ferrara* in the Winter, the situation being strong in respect of the riuer, and greatly fortified besides by the continuall industrie of *Alphonso*.

Maximilian Sforce restored to Millan.

If I make mention of that which was done in *France* that same yeare, it may haply seeme to some, that I go from my purpose, which hath bene, not to meddle with things done out of *Italy*: but because the affaires of that nation haue some affinitie with the businesse of these parts, and that to the successe of the one, the counsels and issues of the other were oftentimes conioyned, I am constrained not to passe them altogether vnder silence. About the beginning of May, sixe thousand *English* footmen sailed in vessels of *Englaind* and *Spaine* to *Fontaraby*, which is a frontier towne belonging to the Crowne of *Spaine* vpon the coast of *France*, standing vpon the Ocean sea: and it was (according to the couenants made betweene the father in law and son in law) together with the forces of *Spaine*, to assaile the Duchie of *Guyen*, which is a part of the prouince of *Aquitaine*, according to the ancient names and diuisions of the same: against which warre, the *French* King being not yet assured on the coast of *Picardie*, prepared the new leuie of eight hundred Lances which he had made, and waged many bands of footmen of the lower parts of *Germanie* not subiect to the Emperour: and knowing of what importance for the defence of the Duchie of *Guyen*, was the realme of *Nauarre*, which was the dowrie of *Katherine de Foix*, and possessed ioyntly with *Iohn* the sonne of *Albert*, who was her husband; he called to the Court the father of the said *Iohn*, and carefully considered how he might make him his friend and consociate: to which purpose the death of *Gaston de Foix* stood him in good stead, by the instigation of whom, pretending the same kingdome not to fall vpon the female, and by consequent to appertaine to him as to the next heire male of the house of *Foix*, the *French* King had pursued the said *Iohn*. On the other side, the King Catholike, who had set his eyes vpon that Realme, required the King of *Nauarre* to stand neuter betweene the *French* King and him: and that he would suffer his souldiers that were to enter *France*, to passe through his realme: and that for the assurance of these things he would put into his hands certaine places of strength, vnder promise to render them as soone as the warre should be ended. But the King of *Nauarre* being not ignorant of the drift of these demands, (for the ancient desire of the King of *Spaine* to get possession of the Realme of *Nauarre* was very manifest) chose rather to expose himselfe to an vncertaine perill, then to accept a losse vnauoidable, hoping that he should not faile of the succours promised by the *French* King, for whose affaires it came well to passe that the warre began

The Englishmen at Fontaraby against the French king.

gan in the realme of *Nauarre:* and at the ſame time, either to giue more leiſure to ſuch as were appointed to come to his ſuccours, or to deliuer himſelfe if he could from thoſe demands, he treated with the King of *Aragon*, who according to his cuſtome proceeded in theſe matters with great cunning. But the induſtrie and warineſſe of the King of *Aragon* was not more hurtfull to the King of *Nauarre*, then the negligence of the *French* King; who growing more ſecure for that the *Engliſh* that were arriued at *Fontaraby*, had now for many dayes done nothing, and ſuppoſing withall, that the King of *Nauarre* was able with his owne forces to defend himſelfe for a time, he deferred very long to ſend him ſuccours. By reaſon whereof the King of *Aragon* who had cunningly nouriſhed and entertained the hopes of the King of *Nauarre*, conuerting thither with great expedition the bands which he had prepared to ioyne with the *Engliſh*, the King of *Nauarre* being vnprepared, deſpairing to be able to make reſiſtance, fled into *Bearn* beyond the *Pyrene* hils, and the realme of *Nauarre* being left abandoned (except certaine ſtrong places which yet held out for the King who was fled) fell, without any expences or difficultie, and more for the feare and reputation of the *Engliſh* that were at hand, then by his owne forces, into the power of the King of *Aragon*: who becauſe he could not affirme that he poſſeſſed it lawfully with any other title, alledged that he was iudicially impatronized of it by the authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolike. For the Pope being not ſatisfied with the happie ſucceſſe of *Italy*, had a litle before publiſhed a Bull againſt the *French* King, wherein naming him no more Moſt Chriſtian, but Moſt Noble, he ſubiected as well his perſon as whoſoeuer were his adherents, to all the paines of heretikes and ſchiſmatikes, permitting euery one to occupie their ſubſtances, eſtates, and all that appertained vnto them: and with the ſame ſeueritie being much offended that the Cardinals and other Prelates who were fled from *Millan*, had bene receiued into the towne of *Lyons*, he commanded vnder paine of moſt grieuous cenſures, that the Fayre accuſtomed to be kept at *Lyons* foure times euery yeare, with great affluence of Merchants, ſhould be hereafter holden in the Citie of *Geneua*, from whence King *Lewis* the eleuenth had taken it for the benefit of his kingdom: and laſtly, he had brought the whole realme of *France* vnder the Eccleſiaſticall interdiction. But after the King of *Aragon* had conquered the kingdome of *Nauarre*, which albeit is but of litle circuite, & of leſſe reuenue, yet for the ſituation is very conuenient for the kingdome of *Spaine*, and greatly auaileable to the ſuretie of it: he determined in himſelfe to paſſe no further, eſteeming it not profitable for him to make war againſt the *French* King beyond the Mounts. In this reſpect, and euer ſince the *Engliſh* men arriued, he had bene long in preparing his forces: and after the conqueſt of *Nauarre*, the *Engliſh* ſoliciting him to ioyne his forces with them, to march together and incampe afore *Bayon*, a Citie neare to *Fontaraby*, and ſtanding almoſt vpon the Ocean ſea, he propoſed vnto them other enterpriſes, in places more remoued from the ſea, alledging that *Bayon* was ſo manned and fortified, that there could be no hope to take it. Which things being contradicted by the *Engliſh*, who made no reckoning of any other conqueſt in the Duchie of *Guyen* beſides *Bayon*, when there had bene much time ſpent in theſe diſputes, the *Engliſh* who were angrie and thought themſelues mocked, embarking themſelues without commiſſion or licence of their Prince, returned into *England*. By reaſon whereof the *French* King remaining aſſured on that ſide, and fearing no more the inuaſions of the *Engliſh* by ſea, for that at laſt he was become ſo ſtrong by ſea, that he commanded from the coaſts of *Spaine* euen to the ſhores of *England*; he determined to make triall if he could recouer the realme of *Nauarre*: whereunto he was encouraged, beſides the departing of the *Engliſh* fleete, for that by reaſon of the ill ſucceſſes in *Italy*, all his bands of ſouldiers were returned into *France*. At the ſame time that the King of *Aragon* gaue hope to the *Engliſh* men to enter into the warre, the better to bring vnder him the whole iuriſdiction of the realme of *Nauarre*, he had ſent certaine regiments of men to *S. Iohn Pedeportum*, which is the vttermoſt towne of that kingdome, ſtanding at the foote of the *Pyrene* hils, on that ſide towards *France*: and afterwards the *French* forces beginning to increaſe thereabouts, he ſent thither with the maine armie *Federike* Duke of *Alba*, Captaine generall of that warre. But the *French* armie being at laſt become farre more mightie, whereunto was arriued the *Daulphin* of *France*, *Charles* Duke of *Bourbon*, and *Monſieur Longueuille*, the chiefe Princes of the realme of *France*, the Duke of *Alba* lying incamped in a ſtrong place betweene the plaine and the mountaine, held it an action very neceſſary to that ſeruice, to hinder the *French* men for entring into the realme of *Nauarre:* who being not able to force him out of that place for the ſtrength of the ſituation, determined

The King of Aragon taketh the realme of Nauarre.

termined that the King of *Nauarre* with ſeuen thouſand footmen of his countrey, and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* with his company of three hundred lances remouing from *Saluatierra* neare to *S. Iohn Pedeportum*, where the whole armie lay, ſhould paſſe the *Pyrene* hils by the way of the Vale of *Roncales*, and drawing neare to *Pampeluna* the capitall towne of the kingdome, wherein the people taking courage by the nearneſſe of the *French*, began alreadie to draw into mutinie, for the deſire they had of their King, they ſhould ſeize vpon the Vale of *Roncales*, by which way onely was brought to the *Spaniſh* armie victuals, whereof by reaſon of the ſterilitie of the countrey they had already ſome want in the place where they were. The ſucceſſe was, that the King of *Nauarre* and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* when they had wonne the way that is vpon the top of the *Pyrene* hils, tooke *Bourget* by aſſault, a towne that ſtands at the foot of the hils, wherein was *Baldes* Captaine of the guard to the King of *Aragon*, with many bands of footmen: and if they had vſed ſuch celeritie as they ſhould, to winne the Vale of *Roncales*, famine onely had bene ſufficient to vanquiſh the *Spaniſh* armie, enuironed on all ſides with enemies, and countries infinitely troubleſome. But the diligence of the Duke of *Alba* preuented them, who hauing left in *S. Iohn Pedeportum* a thouſand footmen with all the artillerie, he paſſed to *Pampeluna* by the Vale of *Roncales* afore they came thither. So that the King of *Nauarre* and *Monſieur de Paliſſa* being diſappointed of their hope, to whom alſo the *Dauſphin* had ſent a new ſtrength of foure hundred lances, and ſeuen thouſand Lanceknights, made their approch to *Pampeluna* with foure peeces of artillerie, which they had drawne with great paine and difficultie, by reaſon of the ſteepneſſe of the mountaines: and when they had giuen the aſſault, perceiuing they could not carry it for that the ſeaſon was againſt them (for it was in December,) and there was no meanes to recouer victuals in ſo barren a countrey, they repaſſed the *Pyrene* hils, vpon the which they were conſtrained to leaue their artillerie, both for the difficultie of the paſſages, and for the impediments giuen them by the men of the countrey. And at the ſame time *Monſieur Lautrech* who was entred *Biſcay* with three hundred Lances and three thouſand footmen, ſpoiling and burning the whole countrey, after he had in vaine aſſaulted the towne of *S. Sebaſtian*, repaſſed the mounts and returned to the armie, which now brake vp, both hope and feare ceaſſing on all parts, and the whole realme of *Nauarre* remaining free and peaceable to the King of *Aragon*. About this time it being detected that *Ferdinand* ſonne to the late *Federike* King of *Naples*, who called himſelfe Duke of *Calabria*, had ſecretly conſpired with the *French* King, and meant to ſteale to the *French* armie not farre from the towne of *Logrogna*, where at that time was the King of *Aragon*, he was by him ſent to the Caſtle of *Sciatiua*, whither the Kings of *Aragon* are wont to ſend ſuch priſoners as are perſonages of name, either for their nobilitie or for their vertue: and for the ſame cauſe *Philip Coppolo* a *Neapolitane* was quartered, who was the ſecret meſſenger to the *French* King in this action: Fortune ſo changing the ſtate of worldly things, that he was executed for the ſeruice of him, whoſe grandfather by the fathers ſide, had cut off the head of the Count *de Sarny* his father. This conſpiracie being diſcouered, was of ſome conſequence for the affaires of *Italy*: for, as it had his beginning of a certaine gray Frier, which the Duke of *Ferrara* had ſecretly ſent to *Ferdinand*; ſo the King Catholike hauing alreadie an inclination to ſatisfie the Popes will, tooke this matter ſo to heart, that he commanded the Viceroy and his Embaſſadour reſident with the Pope, to conuert when they thought good, his armie againſt *Ferrara*, demanding of him no more money then ſuch as ſhould be neceſſary to entertaine them. Theſe were the accidents of that yeare both in *Italy*, in *France*, and in *Spaine*.

Now followeth the yeare a thouſand fiue hundred and thirteene, no leſſe full of memorable things then the former: in the beginning whereof, armes ceaſſing on all parts, (for that neither the *Venetians* moleſted others, nor any other moued againſt them) the Viceroy went to incampe with three thouſand footmen afore the rocke of *Treſſa*, which was rendred vnto him vnder condition that the bodies that were within ſhould depart with their goods ſaued. But all men were troubled in their minds with the conſideration of things to come: knowing that the *French* King being deliuered from forreine armes, and reincouraged both for the great louie of Lanceknights he had made, and for the increaſe of his numbers of men at armes, had nothing in ſo great deſire as to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*; which diſpoſition albeit it was very violent in him, and that he deſired much to haſten the warre, whileſt the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona* were yet kept by his ſouldiers: notwithſtanding conſidering how he was hindered by the 1513.

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oppoſing of ſo many enemies, and being not yet aſſured that the King of *England* would not make ſtrong warre againſt him the next Sommer, he determined to enter into no action, vnleſſe he could ſeparate ſome one of the Confederates from the common alliance, or elſe winne to him the amitie of the *Venetians*: of which things the yeare paſt gaue him many hopes that one of theſe might haply ſucceed to him. For when the Biſhop of *Gurci* went from *Rome* to *Millan*, he heard graciouſly by the way one of the familiar friends of the Cardinall *de S. Seuerin*, ſent to him from the *French* Queene, and afterwards ſent one of his men ſecretly into *France* to make this motion: That the King ſhould be bound to aide *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians*: That the mariage ſhould go forward betweene the ſecond daughter of the King, and *Charles* nephew to *Cæſar*, to whom the King ſhould giue in dowrie the Duchie of *Millan*: and ſhould alſo giue vp to his ſaid daughter and future ſonne in law, the rights he pretended to the Realme of *Naples*: And to the end that ſimple words and promiſes ſhould not ſtand to *Cæſar* as a ſuretie, he required that the daughter might be immediatly put into his hands: And that when the King ſhould haue recouered the Duchie of *Millan*, *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda* ſhould be for *Cæſar*. The King hoped likewiſe that he might eaſily ioyne to him the *Venetians*, who were not a litle angrie at that time that the Viceroy occupied *Breſſia*, but much more for the matters which afterwards were accorded at *Rome* betweene *Cæſar* and the Pope. Therefore after that the King cauſed *Andrew Gritti* to come ſecretly to his Court, who hauing bin taken at *Breſſia*, remained as yet priſoner in *France*, and cauſed *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*, in whom the *Venetians* repoſed much, to ſend to *Venice* one of his Secretaries vnder colour of other affaires. He had alſo ſome hope to be able to compound with the King of *Aragon*, who (according to his cuſtome oftentimes to debate affaires by the negociation of religious men) had ſent ſecretly into *France* two gray Friers, to the end that expreſſing their zeale to the common benefit, they might begin to negociate with the Queene in ſome points, concerning the peace either vniuerſall or particular betweene the two Kings. Neuertheleſſe touching the particular, there was litle hope, the king knowing well enough that he would retaine the Realme of *Nauarre*, and to him it was a matter of no leſſe indignitie to leaue abandoned that King, who to reenter into his amitie and vnder hope of his ſuccours, was fallen into that calamitie. But nothing troubled ſo much the mind of the *French* king, as the deſire to reconcile the *Swiſſers* vnto him, knowing that thereupon depended his aſſured victorie, for the great authoritie that that nation then had, for the feare of their armes, and for that it ſeemed they had begun to gouerne themſelues, not as mercenarie ſouldiers, nor as ſhepheards, but with a care and vigilancie, as of a well ordered Commonweale, and as men brought vp in the adminiſtration of eſtates, and managing of affaires, without ſuffering any leuies to be made, but by good counſell and diſcretion: by reaſon whereof all Chriſtian Princes had Embaſſadours with them: the Pope with almoſt all the Potentates of *Italy* payed them yearely penſions, to be receiued into their confederation, and to leuie for their proper defence in times of neceſſitie, ſouldiers of that nation. The remembrance of which things made them ſo proud, that weighing how King *Charles* the eight by their armes had firſt troubled the quiet ſtate of *Italy*, and that afterward King *Lewis* his ſucceſſor, by their valour had conquered the Duchie of *Millan*, recouered *Genes*, and ouerthrowne the *Venetians*, they vſed towards all men an imperious and inſolent behauiour. And though the *French* King, beſides the perſwaſions of many particulars of that nation, and the opinion that they would become more flexible to him for the great offers of money that were made them, hoped he might winne them; for that ſuch as gouerned *Millan*, hauing agreed with the Embaſſadours of the *Swiſſers* in the name of *Maximilian Sforce*, that he ſhould giue them an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats ſo ſoone as he had receiued the poſſeſſion of *Millan* and the Caſtles, and fortie thouſand duckats a yeare for the ſpace of fiue and twentie yeares, the *Swiſſers* taking him into their protection, with couenant to deliuer into his pay bands of their footmen; yet the Cantons would neuer ratifie it: by reaſon whereof, in the beginning of the yeare preſent, notwithſtanding afore he had in vaine proued to haue his Embaſſadours heard, which he meant to ſend to treate of theſe things, yet to purchaſe audience in their Diots, he conſented freely to giue vp to them the Caſtles of the Vale of *Lugan*, and of *Lucarna*: with ſo great indignitie great Princes ſought at that time the amitie of that nation. Then *Monſieur Trimouille* according to the commiſſion of the King, came to *Lucerna*, a place appointed to heare him in publike aſſembly; and albeit he was receiued in good ſort, yet he quickly perceiued he ſhould do

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litle good touching the Duchie of *Millan*: for that not many dayes before, fixe of the Cantons had ratified and subsigned the capitulations made with *Maximilian Sforce*, three had determined to confirme them, and touching the other three, they were not yet resolued: by reason whereof, speaking no more of *Millan*, he demanded that at least they would aide the King to recouer *Genes* and *Ast*, which were not comprehended in the capitulation made with *Maximilian Sforce*. For the better aduancement of which demand, *Triuulce* made request that he might be at the Diot, vnder colour to treate of particular affaires; and safeconduct was granted him, but with this condition, that he should not solicite in any matter appertaining to the *French* King: and being come to *Lucerna*, he was forbidden to haue any conference with *Monsieur Trimouille*, either in publike or in priuate. At last by an vniuersall consent, the capitulations made with the Duke of *Millan* were ratified by all the Cantons, and all the demands of the *French* King denied, with this addition, that they would not suffer any leuies of footmen of that nation to serue him either in *Italy* or out of *Italy*: by reason whereof the King seeing himselfe reiected of ỹ *Swissers*, perceiued that it was necessary for him to be reconciled either with *Cæsar* or with the *Venetians*, who treated also at the same time with *Cæsar*, for that the suspition of their reconciliation with the *French* King increasing in the minds of the Confederates, the Bishop of *Gurci* consented that they should retaine still *Vincensa*. But the same reasons encouraging the Senate which gaue feare to the enemies, they stood vpon this, to make no more peace if *Verona* were not rendred to them, recompencing *Cæsar* with a greater quantitie of money. In which demand some difficultie being found, the *Venetians* inclining so much the more to the amitie of the *French*, contracted with the Secretarie of *Triuulce* to be confederate with the King, according to the capitulations made betweene them afore, by the which *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda* should remaine to them. But the Secretarie set downe expresse mention in the capitulation, that that agreement should stand as voide and of none effect, if within a certaine time it were not approued by the King, in whose Councell the disputations were great, which was most to be desired, either a reconciliation with *Cæsar*, or a confederation with the *Venetians*: *Robert* a Secretarie of great authoritie, *Triuulce*, and almost all the chiefest of the Councell approued more the confederation with the *Venetians*; alledging that which the present experience had made them know of the inconstancie of *Cæsar* with so great detriment, the hatred he bare to the King, and his desire of reuenge; and that which they had heard of personages worthy of credit, who reported that they had often heard him say at that time, that he kept fixed in his mind the remembrance of seuenteene iniuries receiued from the *French*, and that whensoeuer oportunitie serued him to be reuenged of them all, he would not lose the occasion: and that these solicitations were practised by him for no other end, then by the meane of a reconciliation full of fraud, either to haue the better oportunitie to do harme, or at least to break off ỹ which he knew was practised with the *Venetians*, or else to detract the preparations of the war: & that they could not excuse him, nor esteeme him worthy of compassion, who being once beguiled by another, returneth vnwisely to repose confidence in him againe. The Cadinall of *S. Seuerin* was of another opinion, who (as his aduersaries said, crossing *Triuulce* more through enuie then for other occasion, for that with his brethren he had alwayes defended the *Gibelin* faction in *Millan*) replied on the contrary, that nothing could be more profitable to the King, then by ioyning with *Cæsar*, to breake the vnion of the enemies, specially the confederation being made by such meanes as they might hope it would last: it being proper to Princes, in their deliberations alwayes to preferre profite afore good will, hatred, and other affections: And what greater benefite could be done to *Cæsar*, then to aide him presently against the *Venetians*, with hope that his Nephew should come to succeed in the Duchie of *Millan*? That *Cæsar* being separate from the others, the King Catholike would not oppose against his authoritie, as well for the interests of his Nephew, as for other good regards. Moreouer, that nothing could more amaze the Pope, then this confederation: and on the contrary, that the confederation with the *Venetians*, was full of indignitie, since he must yeeld to them *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*, members so conuenient to the Duchie of *Millan*, that to recouer them, the King had stirred vp all the world: and yet if the vnion of the residue were not broken, that the confederation with the *Venetians* would not suffice to obtaine the victory. At last this opinion preuailed, the rather for the authoritie of the Queene, who desired greatly the aduancement of her daughter, so farre forth as it might be obtained, that till the consummation of the mariage she might remaine with her, who would giue

her faith and promiſe to keepe her in the name of *Cæſar*, as the aſſigned ſpouſe for his Nephew, and to deliuer her to her husband as ſoone as her age made her fit for mariage. But the King being afterwards certified that *Cæſar* would not admit this limitation, but rather that theſe things were by him artificially propounded, to cauſe him to proceed more ſlowly in his other proiects, he brake off from this practiſe, and ſent backe againe for *Monſieur d'Aſparot* brother to *Monſieur de Lautrech*, who was already gone from the Court to meete the Biſhop of *Gurci* with this commiſſion. On the other ſide, the feare of the vnion betweene the King and the *Venetians* increaſing dayly, the King of *Aragon* aduiſed *Cæſar* to render *Verona*, and with the money which he ſhould receiue of the *Venetians*, and with the *Spaniſh* armie, to transferre the war into *Burgundie*. The Biſhop of *Gurci* was of the ſame opinion, who hoping by his preſence to be able to moue *Cæſar*, returned into *Germanie*, being followed not onely of *Dom Peter de Vree* which was come with him, but alſo of *Iohn Baptiſta Spinella* Count of *Carriato*, Embaſſadour to the ſaid King of *Aragon* reſident with the *Venetians*. And firſt of all he perſwaded the Senate (to the end that new difficulties might not breake off the matters in queſtion) to make truce with *Cæſar* for all the moneth of March: and then the ſaid Embaſſadours ſhould giue them their faith, that *Cæſar* ſhould render *Verona*, if they would promiſe him within certaine times two hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats, and fiftie thouſand by the yeare.

The purpoſes of Pope Iulio the ſecond and his death.

In this alteration of affaires, and in ſo troubleſome a time, the Pope fell ſicke, who was full of more high conceits and deſires then haply at any time before: for when he had obtained the thing he deſired, his plots did nothing diminiſh, but increaſed dayly. He had determined in the beginning of the Spring to vndertake the enterpriſe of *Ferrara* ſo much deſired, which (as he thought) wold make litle reſiſtance, both for that it was naked of all ſuccours, and becauſe the *Spaniſh* armie was to ioyne with his companies: He had ſecretly bought of *Cæſar* for the price of thirtie thouſand duckats the Citie of *Sienna* for the behooſe of the Duke of *Vrbin*, to whom (except *Peſera*) he would neuer giue any thing of the Eccleſiaſtike eſtate, to the end to reſerue entire to himſelfe the glorie to haue ſimply and onely ſtudied for the exaltation of the Church: He agreed to lend to *Cæſar* fortie thouſand duckats, receiuing *Modena* in gage: He threatned the *Lucquois* who in the heate of the affaires of the Duke of *Ferrara*, had ſeized vpon *Garfagnana*, importuning them to deliuer it to him: And he was angrie with the Cardinall *de Medicis*, for that he thought he adhered more to the King Catholike then to him: and becauſe he perceiued he was not able to diſpoſe of the Citie of *Florence* as he thought, he ſtudied alreadie new plots & practiſes to alter the eſtate of *Florence*. He was diſpleaſed with the Cardinal of *Sion*, from whom he tooke the name of Legate, and enioyned him to come to *Rome*, for that in the Duchie of *Millan* he had appropriated to himſelf a yearly reuenue of more then thirtie thouſand duckats of the eſtates and goods of diuers perſons: The better to aſſure the Duke of *Vrbin* of *Sienna* by intelligences of his neighbors, he had of new taken into his pay *Charles Baillon*, to chaſe out of *Perouſa Iohn Paul*, who by affinitie was very neare conioyned to the ſons of *Pandolfe Petrucci*, ſucceſſors to the greatneſſe of their father: He would eſtabliſh for new Duke of *Genes*, *Octauian Fregoſa*, depoſing *Ianus* from that dignitie, whereunto the reſidue of the houſe of *Fregoſa* did conſent, becauſe for the degree that his anceſtors had held in that ſtate, it ſeemed beſt to appertaine to him: He ſtudied continually either how he might get the *Spaniſh* armie out of *Italy*, or ouerthrow it by the aide of the *Swiſſers*, whom onely he exalted and embraced: and that to this end, that the kingdome of *Naples* being poſſeſſed by him, *Italy* might remaine free frō ſtrangers, a ſpeech that often paſſed out of his mouth; and for this cauſe he had hindred that the *Swiſſers* did not confederate with the King Catholike. And yet (as though it had bene in his power to batter all the world at one time) continuing in his accuſtomed heat againſt the *French* King, although he had giuen eare to a meſſage frō the Queen, he ſtirred vp the King of *England* to make warre, to whom he had transferred by a publike decree of the Councell of *Latran*, the name of Moſt Chriſtian, whereof there was alreadie a Bull written, wherein was likewiſe contained the priuation of the dignitie and title of the King of *France*, giuing that kingdome to whom ſoeuer could ſeize vpō it. In theſe ſo great thoughts, and haply in others more ſecret and more great (for in a mind ſo fierce and terrible, all ſorts of imaginations how great and vaine ſoeuer they be, are not incredible) after the ſickneſſe of many dayes, death ſeized vpon him: whereby ſeeing himſelfe preuented, he called together the Conſiſtorie, wherein he could not be preſent in perſon, by reaſon of his diſeaſe, by the which he cauſed the Bull to be confirmed

med which he had publiſhed before againſt ſuch as by ſymony would climbe to the Popedome: declaring that the election of his ſucceſſor appertained to the Colledge of Cardinals, and not to the Councell: and that the Cardinals ſchiſmatikes could haue no preſence there, to whom he ſaid he pardoned the iniuries they had done him, and prayed God to forgiue them the wrongs they had done to his Church. After this he beſought the Colledge of Cardinals, that for his ſake, they would grant to the Duke of *Vrbin* his Nephew, the Citie of *Peſera* in Vicarage, in conſideration that by the meanes of that Duke it had bene recouered to the Church after the death of *Iohn Sforce*. He ſhewed in no other matter any priuate or particular affection: in ſo much as Madame *Felice* his daughter (and many others for her ſake) intreating him with great importunitie, to create Cardinall *Guido de Montfalcon* being her brother by the mothers ſide, he anſwered roundly, that he was not worthy of that degree; and retaining in all things his accuſtomed conſtancie and ſeueritie, together with the ſame iudgement and force of mind which he had before his ſicknes, when he had deuoutly receiued the Sacraments of the Church, the night before the one and twentieth day of Februarie he ended the courſe of theſe preſent paines about the breake of day. He was a Prince of incredible conſtancie and courage, but violent, and of ſuch vnmeaſurable apprehenſions, as the reuerence that was borne to the Church, the diſcord of Princes, and the condition of the times, did more to ſtay him from his ruine, then either his moderation or diſcretion: worthy no doubt of great glory, if he had bene a Prince ſecular, or if that care and intention which he had to raiſe the Church into temporall greatneſſe by the meanes of warre, had bene employed to exalt it by the way of peace in matters ſpirituall. And yet neuertheleſſe he was lamented and eſteemed aboue all his predeceſſors, by thoſe, who (hauing loſt the true names of things, and being ignorant how to diſtinguiſh them rightly) iudged it the glutie of Popes rather to increaſe the iuriſdiction of the Sea Apoſtolike by armes and the bloud of Chriſtians, then to labour (by good example of life, and by curing and correcting of corrupt manners) for the ſauing of thoſe ſoules, for whom they boaſt that Ieſus Chriſt hath conſtituted them his Vicars in earth.

The Pope being dead, the Viceroy of *Naples* who was marched with his *Spaniſh* armie towards *Plaiſance*, conſtrained that Citie to returne, as it had bene accuſtomed to be, vnder the gouernmēt of the Dukes of *Millan*. And *Parma* did the like, hauing the ſame feare of the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers. On the otherſide, the Duke of *Ferrara* hauing ſuddenly recouered the townes of *Romagna*, drew neare to *Reggia*: but finding no tumult within the towne, he durſt not abide there for feare of the *Spaniſh* armie, which lay diſperſed betweene *Plaiſance* and *Reggia*. There was no other ſtirre or mouing in the ſtate of the Church, neither did the Citie of *Rome* nor the Colledge of Cardinals feele any of thoſe difficulties which they felt at the death of the two laſt Popes: by reaſon whereof the obſequies and funerals being ended according to the accuſtomed maner, foure and twentie Cardinals entred peaceably into the Conclaue, hauing firſt agreed that the Marquis of *Mantuaes* ſonne, whom Pope *Iulio* kept in his Court for hoſtage, ſhould be acquited of his faith and promiſe, with libertie to returne to his father. The firſt matter that was debated in the Conclaue, was with ſtrict articles to moderate the authoritie of the Pope to come, which they ſaid the laſt Pope had vſed too immoderatly: and yet (as amongſt men, ſome haue not the heart to oppoſe againſt a Prince and great Lord, and ſome deſire to enter into his grace) within a ſmall time after, of themſelues they diſanulled the moſt part of thoſe lawes. The ſeuenth day they choſe Pope without any diſcord of conſent, *Iohn* Cardinall of *Medicis*, who tooke vpon him the name of *Leo* the tenth, being but ſeuen and thirtie yeares of age, which was a very ſtrange matter, and contrary to cuſtome, which the yong Cardinals brought to paſſe by their induſtrie, hauing a long time afore ſecretly agreed among themſelues to create the firſt Pope of their number. The moſt part of Chriſtendome were very well pleaſed with this election, all men in generall perſwading themſelues, that he would become a rare and excellent Pope, as well for the freſh memory of the valour of his father, and for the fame of his liberalitie and benignitie, which was vniuerſally ſpread, as for the opinion of his continencie and life not attainted, together with an hope that by the example of his father, he would be a louer of learned men, and of all generous ſpirits. Whereunto was much helping the maner of his election, which was performed ſincerely, and without ſymonie or ſuſpition of other corruption. And it ſeemed that God began already to approue and confirme his ſeate, for that the fourth day after the election, the Cardinals of *S. Croſſe* and *S. Seuerin*, which had bene deprined

The creation of Pope Leo the tenth.

of the Hat, came into his power, who as ſoone as they heard of the death of Pope *Iulio*, went by ſea to *Rome* accompanied with the Embaſſadour of the *French* King: and when they were arriued at the hauen of *Liuorne*, vnderſtanding that the Cardinall *de Medicis* was choſen Pope, truſting to his benignitie, and chiefly the Cardinall of *S. Seuerin*, for the ancient friendſhip and ſtrait familiaritie which he had had with him and his brother; when they had obtained ſafeconduct of the Captaine of *Liuorne*, which ſtretched no further then the bounds of his iuriſdiction, they tooke land, and without ſeeking other ſuretie, went vp voluntarily to *Piſa*: in which Citie they were honorably receiued, and afterwards being conueyed to *Florence*, they were ſo curteouſly guarded, that they had no diſpoſition to depart: the ſame being the deſire of the Pope, who ſending vnto them the Biſhop of *Oruietto*, exhorted them with words full of affection, that as well for their proper ſuretie, as for the tranquillitie of the Church, they would abide at *Florence* vntill it were determined in what maner they ſhould come to *Rome*; and that hauing bene iudicially depriued, and their depriuation confirmed in the Councell of *Latran*, they ſhould forbeare to go in the habite of Cardinals, to the end that making ſhew of their humiliation, they might giue him the better occaſion to reduce their affaires into good termes, as he had determined. The firſt act of the new Pope was his coronation, which was performed accor-

The coronatiõ of the Pope.

ding to the cuſtome of his predeceſſors, in the Church of *S. Iohn de Latran*, with ſo great pompe, as well of his family and Court, as of all the Prelates, and many Lords that were there preſent, together with the people of *Rome*, that all men acknowledged that ſuch magnificence and ſumptuouſneſſe had not bene ſeene in *Rome* ſince the inundations of the ſauage nations: in which ſolemnitie the Standard of the Church was carried by *Alphonſo d'Eſte*, who hauing obtained ſuſpenſion of the cenſures, was come to *Rome*, with great hope, by the clemencie of the Pope, to be able to cõpound with him for his affaires. The Standard of the Knights of *Rhodes* was borne by *Iulio de Medicis*, mounted vpon a ſtately Courſer armed at all points, who by nature was inclined to the profeſſion of armes, but by deſtinie drawne to the Eccleſiaſtike life, wherein he may ſerue as a wonderfull example of the variation of fortune. That which made that day more memorable and admirable, was the conſideration that he who then with ſo rare pompe and glorie tooke the enſignes of ſo great dignitie, had bene the yeare before, and on the very ſame day, miſerably made priſoner. This magnificence confirmed in the multitude the opinion that was had of him, euery one promiſing himſelfe that *Rome* ſhould be happie vnder a Pope adorned with ſo great liberalitie and bountie, it being very certaine that he had ſpent an hundred thouſand duckats that day. But wiſe men deſired in him a greater grauitie and moderation: who iudged, that ſuch pompe was not conuenient for Popes, and that the condition of the preſent times required not that the treaſures gathered by his predeceſſor, ſhould be ſo vnprofitably ſpent. But ſo it was, that neither the changing of the Pope, nor other accidents, were ſufficient to eſtabliſh and aſſure the tranquillitie of *Italy*: for it was plainly diſcerned that matters tended more to warre then to peace: for *Ceſar* (who would heare no more of the rendring of *Verona*, fearing thereby to be depriued of all oportunitie to haue any eaſie entrie into *Italy*) albeit the truce was prolonged for the full moneth of Aprill, made no reckoning of the conditions of accord that had bene debated at *Millan*; and being diſcontented with the importunities of the Embaſſadours of the King Catholike, he told the Count of *Carriato*, that for the inclination he ſhewed to the *Venetians*, he might rather be called the Embaſſadour of *Venice* then of *Spaine*. But that which much more augmented this diſpoſition, was the truce that was made for a whole yeare betweene the *French* King and the King Catholike, onely touching the affaires out of *Italy*: the oportunitie of which truce gaue to the *French* King (being now deliuered from the ſuſpitions of *Spaine*) a great facilitie to renew the warre in the Duchie of *Millan*.

The diſpoſition of Princes to the warre.

The King Catholike did alwayes diſlike to haue warre with the *French* out of *Italy*, for that being not ſufficiently ſtored with money, and therefore conſtrained to helpe himſelfe with the forces of the Barons and peoples of *Spaine*, either he had no readineſſe of ſuccours, or elſe he was conſtrained in times of warre to remaine with them as it were in ſubiection: but at this time principally he ſtood confirmed in his ancient counſell, for as much as by peace, he ſhould be the better aſſured of the Realme of *Nauarre*, by him newly conquered; but much more for that ſince the death of Queene *Iſabel*, being no more King but Gouernour of *Caſtile*, he had not in troubleſome times ſo great and firme authoritie: a freſh example whereof he had ſeene in the defence of the Realme of *Nauarre*, whereof albeit he had a happie ſucceſſe, yet it happened

that

that by the ſlowneſſe of ſuccours he ſaw himſelfe brought into many dangers. Therefore to the end to fall no more into thoſe inconueniences, not knowing yet of the Popes death, he agreed to the truce, which neuertheleſſe was not publiſhed before he receiued newes of the election of a new Pope: and to iuſtifie himſelfe of this vnlooked for deliberation, he alledged, that the Pope and the *Venetians* had violated the league with him: for that ſince the battell of *Rauenna* they had neuer payed to him the fortie thouſand duckats, as they were bound whileſt the *French* king poſſeſſed any thing in *Italy*: That he only had bin carefull for the publike good of the Confederates, and had not chalenged to himſelfe the rewards of the common victory: That he did not poſſeſſe in *Italy* ſo much as one ſmall tower more then he had before the warre; but the Pope had ſought his particular benefite, and made proper to himſelfe the things that were common, ſeizing vpon *Parma*, *Plaiſance* and *Reggia*, and nouriſhing a continuall ſtudie to poſſeſſe *Ferrara*: which couetouſneſſe of his had bene the onely impediment of the recouering of the Caſtles in the Duchie of *Millan* and the Lanterne of *Genes*: That for his part, he had interpoſed all his diligence and authoritie to worke the accord betweene *Cæſar* and the *Venetians*, but the Pope for his proper intereſts had laboured to exclude them out of the league, wherein he ſaid his Embaſſadours had behaued themſelues vndiſcreetly, who not conſenting (for that they knew ſuch was his intention) that he ſhould be named in the head of the confederation, had ſuffered him to be named in that article wherein the *Venetians* were excluded. Moreouer, that in thoſe negociations and practiſes, the *Venetians* had not anſwered the opinion that men had of their wiſedome, holding *Vincenſa* in ſuch eſtimation, that for feare to loſe it they would not deliuer themſelues from the trauels of the warre: That it was impoſſible for him to maintaine the armie he had in *Italy* without the contributions promiſed, and much leſſe poſſible to ſuſtaine the whole warre vpon the confines of his realmes, a matter which he knew all the reſidue did deſire and procure: That the Pope could no more diſſemble his deſire and intention to take from him the kingdome of *Naples*: and yet that theſe iniuries could not moue him to haue a thought to abandon the Church and the other eſtates of *Italy*, if he might find in them a reaſonable correſpondencie to contract and capitulate with him for their common defence, which he hoped they would be moued vnto, the rather by the oportunitie and meanes of this truce. He cauſed to be inſerted in the inſtrument of the truce the names of *Cæſar* and the King of *England*, notwithſtanding he had nothing communicated with them: and this was a thing very ridiculous, that at the ſame time that the truce was ſolemnly publiſhed throughout all *Spaine*, an Herald came from the King of *England*, to ſignifie vnto him the great preparations which he made to inuade *France*, and to ſolicite him likewiſe to make warre againſt the King on the coaſts of *Spaine*, according to his promiſe. The truce made in this manner, amazed much the minds of ſuch in *Italy* to whom the iuriſdiction of the *French* was diſpleaſing, euery one holding it almoſt for certaine, that the *French* King would not deferre to ſend an army into *Italy*; and that for the obſtinacie of *Cæſar* touching the conditions of the peace, the *Venetians* would ioyne with the King, againſt whom being ioyned together, it ſeemed a very hard matter to make reſiſtance; for that the *Spaniſh* armie had now no more meanes to maintaine themſelues, notwithſtanding they had at times drawne ſome ſtore of money out of the eſtate of *Millan*, much afflicted with infinite expences. Touching the new Pope, men could not yet diſcerne what was his intention. He ſeemed to wiſh ſecretly that the power of the *French* King might be bounded by the *Alpes*; and yet being newly aſcended to the Popedome, and no leſſe confuſed then others for the truce made by the king Catholike, in a time whō men had greateſt expectation that he wold follow the war, his mind was full of doubt, & he was alſo angrie, for that demanding with great inſtance the reſtitution of *Parma* and *Plaiſance* to the Church, men were ready to giue him hope thereof, but the execution went ſlowly forward, all the others deſiring to preſerue them to the Duchie of *Millan*, and haply hoping that the deſire to recouer them, would induce him to the defence of that ſtate. The *Swiſſers* ſeemed to be a more certaine and a more mightie defence and ſuccour; but becauſe the ſummes of money, which according to the couenants were neceſſary to wage and leuie them, could not be aduanced neither by *Maximilian Sforce* nor the reſidue, it was feared, that in the greateſt neceſſitie they would refuſe to deſcend into the ſtate of *Millan*. On the other ſide, the *French* King, after he had finiſhed the truce, determined to ſend an armie into *Italy*, the reaſons afore recited giuing him great hope of the victory: whereunto was added, that he knew well enough that the

peoples of the ſtate of *Millan*, vexed with ſo many taxes and rapines of the *Swiſſers*, and with the harbouring and payment to the *Spaniards*, deſired earneſtly to returne vnder his obedience; hauing found by the rude behauiour which others had vſed towards them, that in comparíſon the domination of the *French* was to be deſired; and particularly many Gentlemen by expreſſe letters, which they ſent, ſome to himſelfe, and others to *Triuulce*, whom the King had ſent to *Lyons*, the better to debate with them of *Millan*, perſwaded that he ſhould not deferre to ſend an armie, promiſing to take armes, and to declare themſelues for him as ſoone as his armie was paſſed the Mounts. And there was no want of continuall perſwaſions, as well of *Triuulce*, as of others that were baniſhed, who, according to the cuſtome of ſuch as be out of their countrey, alledged that the enterpriſe would be very eaſie, ſpecially the *Venetians* being brought to ioyne with him in the action. But that which enforced the King to make haſte, was the confidence he had to preuent with the end of that expedition, the beginning of the warre which the King of *England* meant to make vpon him, which he could not begin till after certaine moneths; for that that kingdome hauing now bene many yeares in peace, was diſfurniſhed of armour, of artilleries, and almoſt of all other things neceſſary for warre: and alſo in great want of horſes of ſeruice, for that the *Engliſh* do ordinarily make warre on foote: and their footmen being vnexperienced, the King of *England* was conſtrained for that he meant to paſſe into *France* with a mighty power, to entertain a great number of *Almain* footmen: matters which could not be diſpatched without great tract of time. The *French* King in like ſort was conſtrained to make the more haſte, for feare leſt the Caſtles ſhould be loſt for want of victuals, but ſpecially the Lanterne of *Genes*, which not many dayes before had miſſed to be relieued with victuals by a ſhip ſent for that purpoſe: which from *Albinguo*, whither it was accompanied with three ſhips and one gallion, being entred the maine ſea with a good wind, had by the force thereof paſſed through the midſt of the *Genoways* fleet, and being approched neare the Lanterne, and riding at anker, had faſtened her cables to the Caſtle, and began already to vnlade her victuals and munitions which ſhe had brought, at what time *Andrew Doria*, who afterwards was ſo happie and famous by ſea, thruſting in with no ſmall danger with a great ſhip, whereof he was the owner, betweene the Lanterne and the *French* ſhip, when he had cut a ſunder the cable that was faſtened to the Caſtle, and the cables that held the ankers, fighting valiantly, and receiuing a wound in his face, he tooke the ſhip. The King therefore being determined not to deferre the beginning of the warre, to which intent, and to be ready vpon all occaſions, he had already ſent many lances into *Burgundie* and *Daulphiney*, he thought good to hearken with diligence after thoſe things which now had bene debated ſo many moneths with the *Venetians*, the which had bene ſomewhat deferred and protracted as well by the one as by the other partie, for that ſometimes the hope to haue peace with *Cæſar*, and ſometimes the great inſtance made by the *Venetians* for *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*, had holden the King in ſuſpence: and in the Senate the opiniions were found diuers, for that many of great authoritie in that Commonweale, preferred the accord with *Cæſar*, ſhewing that it was more profitable for them to auoide for the preſent ſuch huge expences, and to free themſelues from dangers, thereby to be the more ready to embrace the occaſions that would be offered, then, their Commonweale being ſo ouer-wearied and trauelled, and the wealth of priuate men abated, to intangle themſelues with new warres in company of the *French* King, of whoſe amitie, how faithfull and aſſured it was, they were not without a late experience. Neuertheleſſe, for that it ſeemed to the greater part that rarely ſuch an occaſion would preſent it ſelfe as might giue them the meanes to recouer their ancient eſtate, and that the agreement with *Cæſar* (he retaining *Verona*) would not deliuer them from troubles and dangers, they reſolued (without ſpeaking any more of *Cremona* and *Guiaradadda*) to make confederation with the *French* King, which was concluded in the Kings Court by *Andrew Gritti*, who enioyed already rather the place of an Embaſſadour then of a priſoner; and wherein, after it was granted that *Bartholomew Aluiano* and *Andrew Gritti* ſhould be ſet at liberty, the *Venetians* were bound to aide the King with eight hundred men at armes, fifteene hundred light horſemen, and ten thouſand footmen, againſt all ſuch as would riſe vp to let him for recouering of *Aſt*, of *Genes*, and the Duchie of *Millan*: and the King bound himſelfe to ioyne with them vntill they had recouered all that they poſſeſſed in *Lombardie* and the Marque of *Treuiſana* afore the league of *Cambray*. As ſoone as the confederation was reſolued, *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* and *Bartholomew Aluiano* went to *Suſa*: the one, to go from thence to *Venice*

A valiant exploit of Andrew Doria in preiudice of the French.

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by the ſurer way, and the other to aſſemble there the army appointed for the warre, which conſiſted of fifteene hundred lances, eight hundred light horſemen, and fifteene thouſand footmen, whereof eight thouſand were Lanceknights, and the reſidue *French* men, all vnder the gouernment of *Monſieur Trimouille*, whom the King had appointed his Lieutenant, to the end that matters might proceed with the more reputation.

At this time the *French* King made great ſute to the Pope with earneſt prayers not to hinder him in recouering the Duchie of *Millan*, offering him not onely not to paſſe further after the victory, but alſo to make peace alwayes as it ſhould ſeeme beſt vnto him. To which motions albeit the Pope gaue eare very graciouſly, and that, to the end there might the more credite be giuen to his words, he vſed the helpe of *Iulian* his brother to treate with the *French* King, yet many things made him ſuſpected to the King: as the memory of things done afore the time of his Papacie: then, ſince he was Pope, how he had ſent to him *Cinthio* his familiar friend with letters and very friendly commiſſions, but ſo generall, as they diſcouered that his mind was not inclined to him: and that he had conſented that *Proſper Colonno* ſhould be elected Gouernour of the Duchie of *Millan*; a matter which Pope *Iulius* had alwayes hindred, for the hatred he bare to the *Colonnois*. He entred alſo into greater doubt, for that the Pope had ſignified to the King of *England*, that he would continue in the confederation made with *Caſar*, the King Catholike and himſelfe: and afterwards he wrote to the Communalties of the *Swiſſers*, in a maner exhorting them to the defence of *Italy*, and diſſembled not his willingneſſe to continue with them the confederation made by Pope *Iulius*, by the which they were bound to the defence of the eſtate Eccleſiaſtike, receiuing of him a yearly penſion of twentie thouſand duckats. It was alſo a ſigne of his will and intention, that he had not receiued into grace the Duke of *Ferrara*, but by many excuſes deferred to render to him *Reggia* vntill his brother the Cardinall came to *Rome*, who to auoide the perſecutions of Pope *Iulius*, and the inſtance which the *French* King made vnto him to go to the Councell of *Piſa*, was withdrawne to his Biſhopricke of *Agria* in the countrey of *Hungaria*. But that which aboue all other things made the King enter into ſuſpition of the Pope, was, that he had (although very ſecretly) counſelled the Senate of *Venice* to accord with *Caſar*: a matter cleane contrary to the intention of the King, who had alſo taken in ill part, that the Pope pretending that he was not moued for any other cauſe then for that which concerned his office, had written vnto him a Briefe, wherein he exhorted him not to take armes, and to make it appeare, that he deſired rather to finiſh the warre with ſome honorable compoſition: a matter which the King would not haue diſliked, if for the ſame deſire of peace, the Pope had declared to the King of *England*, that he ought not make war vpon the Realme of *France*. And certainly this ſuſpition of the King was not without cauſe, for that the Pope earneſtly deſired that the *French* might haue no more footing in *Italy*; either for that he thought it more profitable for the common ſuretie, or for the greatneſſe of the Church: or for that he kept ſtill fixed in his mind the remembrance of harmes receiued by the Crowne of *France*, whereunto albeit his father and other his predeceſſors had borne no litle affection, and in ſundry accidents had reaped many honours and profites; yet it was an iniury freſh in memory, that his brethren and he had bene expulſed *Florence* by the coming of King *Charles*, and that the King reigning bearing fauour to the popular gouernment, had either alwayes deſpiſed them, or if at any time he ſhewed himſelfe affected to them, it was to vſe them as inſtruments to draw the *Florentines* by that ſuſpition to couenants more aduantagious for himſelfe, without hauing any care at all of them. To this perhaps was added, a diſdaine, for that he had bin led priſoner to *Millan* after the battell of *Rauenna*, and that the King had commanded that he ſhould be brought into *France*. But although the Pope was thus affected, either for theſe or for other cauſes, yet he proceeded aduiſedly, and diſſembled as much as he could his intention, perceiuing himſelfe not of abilitie to make ſuch reſiſtance as he could haue wiſhed, and he gaue eare dayly with great affection to the demands and complaints which were made vnto him againſt the King. For the *Swiſſers* being much inclined to riſe for the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, offered to deſcend thither with a farre greater number then before, if they might be furniſhed with a certaine ſumme of money, which for the pouertie and weakneſſe of others could not be expected from any but from the Pope. Touching the Viceroy, his counſels were vncertaine, and his ſpeeches variable and ſecret, for ſometime he offered the Pope to oppoſe againſt the *French* men, if he would ſhew himſelf openly in the cauſe, ſending his bands of ſoldiers

The deſire of Pope Leo to chaſe the French out of Italy.

to ioyne with him, and waging for three moneths a good number of footmen; and to adde the more credite to his doings, he tooke his ſouldiers from the Cities of *Parma* and *Reggia*, and incamped with his army vpon the riuer of *Trebia*, leauing notwithſtanding ſome of his ſouldiers for the guard of *Tortona* and *Alexandria*, who had not ſtirred from thence: ſometimes alſo he auouched that he had receiued commandement from his King (at the ſame time that he wrote to him of the truce) to leade backe the armie to the kingdome of *Naples*. But *Ierome Vich* Embaſſadour reſident with the Pope, vſed other ſpeeches, and yet he agreed with him in this, that his King promiſed, the Pope taking vpon him the defence of *Millan*, to begin the warre in *France* without any reſpect to the truce, which he ſaid he might lawfully do without any violation of his faith promiſed. Therefore it was beleeued of many, that the King Catholike, fearing that by reaſon of the truce that had bene made, no man would oppoſe againſt the *French* King, had commanded the Viceroy, that if he ſaw none would proceed roundly to the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*, that he ſhould not ſeeke to prouoke the *French* King by new iniuries, but ſhould retire his army to *Naples*: for which cauſe alſo he made ſhew to the King that he was content to incline to peace, offering withall to induce *Cæſar* and the King of *England* thereto. And to make him the more tractable if he ſhould recouer the Duchie of *Millan*, he made almoſt an aſſured promiſe, that his army ſhould be no impediment to him. The Viceroy then who had determined to go his way, reuoked the ſouldiers that were vnder the Marquis of *Peſquiero* in *Alexandria* and *Tortona*, communicating at the ſame time (as was ſaid) his reſolution to *Triuulce*, to the end his departing might be more acceptable to the *French* King. Neuertheles he put not this deliberation ſo ſpeedily in execution, for that the *Swiſſers* being very deſirous to defend the Duchie of *Millan*, had ſent thither by common conſent fiue thouſand footmen, and gaue hope to ſend a farre greater number: but making demonſtration of the contrary, he ſent *Proſper Colonno* to debate with the *Swiſſers* of the place where they ſhould aſſemble againſt the *French*, either for that he had receiued aduertiſement that the truce was diſcontenting to *Cæſar*, or for that he was enioyned by new commiſſions from his King to follow the will of the Pope, who perſeuered ſtill in the ſame perplexities (his ſmall hope on the one ſide, and his owne inclination on the other, ſtriuing in him.) And yet notwithſtanding the *Swiſſers* being come vpon the territories of *Tortona*, where *Proſper* had ſignified vnto them that the Viceroy would come and ioyne with them, interpoſing many excuſes, he required them to come vpon the lands of *Trebia* to ioyne with him. By which maner of ſolicitation, they perceiuing the difference that was betweene his will and his words, anſwered reſolutely, That the Viceroy made not this demand to the end to go looke his enemies in the face, but to turne his backe with more ſafetie: and that it was a matter of no importance to the *Swiſſers*, to whom it was all one, whether he feared to fight with the *French* men, whether he taried ſtill, whether he marched, or whether he fled, for that they onely were ſufficient to defend the Duchie of *Millan* againſt all men.

The French men in the Duchie of Millan.

But now was all the countrey in a mutinie, and the Count *Muſſocquo* ſonne to *Iohn Iaques* was got into *Aſt* without any impediment, and after into *Alexandria*; and the *French* men which were departed from *Suſa* marched with great diligence. The Duke of *Millan* who was come ſomewhat too late to enter *Alexandria*, ioyned himſelfe to the *Swiſſers* neare *Tortona*, where being giuen to vnderſtand by the Viceroy, that he was determined to go his way, they drew towards *Nouaro*. The inhabitants of *Millan* at the bruite of the departing of the Viceroy, ſent Embaſſadours to *Nouaro* to excuſe them to their Duke, for that hauing none to defend them, they compounded with the *French* men, to the end to auoide vtter ruine; who declared that he willingly accepted their excuſe, and alſo commended them for their charitable care of the ſafetie of their common countrey. Vpon this occaſion *Sacromoro Viſcount* to whom was appointed the beſieging of the Caſtle of *Millan*, turned to the *French*, and reuictualled the Caſtle which he was ſent to batter. The Viceroy then brake vp from *Trebia* with all his armie, conſiſting of twelue hundred men at armes and eight thouſand footmen, to returne to the kingdom of *Naples*, as though the affaires of *Lombardie* being deſperate, he had bene carefull onely of his ſafetie: but receiuing the ſame day in the way betweene *Plaiſance* and *Florenzola* letters from *Rome*, he cauſed immediatly the Enſignes to march backe againe, and came to the ſame lodging from whence he was departed. The cauſe was, that the Pope, to whom almoſt at the ſame time were rendred *Plaiſance* and *Parma*, determining to proue if the Duchie of *Millan* might be defended by the helpe of the *Swiſſers*, gaue very ſecretly to *Ierome Moron* the Dukes

The Pope ſendeth money to the Swiſſers.

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Embaſſadour reſident in his Court, fortie thouſand duckats to ſend to the *Swiſſers*: but with this pretext, that if the matter came to the knowledge of others, he ſhould giue out, that twentie thouſand of them were vpon the account of their yearely penſions, and the other twentie thouſand to ſatisfie the three Cantons, who pretended the ſame to be due to them by his predeceſſor, who had alwayes refuſed to pay them. For the returning of the Viceroy to *Trebia*, together with a bruite of the deſcending of the new companies of *Swiſſers*, the *Millanois* repenting their great haſte, gaue hope to *Maximilian Sforce*, that they would be ready to returne to his obedience, whenſoeuer they ſaw the *Swiſſers* and the *Spaniſh* armie ioyne together in the field. And the more to nouriſh them in theſe hopes, the Viceroy, with whom was *Proſper Colonno*, raiſed a bridge vpon *Po*, promiſing from time to time to paſſe ouer, but neuer putting it in effect, for that hauing a ſpeciall care to ſaue his armie, he determined to proceed according to the euent of things; and held it very dangerous to haue the *French* men in his face, and the *Venetian* armie at his backe, who hauing already taken the Citie of *Cremona*, and caſt a bridge at *Cana* vpon *Po*, were not farre from him. *Bartholomew Aluiano* was gone from *Suſa* to *Venice*, fetching a great circuite: where after he had in open Councell, without any contradiction, caſt vpon the Count *Petillano* the fault of the ouerthrow of *Guiaradadda*, & ſpoken very proudly of the preſent warre, he was by the Senate choſen Captaine generall of their armie, vnder the ſame conditions that the Count *Petillano* had obtained that degree, and haply on the very ſame day whereon foure yeares before he fell into the power of his enemies: ſo often doth fortune laugh at the ignorance of mortall men. As ſoone as he was choſen Generall, he went to the armie which was muſtering at *S. Boniface* vpon the territories of *Verona*, and *Theodore Triuulce* was with him as Lieutenant to the *French* King, with whom he approched with great diligence to the gates of *Verona*, the ſelfe ſame day that the *French* armie parted from *Suſa*: for that in that Citie there were ſome who had conſpired to receiue him in: but the day after, fiue hundred Lanceknights entred *Verona* by the riuer of *Adice*, and the conſpiracie being diſcouered, *Aluiano* hauing loſt all hope to preuaile, determined, contrary to the authoritie of the *Venetian* Aſſiſtant, to draw towards the riuer of *Po*, to ſtop the *Spaniards*, or according to the occurrence of things, to ioyne with the *French* armie: and he imparted not this deliberation to the Senate vntill he was gone from *Verona* one baite; for that notwithſtanding he alledged, that the euent of the whole warre depended on the ſucceſſe of the affaires of *Millan*, wherein if fortune ſhould be aduerſe to the *French*, whatſoeuer ſhould be attempted or obtained in any other place would be but in vaine and not durable, and therefore it was neceſſary by all poſſible meanes, to make the *French* King victorious: yet he feared (and not without cauſe) leſt the Senate would be againſt it, not ſo much for the deſire he had that there ſhould be a care had firſt to recouer *Verona* and *Breſſia*, as for that certaine other of the Captaines allowed not that they ſhould paſſe the riuer of *Mincia*, vnleſſe they had firſt more particular knowledge of the proceedings of the *French*: wherein they ſhewed, in caſe of any inconuenience, how hard it would be to retire in ſafetie, hauing to paſſe by the confines of *Verona* and *Mantua*, countries either in ſubiection or at the deuotion of *Cæſar*. *Valeggia* and the towne of *Peſquiero*, fearing the threats of *Aluiano*, yeelded themſelues to him, by whoſe example alſo the Caſtle-keeper gaue vp the Rocke, receiuing a ſmall ſumme of mony, as well for himſelfe, as for certaine Lanceknights that were therein. About the ſame time certaine of the chiefe men of the Mountaine, entred into *Breſſia* in fauour of the *Venetians* with a great ſtrength of paiſants: and yet *Aluiano*, although he was intreated of the *Breſſian* Embaſſadours which came to him at *Gambaro*, and deſired by the *Venetian* Aſſiſtant, could not be brought to conſent to go thither and remaine there onely one day, to recouer the Caſtle that was kept in the name of the Viceroy, ſo great was his deſire to follow his firſt deliberation without intermiſſion. With which celeritie being come to the gates of *Cremona*, he found that at the ſame time *Galeas Paluiſin* (called by certain of *Cremona*) was entred in fauour of the *French* King, but being vnwilling that any other ſhould participate with him in the glory of that action, he brake & ſpoiled his bands of ſoldiers, and entring the towne, ſtripped *Cæſar Fieramoſquo* that was left there in garriſon with three hundred horſe and fiue hundred footmen by the Duke of *Millan*. And it behoued him not to loſe time to recouer the Caſtle, for that it had bene alwayes holden by the *French* King, and reuictualled a litle before by *Ranſe de Cere*: who (as he returned to *Crema*, where he was appointed Gouernour) brake a troupe of two hundred horſemen of *Alexander Sforce*, which he encountred

Bart. Aluiano Captaine generall of the Venetians.

Aluiano taketh Peſquiero and other places.

at *Serzana*. From thence *Aluiano* incamping at *Caua* vpon *Po* with the bridge made to paſſe ouer, kept not his ſouldiers from doing ſome inſolencies vpon the lands of the Pope. He went afterwards to *Piſqueton*, hauing already becauſe of the mutation of *Cremona*, *Soncino*, *Loda*, and other places thereabouts, ſet vp the *French* Enſignes. But afore, as ſoone as he had recouered *Cremona*, he had ſent *Ranſe de Cere* to *Breſſia* with part of the men of warre, to aſſure that Citie, and to recouer the Caſtle, but much more to hinder the good ſucceſſe of the *Almaines*: for that almoſt as ſoone as he was retired from before *Cremona*, *Rocandolph* Captaine of the Lanceknights, and with him *Federike Gonſaguo de Boſſolo* iſſuing out of *Verona* with ſixe hundred horſe and two thouſand footmen, were gone to *S. Boniface*, where *Aluiano* had left vnder *Sigiſmund Cauallo* and *Iohn Fortin*, three hundred light horſemen and ſixe hundred footmen: who being ſcattered in the countrey without any military diſcipline, hearing of the coming of the enemies, were fled to *Colorgno*, where the Lanceknights following them, entred the towne by force, and making them all priſoners, they ſacked and burnt the towne. They did the like afterwards to *Soaue*, breaking downe the bridge which the *Venetians* had made vpon *Adice*: and had with the ſame furie gotten *Vincenſa*, if a very great companie of paiſants had not ſuddenly entred therein: which maner of proceeding was ſo much the more feared, by how much the bruite ranne, that there came to *Verona* new ſupplies of footmen out of *Tyrol*.

Genes at the deuotion of the French.

About this time the *French* nauie containing nine light galleys and certain other veſſels, drew neare to *Genes*; and *Anthonie* and *Ierome* brethren of the houſe of the *Adornes*, approched by land with the fauour of thoſe of the Riuers that held their faction, and with other bands of ſouldiers that had bene leuied with the Kings money: which they did, puſhed on by a great occaſion, by reaſon of a diſcord hapned a litle before betweene the *Fieſquois* and the Duke of *Genes*, with whom they were at firſt confederate againſt the family of the *Adornes*: and the matter fell out, for that either for ſome quarrell that hapned by chance, or for ſome ſuſpition, *Ierome* the ſonne of *Iohn Lewis de Fieſquo*, coming out of the publike Pallace, was ſlaine by *Lodowike* and *Fregoſin*, the Dukes brethren: for which iniurie, *Othobon* and *Sinibald* his brethren, retiring themſelues to their country-houſes, and ſhortly after hauing contracted with the *French* King, and conſpired with the *Adornes*, they approched neare to *Genes* by another way, accõpanied with foure thouſand footmen. The Duke was not mightie enough of himſelfe to make reſiſtance againſt the *Fieſquois* and *Adorneis* ioyned together, neither by reaſon of the diligence of his aduerſaries, could the ſuccours which he had demanded of the Viceroy arriue in time: and that which wholy put him downe, was, that a thouſand of his footmen, who were poſſeſſed of the mountains neare the towne, being not able to reſiſt a greater number, were ouerthrowne; ſo that the Duke together with *Fregoſin*, hauing ſcarce leiſure to ſaue his owne life, fled away by ſea, leauing *Lodowike* his other brother to guard the Caſtle: and the victors entred *Genes*, where the brethren of the family of *Fieſquo*, caried with a furious deſire of reuenge, cruelly cauſed *Zacharie* the Dukes brother to be ſlaine, and after to be tied to a horſe taile, and drawne through the Citie, who had bene taken in the encounter vpon the mountaines, and was preſent with the others at the ſlaughter of their brother. Thus *Genes* being reduced to the deuotion of the *French* King, *Anthonie Adornei* was created Gouernour in the name of the King, and the *French* nauie furniſhed the Lanterne with men and victuals, and afterwards hauing ſacked *Spetia*, roade at *Portouenere*. There remained no more but *Nouaro* and *Coma*, of an abſolute recouery of all thoſe eſtates which the King had loſt the yeare before: for theſe two Cities onely in all the Duchie of *Millan*, held as yet in the name of *Maximilian Sforce*.

Nouaro beſieged by the French.

But the glorie of this warre was deſtinated, to the great infamie of all others, not to the *French* men, nor to the *Almaine* footmen, nor to the *Spaniſh* regiments, nor to the *Venetian* bands; but to the *Swiſſers* onely, againſt whom the *French* armie (hauing left ſufficient garriſon within *Alexandria* to aſſure the places beyond *Po*) drew neare to *Nouaro*, boaſting of their happie ſucceſſes, of the confeſſion euen of their enemies, who had incloſed themſelues within wals, and of the manifeſt feare of the *Spaniards*. Beſides this, there was preſented to the memory of men, as it were a certaine image and repreſentation of things paſt: That this was the ſame *Nouaro* wherein *Lodowike Sforce* father to the preſent Duke had bene made priſoner: That in the *French* campe were the ſame Captaines, *Monſieur Trimouille* and *Iohn Iaques Triuulce*: and ſome of the ſame Enſignes and Captaines of thoſe Cantons, which in another warre had ſold

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the father, did now accompanie the ſonne in this warre: by reaſon whereof *Monſieur Trimouille* had proudly written to the King, that he would ſend to him priſoner the ſonne, from the ſame place where he had deliuered into captiuitie the father. The *French* men violently beat vpon the walls of *Nouaro* with their artilleries, but in a place of no leſſe difficultie then danger to deſcend into the towne: and the *Swiſſers* ſeemed to haue ſo litle feare of their valour, that they would neuer ſuffer that gate of the towne that was towards the campe to be ſhut. After the artilleries had beaten to the earth a ſufficient ſpace of the wall, the armie without prepared furiouſly to the aſſault, but finding a valiant reſiſtance, and vnderſtanding they did preſently expect *Altoſaſzo* a Captaine of great renowne with a farre greater ſupply, they doubted of the ſucceſſe of the enterpriſe, which made them the day following to retire two miles from the wals of *Nouaro*, hoping afterwards to carry the victorie more by the diſorders and wants of the enemies, then by the furie of their armes. But theſe hopes were made vaine by the reſolute mind of *Motin* one of the *Swiſſers* Captaines, who calling together all the bands of ſouldiers vpon the market place of *Nouaro*, encouraged them with words full of reſolution, that without tarrying for the ſuccours of *Altoſaſzo*, who was to arriue the day following, they ſhould iſſue out and ſet vpon their enemies in their campe, and not ſuffer the glory and victory which they might appropriate to themſelues, to become common, or rather wholly transferred to others: for that as things that follow draw vnto them ſuch as go afore, and the increaſing of any thing couereth the part that is augmented; ſo the merite and praiſe of this warre would not be caſt vpon them, but vpon the ſupplies that came after. By how much (ſaid he) the enterpriſe may ſeeme more hard and perillous, by ſo much ſhall it be found more eaſie and ſure; for that the more accidents are ſudden and vnexpected, the more do they terrifie and amaze men. The *French* men doubt nothing leſſe at this time then to be charged by vs, and whereas they are newly incamped this very day, they cannot but ſuffer diſorder, the place being neither intrenched nor fortified. The *French* men were neuer wont to haue the courage to fight if they had not of our men among them; and though of late they haue aduentured to fight without vs, yet neuer againſt vs. How much will they then be aſtoniſhed when they ſhall ſee themſelues furiouſly charged vpon the ſudden, by thoſe whoſe vertue and reſolution was wont to encourage and aſſure them? Let not their horſemen and artilleries trouble you, ſince we haue had many experiences heretofore what confidence they repoſe in thoſe things againſt vs. *Gaſton de Foix* who was ſo braue a Captaine, notwithſtanding he was ſtrong in multitudes of lances and cannons, did not he alwayes ſuffer vs to paſſe by him along the plaines when we deſcended (two yeares ſithens) euen to the gates of *Millan*, we being no otherwiſe armed then with pikes? They haue now with them many bands of Lanceknights, but that doth ſo much the more encourage me, ſeeing we haue at one time an occaſion to ſhew to him who with ſo great couetouſneſſe and ingratitude hath contemned our trauels and our bloud, that he neuer made a worſe reſolution, either for himſelfe or for his Realme: and to manifeſt to thoſe that thinke the emploiment and ſeruice of their perſons to be ſufficient to make vs periſh for hunger, that the Lanceknights are not equall to the *Swiſſers*, and albeit they haue the ſame language and forme of diſcipline with vs, yet they haue neither the ſame valour nor the ſame reſolution. All the difficultie will be to winne their artillery, and yet this ſhall make it eaſie; that it is not planted in a place fortified; that our inuaſion is ſudden, and fauoured with the darkneſſe of the night; and aſſailing it furiouſly, it cannot endomage vs but for a very ſhort time, which yet will be interrupted by tumult, diſorder, and ſudden confuſion. Touching other things, they will be very eaſie to vs, for their horſemen dare not aduenture vpon our pikes, and much leſſe will their vile troupes of *French* footmen and *Gaſcons* enter skirmiſh with vs: ſo that taking ſuch a deliberation, we ſhall make no leſſe proofe of our wiſedomes then of our valour. Our nation is of ſuch reputation, that the glorie of our name cannot be preſerued but by attempting ſome matter beyond the common expectation and vſage of all men: and ſince we are about *Nouaro*, the place it ſelfe admoniſheth vs, that we can in no other ſort quench the ancient infamie we got here in the pay of *Lodowike Sforce*. Let vs proceed then in the name of the great God, the perſecutor of ſchiſmatikes, excommunicate perſons, and the enemies to his name: let vs march on to a victorie no leſſe eaſie then aſſured (if we ſhew our ſelues men,) whereby our name ſhall be made ſo much the more great and glorious, by how much the danger ſeemeth more euident: and by how much our enemies doe exceede vs in number, by ſo much the more ſhall we

The words of Captain Motin to the Swiſſers

we be enriched by their ſpoiles. At theſe ſpeeches of *Motin* all the bands of ſouldiers began to giue a great ſhout, euery one approuing his deuice by holding vp their hands: and then, aſſuring them of the victory, he commanded them to go to reſt, and to prepare themſelues to fall into array when the drum ſhould ſtrike. The nation of *Swiſſers* neuer made a more braue or more reſolute deliberation, being but a few againſt many, without horſemen, and without artilleries, againſt an armie well furniſhed and moſt mightie in that kind: and withall being not puſhed forward by any neceſſitie, for ẏ *Nouaro* was deliuered frō danger, and they expected the day after a great ſtrength of ſouldiers. They rather choſe this way, wherein the ſuretie was leſſe and the hope of glory greater; then that, wherein for greater ſafetie there might happen to them leſſe glorie. Therfore the ſixt day of Iune after midnight they iſſued out of *Nouaro* with great furie, being in number about ten thouſand men, who were ſo diſtributed and diſpoſed, that ſeuen thouſand were appointed to charge the artillerie, about which the Lanceknights were lodged, & ẏ reſidue were to be beſtowed with their pikes aduāced againſt the men at armes. The *French* men, for the ſhortneſſe of the time, and becauſe they doubted not that ſuch an accident ſhould befall them ſo ſoone, had made no fortification of their campe: and at the firſt tumult and alarme that the ſentinels made of the coming of the enemies, the ſuddenneſſe of the aduenture, and the darkneſſe of the night, increaſed much their feare and confuſion; yet the men at armes drew forthwith into ſtrength, and preſented themſelues in battel-ray, and the Lanceknights who were followed with the other bands of footmen, fell preſently into order. Now the artillery ſhot off with great noiſe againſt the *Swiſſers* that came to aſſaile it, and endomaged them much, ſtrewing the place with many of them, which was rather knowne by the crying & howling of men then by the benefite of the eyes, the vſe whereof was taken away by the darkneſſe of the night: and yet with a deſperate reſolution, deſpiſing preſent death, and nothing diſcouraged with the fortune of thoſe that lay ſlaine at their feete, nor once breaking their order for all this, they ranne as faſt as they could vpon the artillerie: and being come to it, the Lanceknights and they encountred together with a maruellous furie, the one fighting againſt the other with great rage, and much more for hatred and the deſire of glorie. There might haue bene ſeene (for now the Sunne began to ſhew) ſometimes one ſide to yeeld, ſometimes the other: oftentimes that part to ſeeme to preuaile which earſt was thought to haue the worſt: on the ſame ſide, and at the ſame time, the one battell to ſway, and the other to aduance; one part to inuade their enemies furiouſly, & the other to reſiſt hardly; all things on all ſides full of dead bodies, wounded men, and bloud: ſometimes the Captaines would valiantly performe the office of ſouldiers, both charging their enemies and defending themſelues and theirs, and ſometimes they would diſcreetly manage the place of Captaines, encouraging, prouiding, ſuccouring, relieuing, and commanding. On the other ſide, where the men of armes ſtood, they were very calme, without doing any thing; for that the authority, the perſwaſions, the commandements, the prayers, the exclamations, and threatnings of *Triuulce* and *Trimouille*, preuailing nothing with the horſemen, whoſe minds were already made timorous, they had not the courage to charge their enemies that were before them: & it ſufficed the *Swiſſers* to keep them impaled in their ranks, to the end they ſhould not ſuccour their footmen. At laſt in ſo great a hardineſſe and valour of ſuch as fought, the vertue of the *Swiſſers* preuailed, who hauing victoriouſly wonne the artilleries, turned them vpon their enemies, whom they put to flight as well by that meanes as by their owne valour. To the flying of the footmen was ioyned the running away of the men at armes, who ſhewed no valour, nor did any thing worthy of praiſe. Only the Lord *Robert la March* carried with the vehement affection of a father, entred the battell of the *Swiſſers* with a ſquadron of horſemen, to reſcue *Fiorango* and *Iames* his ſonnes, Captaines of the Lanceknights, who lay ſore wounded on the earth, and fought with ſuch furie, that the *Swiſſers* themſelues maruelled much that he could draw them aliue out of that danger. The battell continued about two houres, to the great hurt of both the parties. There was ſlaine of the *Swiſſers* about fifteene hundred bodies, amongſt whom was Captaine *Motin*, the firſt mouer of that ſo glorious a counſell, who fighting valiantly, was thruſt through the throate with a pike. But farre greater was the ſlaughter of the enemies, of whom ſome ſay were left dead ten thouſand carkaſſes: the moſt part of the Lanceknights died in fighting, and the greateſt ſlaughter of the *French* and *Gaſcon* footmen, was in flying. Almoſt all the horſemen went away in ſafetie, the *Swiſſers* being not able to follow them, who if they had had horſemen, might haue broken them eaſily,

The deſcriptiō of a furious conflict.

The French men defeated by the Swiſſers

eaſily,retiring as they did in great feare. All the baggage became a prey to the victors, with two and twentie peeces of great artillerie, and all the horſes aſſigned for the ſeruice of the ſame. The victors returned the ſame day into *Nouaro* almoſt triumphantly, and with ſuch renowne through the world, that in reſpect of the magnanimitie of their enterpriſe, the euident deſpiſing of death, the reſolution they ſhewed in the fight, and the happie ſucceſſe of the ſame,there were many that durſt preferre this action, afore almoſt all the memorable things which we reade to haue bene done by the *Greekes* and *Romanes*. The *French* men fled into *Piemont*, from whence (*Triuulce* loſing time to crie after them) they paſſed ſpeedily into *France*.

The victorie obtained, *Millan* with the other places that were declared for the *French*, ſent to demand pardon, which was granted them, vpon condition to disburſe a great ſumme of money: the inhabitants of *Millan* two hundred thouſand duckats, and the reſidue euery one according to his abilitie,to be all giuen to the *Swiſſers*,to whom was rightly due,as wel the gain as the glorie of the victorie, gotten with their valour and with their bloud: and who, to draw all the fruite they could,entred afterwards into the Marquiſdome of *Montferrat* and into *Piemont*, charging thoſe countries to haue receiued the *French* army: and there, partly by pillage, and partly by ranſoming the poore people (yet without attempting any thing againſt the life and honour of any) they got much. The *Spaniards* alſo were not altogether depriued of the profits of the victorie, for that *Ianus* lately chaſed out of *Genes*, and *Octauian Fregoſo* (both which aſpired to be Duke) being retired to the Viceroy after the battell, the Viceroy preferring *Octauian*, for whom the Pope did what he could in regard of their ancient amitie, and withall receiuing his promiſe to pay him fiftie thouſand duckats when he ſhould be poſſeſſed of *Genes*, he deliuered him three thouſand footmen vnder the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, and for his owne part,he went with the reſidue of the armie to *Chieſteggio*, making ſemblance to paſſe further if need required. But as the Marquis and *Octauian* drew neare to *Genes*, the brethren of the family of *Adorno*,knowing their owne weakneſſe, went their way; and *Octauian* entring in,was created Duke of that Citie, which in the courſe of a yeare had for gouernours the *French* men, *Ianus Fregoſo*,the *Adorneis*, and *Octauian*. *Bartlemew Aluiano* hearing of the ouerthrow giuen to the *French* army,feared leſt he ſhould be preſently followed by the *Spaniards*,and retired in all haſte to *Pontuiquo*, leauing in the way (for loſing of time) certaine peeces of artillery, which could not ſo ſuddenly march.From *Pontuiquo* when he had left *Ranſe de Cere* in *Crema*,and abandoned *Breſſia*, for that it was not profitable to diminiſh the army, wherein were remaining ſixe hundred men at armes,a thouſand light horſemen, and fiue thouſand footmen, marching with the ſame celeritie,and with ſo great feare and disfauour of the country, that if but a ſmall company had followed them, they would of themſelues haue fallen into diſorder; he went to *Tomba*,neare to *Adice*, neuer ſtaying in any place longer then the neceſſitie to refreſh his men and horſes conſtrained him. When he ſaw the feare ouerpaſſed,ſince no man followed him,he ſtayd at *Tomba*, and there he gaue order to conuey to *Padua* and to *Treuiſa* the greateſt prouiſion of victuals that he could draw from the territories of *Verona*: and at the ſame time he ſent *Iohn Paul Baillon* to *Legnaguo* with threeſcore men at armes, and twelue hundred footmen, who being immediatly receiued by the inhabitants of the towne where was no garriſon,he gaue aſſault to the Rock which was guarded by an hundred and fiftie footmen, part *Spaniſh* and part Lanceknights, hauing firſt battered it with the artillery on that ſide that is towards the market place: in which aſſault,I know not which had more force,either valour or fortune, for that during the fight, the fire by aduenture faſtening vpon the munitions, by meanes of certaine inſtruments of artificiall fires throwne by thoſe that were without, part of the Rocke was burned: and in this tumult the footmen that gaue the aſſault being entred ſome at the breach, and ſome by ladders, tooke their Captaine,who was a *Spaniard*, and killed and tooke priſoners all the reſidue that were therein. *Legnaguo* being taken, *Aluiano* cauſed to build a bridge vpon *Adice*, and afterwards certaine inhabitants of *Verona* giuing him hope that they would mutine againſt the *Almaines*, he went to incampe at the village of *S. Iohn*,which is foure miles from *Verona*; and from whence the morning following,approching neare to the gate called *S. Maximo*, he planted his artilleries with great furie againſt the tower of the gate and the wall ioyning to it, expecting in the meane while if there would riſe any tumult in the towne: and after he had brought to the earth about fortie fadomes of the wall, beſides the tower, which fell in ſuch ſort, that the ruines ſerued for a very ſtrong rampier to the gate, he gaue a very furious aſſault. But there were within *Verona*

three hundred horſemen and three thouſand Lanceknights vnder *Roccandolph* a Captaine much eſteemed, who defended themſelues valiantly, beſides that the breach that was made in the wall, was a good height frō the gound within; and they of *Verona* ſtirred not, according to the hopes that were giuen: ſo that *Aluiano* perceiuing the difficultie to take it, retired his footmen from the wals, and had already begun to withdraw the artillery, when changing counſel in a moment, as was ſuppoſed, by a certaine meſſage which he receiued from the towne, he cauſed his footmen to returne to the walls, and recontinued the aſſault with a greater fury then before. But he found ſtill the ſame difficulties, and thoſe that had called him ſo ſlow and remiſſe, that hauing loſt at the aſſault more then two hundred of his people, amongſt whom was *Thomas Fabro* of *Rauenna*, Marſhall of his footmen, he began to deſpaire wholly of the victory, and retiring his artillery with great diligence, he returned the ſame day to the lodging from whence he was departed in the morning, hauing gained no credit that day, either for his counſell, or the iſſue thereof, but his great diligence was much praiſed throughout all *Italy*, for that in one day he had done that, which hardly other Captaines are wont to do in three or foure dayes. After this he ſpoiled the country, aſſaying if by that feare he could conſtraine the inhabitants of *Verona* to come to accord. But the *Spaniſh* army being now come on, for that the Viceroy after he heard of the loſſe of *Legnaguo*, fearing leſt by the ill diſpoſition of the townesmen, *Verona* would ſet open her gates to the *Venetians*, determined to giue preſent ſuccours to the affaires of *Cæſar*, hauing now no impediment, ſith the affaires of *Genes* had happily ſucceeded. Therefore after he had paſſed without difficultie the riuer of *Po* at *Stradella*, and that the Cities of *Bergamo* and *Breſſia* were rendred to him without reſiſtance, together with the towne of *Peſquiero*, he incamped before the Caſtle, that was manned with two hundred and fiftie footmen: the which although the common opinion was, that it might haue holden out yet certaine dayes, came by force into his power, the *Venetian* Ruler being made priſoner, and all the reſidue of the ſouldiers that were not ſlaine at the aſſault. Becauſe of the approch of the *Spaniards*, *Aluiano* retired to *Alberè* on the other ſide of *Adice*, and called to refurniſh his army as much as he could, not only certaine bands of footmen which were at *Poleſina de Rouigna*, but thoſe alſo whom he had left within *Legnaguo*: and a litle after the Lanceknights being ioyned at *S. Martin* with the Viceroy, alſo after the recouery of *Legnaguo* went to *Montagnana*, the *Venetians* who held no more in that quarter but *Padua* and *Treuiſa*, caring for no other thing then the preſeruation of thoſe Cities, ordained that the army ſhould be diſtributed in them, and that *Iohn Paul Baillon*, with whom were *Malateſta de Sogliano* and the Knight *de la Volpe*, ſhould be beſtowed in *Treuiſa* with two hundred men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand footmen, *Aluiano* remaining in *Padua* with the reſidue of the army: who taking care to fortifie it, by repairing the baſtillions, and giuing perfection to many things that were vnperfect, cauſed likwiſe to raze all the houſes, and cut downe all the trees that were within three miles about *Padua*, to make more hard & dangerous the approch of the enemies, and to cauſe them to haue need of many pioners.

The Pope ſeeks to appeaſe the King.

But whileſt that matters of warre proceeded in this ſort, the Pope trauelled with great induſtrie to weed out of the Church the diuiſion brought in by the Councell of *Piſa*: which matter depending wholly vpon the will of the *French* King, he laboured to appeaſe him by many meanes, aſſuring him that the rumor that ranne that he had ſent money to the *Swiſſers*, was a falſe bruite, and declaring that he deſired nothing more then an vniuerſall peace, and to be the common father to all Chriſtian Princes: That he was very ſory that his diſſention with the Church, depriued him of all meanes to know how naturally he was inclined to his amitie; ſeeing that for the honour of the Sea Apoſtolike, and of owne his perſon, he was conſtrained to proceed with him ſeuerally, vntill by his returning to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, it were lawfull for him to receiue him as King Moſt Chriſtian, and to embrace him as the eldeſt ſonne of the Church. The King in regard of his owne affaires, deſired the vnion of his kingdome with the Church, the ſame being alſo inſtantly demanded by all his peoples and all his Court, whereunto alſo he was much incited by the Queene; and he knew alſo that there could be no hope of alliance with the Pope in matters temporall, if firſt there were not agreement for controuerſies ſpirituall. For this cauſe, either truſting indeed, or ſeeming to giue faith to his words, he ſent to him as Embaſſadour to negociate in theſe cauſes, the Biſhop of *Marſeilles*: at whoſe coming, the Pope by decree of the Councell, reinueſted the Biſhops and Prelates of *France*, againſt whom his predeceſſor proceeded rigorouſly by way of excommunication, as againſt

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ſchiſmatikes, with power to purge themſelues of their contumacie, during the whole moneth of November: and the ſame morning wherein it was thus determined, there was read in the Councell a writing ſubſcribed by *Bernardin Carnagial* and *Federike de S. Severin*, wherein forbearing to name themſelues Cardinals, they approued all the acts of the Councell of *Latran*, promiſing to cleaue to the ſame, and to obey the Pope: wherein conſequently they confeſſed themſelues to be lawfully depriued of the eſtate of Cardinals; which priuation being done by Pope *Iulio*, had bene in his life time confirmed by the ſame Councell. It had bene debated afore to haue them reſtored, but it was afterwards deferred for the impediment of the Embaſſadours of *Ceſar* and the King of *Aragon*, together with the Cardinals of *Sion* and *Yorke*, who alledged, that it was a matter vnworthy the maieſty of the ſea Apoſtolike, and of very ill example, to pardon the authors of ſo great a ſcandal, and ſo pernicious tranſpaſſe, full of ſo manifeſt abhomination; a matter which the laſt Pope had conſtantly maintained againſt them, euen to the laſt moment of his life, and that for no other cauſe then for the publike good. But the Pope inclined to that ſide that was leaſt rigorous, iudging it more eaſie vtterly to quench the name of the Councell of *Piſa*, with clemencie then with ſeueritie: & withall, he would not prouoke the mind of the *French* King, who was a diligent interceſſor for them: neither was he carried againſt them by any particular hatred, for as much as the iniury was not done to him; but before his Pontificacie he and his brethren had bene great friends to *Federike*: for which reaſons, of his owne motion he cauſed to be read before the fathers of the Councel, the writing of their humiliation, and aſſigned a day for their reſtoring, which was done in this maner: *Bernardin* and *Federike* entred ſecretly into *Rome* by night, without either habite or note of Cardinals, and the morning following being to preſent themſelues before the Pope ſitting in full Conſiſtory, accompanied with all the Cardinals, except the *Swiſſer* and the *Engliſh*, who refuſed to be preſent: they firſt paſſed apparelled as ſimple Prieſts, with blacke bonnets on their heads through all the publike places of the Pallace of *Vatican*, where they had lodged: a great multitude of people flocking to ſee them, and euery one affirming that ſo publike an ignominie might ſerue as a cruell torment for the vnmeaſurable pride of *Bernardin*, and no leſſe arrogance of *Federike*. When they were admitted into the Conſiſtory, they fell downe on their knees, and with many ſignes of great humilitie demanded pardon of the Pope and the Cardinals, approuing all things that had bene done by Pope *Iulio*, and namely their priuation, and the election of the new Pope, as canonically done; reprouing the conuenticle of *Piſa*, as ſchiſmaticall and deteſtable. When this confeſſion was ſolemnly enregiſtred and ſubſigned with their hands, they roſe vp and ſtood on their feete, and after reuerence done, they embraced all the Cardinals, who ſtirred not out of their ſeates; and afterwards being apparelled in the habite of Cardinals, were receiued by the reſidue to ſit in the ſame order wherein they were wont to ſit before their priuation. They recouered onely by this act the dignitie of Cardinals, and not the benefices and other reuenues which they were wont to hold, for that long time before they had bene diſtributed to others, as vacant. In this act the Pope ſatisfied the *French* King, if not fully, yet at leaſt in part: but he ſatisfied him not in other matters, for that he ſought by all the wayes he could to accord *Ceſar* and the *Venetians*; which he thought he might eaſily obtaine, by reaſon of the accidents that happened. For he beleeued that *Ceſar* prouoked by the occaſions beyond the Mounts, would be content to hearken thereto, the more eaſily to recouer *Burgundie* for his Nephew: and much more the *Venetians*, as well for that they ſtood amazed with the ouerthrow of the *French*, as for that they knew the *French* King (many dangers hanging ouer his Realme) could not for that yeare thinke any more of the affaires of *Italy*: and likewiſe they ſaw the *Spaniſh* army neare them, whereunto were to be vnited the companies that were within *Verona*: they were drained of money, ill furniſhed of ſouldiers, and namely of footmen: and alone were to beare the whole brunt of the warre, without any hope or ſhew of other ſuccours: and yet the Senate anſwered very conſtantly, that they would not hearken to any accord, vnleſſe *Vincenſa* and *Verona* were reſtored to them.

Humilitie of two Cardinals

Ceſar at that time demanded of the Pope two hundred men at armes againſt the *Venetians*: which demand though it was grieuous to the Pope, for feare leſt the *French* King ſhould be diſcontented, and for that he held it inconuenient for *Ceſar* and him to become ſuſpected to the *Venetians* for a matter of ſo ſmall importance: *Ceſar* notwithſtanding perſeuering obſtinately in his demand, he ſent him vnder *Troilo Sauello*, *Achilles*, *Torello*, and *Mutio Colonno*, the num-

bers he required, for that he would not (by refuſing) ſhew any token of vnwillingneſſe to perſeuer in the confederation contracted with the laſt Pope; and for that he thought himſelfe not reſtrained by any obligation that he had with the *Venetians*: who, beſides that their armie had behaued themſelues almoſt in hoſtile maner vpō the lands of *Parma* and *Piaiſance* at ſuch time as *Aluiano* lay neare *Cremona*, had not elected Embaſſadours to proteſt their obedience to him, according to the ancient cuſtome, vntill the *French* men being ouerthrowne, were returned out of *Italy*. This deliberation brought no litle amaze to the *Venetians*, not ſo much for the importance of ſuch a ſuccor, as for feare leſt by this beginning the Pope would paſſe further: and they tooke this likewiſe for a manifeſt ſigne that he would neuer be ſeparate from their enemies. Neuertheleſſe they changed not their firſt counſels, but ſtanding reſolute to make as good head as they could againſt fortune, they ſent commandement to their Admirall that was at *Corfu*, that aſſembling as many veſſels as he could, he ſhould aſſaile the marine places of *Powilla*; although a litle after, conſidering of what importance it would be to prouoke ſo much the King of *Aragon*, they reuoked that counſell, as more couragious then diſcreet, as well for the power of that King, as for that he had alwayes made ſhew that he perſwaded *Ceſar* to peace. The Viceroy remained at *Montagnana*, not hauing as yet determined what to doe, for as much as the conceptions of the Lanceknights were great, and the enterpriſes that remained to be attempted either of *Padua* or of *Treuiſa* very hard, and the forces farre inferiour to the difficulties: for in the whole army there was not aboue a thouſand men at armes, not many light horſemen, and ten thouſand footmen, as well *Spaniards* as Lanceknights: and alſo there was expectation of the coming of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, vpon whoſe will all depended. At this time a *Spaniſh* magiſtrate being in *Bergamo* to gather the impoſt of fiue and twentie thouſand duckats, taxed vpon that Citie at ſuch time as it was rendred to the Viceroy, *Ranſe de Cere* ſent thither from *Crema* part of his ſouldiers, who entring by night by the helpe of ſome of the towne, tooke the *Spaniard* with all the money he had leuied, and returned afterward to *Crema*. There was diſcerned about this time a preparation of new troubles in the ſtate of *Genes*, conformable to the wils of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swiſſers*, to whom *Anthonie* and *Ierome Adorno* had recourſe, declaring to the Duke the offices and kindneſſes which had paſſed betweene their fathers and *Lodowik* his father: That by the aide of their family he had recouered and many yeares holden in peace the principalitie of *Genes*, of the which he had bene fraudulently depriued by the Dukes *Fregoſes*: and that the *Adorneis* had participated with the aduerſe fortunes of the *Sforces*, for that at the ſame time that *Lodowike* loſt the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Adorneys* were chaſed out of *Genes*: and therefore it was conuenient that they ſhould likewiſe communicate in his good fortune, ſeeing the ſame affection & the ſame faith continued: and that they ought not to be charged by imputation, if being not ſo much as heard in any place, but abandoned of all hope, their neceſſitie had driuen them againſt their will, to haue recourſe to that King, by whom they had bene chaſed and expulſed before: That on the other ſide, he was to remember the ancient hatred of the *Fregoſes*, how many iniuries and practiſes had bene wrought againſt his father by *Baptiſta* and the Cardinall *Fregoſa*, who were Dukes of *Genes* ſucceſſiuely; and to conſider how he might truſt *Octauian Fregoſa*, who, beſides his ancient hatred, refuſed to haue a ſuperiour in that Citie. To the *Swiſſers* they propoſed the profite, the ſuretie and the honour they might reape hereby: That if by their meanes they were reſtored to their countrey, they would pay a ſumme of money equall to that which *Octauian Fregoſa* payed to the *Spaniards*: That by their vertue the Duchie of *Millan* had bene preſerued, and to them appertained the protection and defence thereof: and that therefore they ſhould conſider how much it would be contrary to the ſuretie of that ſtate, that *Genes* a citie of ſo neare neighborhood and ſo great importance, ſhould obey a Duke that depended wholly vpon the King of *Aragon*: and that it were an action very vnworthy their name and glory, to ſuffer *Genes* (the fruite of the victory of *Nouaro*) to fall to the profit of the *Spaniards*, who, whileſt the *Swiſſers* went with ſo great valour to expoſe themſelues againſt the thundring ſhot of the *French*, whileſt that (to expreſſe it better) the *Swiſſers* ranne vpon death, ſate ſtill at their eaſe, without doing any thing vpon the territory of *Trebia*, watching as it were the iſſue of the battell, either ſhamefully to flie, or fraudulently to ſteale the rewards of the victory gotten with the bloud of others. Theſe reaſons then inflaming them, the Duke cauſed his companies to march, and the *Swiſſers* aduanced foure thouſand footmen: but the threats of the Viceroy againſt the Duke, and the authoritie of the Pope, who tooke greatly to heart the af-

affaires of *Octauian*, were the cauſe that they gaue ouer preſently. In this meane while the Viceroy went vp to *Battallia*, a place about ſeuen miles from *Padua*, where *Caruagial* riding vp and downe vndiſcreetly with a ſmall ſtrength of horſemen to view the ſituation of the countrey, was taken by *Mercurio* Captaine of the *Venetian* light horſemen. At which time the Biſhop of *Gurci* ariuing in the army, they drew to conſultation what was to be done: & the Biſhop gaue counſel to beſiege *Padua*, ſaying, he hoped ſo much in the vertue of the *Spaniards* and Lanceknights againſt the *Italians*, that in the end they ſhould ouercome all difficulties: That it was a matter of leſſe labour to take *Treuiſa*, but the reward of the victory was farre different; for that to win *Treuiſa* onely, was of litle importance for the ſubſtance of the warre, but by the taking of *Padua*, the townes of *Cæſars* obedience ſhould ſtand fully aſſured from the troubles and dangers of the warre, and the *Venetians* ſhould be depriued of all hope to be euer able to recouer the places they had loſt. The Viceroy and almoſt all the other Captaines were of a contrary opinion: iudging it rather impoſſible then hard, to force *Padua*, by reaſon of the incredible fortifications, it being throughly ſtored with artilleries and all things neceſſary for defence, & abundantly furniſhed with ſouldiers, many yong men of the Nobilitie of *Venice* being come thither, as they had done at other times. They alledged that the circuite of *Padua* was large, in which regard, as alſo for the multitude of the defendants and other difficulties, it required to be enuironed with a ſiege of two armies: which they were ſo farre from, that they were not able to make one ſufficient, the number of their ſouldiers being not great, of whom the Lanceknights, who murmured already for their pay, ſhewed themſelues not very forward: That they were not furniſhed with munitions, and wanted pioners, a prouiſion very neceſſary for an enterpriſe of that difficultie. But in the end the reaſons of the Viceroy and the other Captaines gaue place to the will of the Biſhop of *Gurci*, according to which the army drawing neare to *Padua*, incamped at *Baſſanella* vpon the right ſhore of the channell, within a mile and a halfe of *Padua*, in which place being much endomaged by certaine double cannons that lay planted vpon a baſtillion of the towne, they paſſed the channell, and lodged a litle further from the towne, from whence ſending certaine bands of footmen to *S. Anthonies* Church within halfe a mile of *Padua*, they began to approch with leſſe danger, and to caſt trenches neare to *S. Anthonies* gate: but the labor was great, and the want of pioners no leſſe, in a countrey abandoned of all inhabitants. Therefore the worke aduanced litle, and not without danger, for that the ſouldiers making many ſudden ſallies as well by day as by night, did great domage to thoſe that laboured. They ſuffered alſo great want of victuals, for that onely a ſmall part of the towne being enuironed by the enemies, the eſtradiots that had libertie to iſſue out of the other quarters of the towne, ouerrunning freely the whole countrey, gaue impediment to all that was brought to the campe; certaine armed barks which the *Venetians* had ſet for that purpoſe vpon the riuer of *Adice* doing the like, for that the men that they carried, ceaſſed not to make incurſions in all the plaine countrey, now in one part, and then in another. In regard of theſe difficulties, the eſtate of things being eftſoones brought into conſultation by the Viceroy, all men were of opinion, that it would be a leſſe infamy to correct the deliberation vndiſcreetly made, in leuying the campe, then by perſiſting in their error, to be the cauſe of ſome great domage that might happen, which would be accompanied with great ſhame. Which opinion being related to the Biſhop of *Gurci* by the Viceroy in the preſence of many Captaines, for that he had refuſed to be preſent at the Councell, he made anſwer, That the diſcipline of warre being not his profeſſion, it was no ſhame for him to confeſſe his ignorance in the affaires of warre: and that touching the counſell he had giuen to beſiege *Padua*, he had not ſo much followed his owne iudgement in that deliberation, as the authoritie of the Viceroy, who both by letters and expreſſe meſſengers had perſwaded the Emperour thereunto, and giuen him great hope to be able to carry it. At laſt the difficulties not ceaſſing, neither for their complaints nor for their debating, but rather the deſpaire to be able to take *Padua* dayly increaſing, the campe brake vp, after it had lien eighteen dayes afore the wals of *Padua*: and hauing both at their breaking vp, and vpon the way, the light horſemen at their backs, they withdrew themſelues to *Vincenſa*, which then was voide of inhabitants, and lay as a prey to who was maiſter of the field. In this meane while the ſouldiers of the Duke of *Millan*, to whoſe aide the Viceroy had ſent *Anthonie de Leua* with a thouſand footmen, tooke *Pontuiquo*, wherein were two hundred footmen in garriſon for the *Venetians*, who, neither amazed with the thunder of the artilleries, nor diſcouraged with the mines that were made, were

Padua beſieged by the Viceroy.

conſtrained at the end of a moneth to yeeld for want of victuals, after they had valiantly ſuſtained the aſſault. About the ſame time *Ranſe de Cere* iſſuing out of *Crema*, ouerthrew *Siluio Sauello*, marching with his bands and foure hundred *Spaniſh* footmen to *Bergamo*, whither the Duke of *Millan* ſent him: and a litle after a *Spaniſh* officer being returned to *Bergamo* to gather money, *Ranſe* ſent thither three hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen, who tooke both the officer and the Rocke whereunto he was fled for ſafetie with the money he had receiued: in which Rocke were very few men of warre, by reaſon whereof threeſcore men at armes, three hundred light horſemen, and ſeuen hundred footmen, with two thouſand paiſants of the mount of *Brianſo*, went from *Millan* vnder the leading of *Siluio Sauello* and *Cæſar Fieramoſquo*, to recouer *Bergamo*: who encountring vpon the way fiue hundred light horſmen and three hundred footmen, ſent by *Ranſe* to *Bergamo*, were eaſily put to flight; by whoſe example the reſidue that afore had occupied *Bergamo* abandoned it, leauing onely a garriſon in the Rocke, which ſtandeth out of the Citie vpon the mountaine called *Cappello*.

The Viceroy and the Biſhop of *Gurci* ſoiourned certaine dayes at *Vincenſa*, and ſent part of the *Spaniards* vnder *Proſper Colonno* to ſack *Baſciano* and *Maroſtiquo*: not that they had offended, but that with the ſubſtances of thoſe wretched people they might nouriſh the army as well as they could, wherein the payes did faile, for that *Cæſar* was alwayes preſſed with his accuſtomed difficulties, the King of *Aragon* was not able alone to ſuſtaine ſo great a burden, and the Duchie of *Millan* being exceſſiuely taxed by the *Swiſſers*, could not contribute to the reliefe of others. The army abode at *Vincenſa*, with great diſcommodities, by reaſon of the continuall vexations of the light horſemen, who ouerrunning day and night the whole countrey, ſtopped all traffike and paſſage of victuals, vnleſſe they were guarded with a great ſtrength, and that of neceſſitie muſt be of men at armes, for that they had but a very few light horſemen: and therfore to be out of this torment, the Biſhop of *Gurci* went to *Verona* with the Lanceknights, very much diſcontented with the Viceroy, who following him by ſmall iourneys, got into *Albero* vpon the riuer of *Adice*, where he remained certaine dayes to giue oportunitie to them of *Verona* to gather their vintage and their harueſt, the incurſions of the light horſemen not ceaſſing for all that, who tooke from the *Almaines* euen neare the gates of *Verona*, the oxen that drew the artilleries. The Viceroy had layed a former plot to beſtow the army in garriſon in the countries of *Breſſia* and *Bergamaſqua*, and at the ſame time to moleſt *Crema*, which was all that the *Venetians* held on the other ſide the riuer of *Mincia*: and that deuice being publiſhed, had made the countries thereabouts ſo ſecure, that the territories of *Padua* were ful of inhabitants and goods, which was the cauſe that the Viceroy, who had no other meanes to feed his army then by preys and pillage, altering his plot, and calling back the *Almains*, went to *Montagnana* and to *Eſte*, and from thence to the village of *Bouolento*, where after he had driuen away great flockes of cattell, the ſouldiers conſumed with fire many faire houſes that ſtood thereabout. From *Bouolento* the deſire of pillage carrying them on, and taking courage for that the *Venetian* footmen were diſtributed to the guard of *Padua* and *Treuiſa*, the Viceroy determined to approch *Venice*, but againſt the opinion of *Proſper Colonno*, who told him, it was both raſh and dangerous. Therefore after they had paſſed the riuer of *Bacquillon*, and ſacked *Pieue de Sacco*, which is a borough very populous, and full of all things, they went to *Meſtro*, and ſo to *Marguera*, which ſtandeth vpon the ſalt waters: from whence, to leaue a more honorable memory of this expedition, they diſcharged towards *Venice* ten peeces of great artillery, whoſe bullets pierced the Monaſtery of *S. Secondo*; and at the ſame time they pilled and ſpoiled all the countrey, whoſe inhabitants were fled, moſt impiouſly making warres againſt the wals: for, not content with the rich preys of cattell and other wealth, in their crueltie they burned *Meſtra*, *Marguera*, and *Liſſafuſina*, together with all the other townes and villages of the countrey, not ſparing any houſe or pallace which had any beautie or extraordinary apparence. In theſe inſolencies, the impietie of the Popes ſouldiers and the other *Italians*, was not the leaſt, but ſo much the greater by how much it was more infamous in them then in the forreiners, to vſe crueltie againſt the magnificence and ornaments of their common countrey. But they of *Venice* diſcerning within their towne the ſmoke by day, and by night the fire through the whole countrey, and hearing within their houſes the noiſe of the artillery of the enemies, which was planted for no other purpoſe then to increaſe their ignominie, were touched in their minds with great indignation and ſorrow, ſuch a change of fortune ſeeming to euery one hard and grieuous, that in ſtead of ſo great glorie and ſo many victories formerly obtained

tained in *Italy* and out of *Italy* both by ſea and land, their eyes ſhould then behold a ſmall army, in compariſon of their ancient force and power, ſo boldly and contumeliouſly to offer ſuch a brauado to the name of ſo glorious a Commonweale. In regard of which indignities, the deliberations of that Senate being inforced, who till that day ſtood reſolute, what hopes ſoeuer were offered, not to tempt fortune: they now conſented, by the vehement perſwaſions of *Bartlemew Aluiano*, that reaſſembling all the ſouldiers, and ſtirring vp all the villages as well of the plaines as of the mountaines, they ſhould aſſay to ſtop the returne of the enemies: a matter which *Aluiano* ſhewed to be very eaſie, for that they being raſhly come ſo farre, that they were now in the middeſt betweene *Venice*, *Treuiſa* and *Padua*, and chiefly being laden with ſo great a prey, they could not retire without great danger, as well for the incommoditie of victuals, as for the impediment of riuers and hard paſſages: and now the *Spaniards* vnderſtanding of this new ſtirre, marching a good ſpace, were by this time come to *Ciuitella*, which when they ſaw they could not get, for that a ſuccour of ſouldiers were entred therein, they lodged a litle beneath neare to *Brenta*, to paſſe to the village of *Conticella*, where the riuer of *Brenta* was paſſable by foord: but they durſt not venture to paſſe ouer for feare of *Aluiano*, who was on the other ſide with his companies ranged in battell, and his artillery planted along the ſhore of the riuer, carefully looking not onely to that place, but alſo to many others: whereby, if reſiſtance had not bin made, the enemy might eaſily haue paſſed. Now it happened, that the Viceroy continuing his demonſtrations to paſſe ouer at the place below, to the which *Aluiano* had turned all his forces, he paſſed the night after without any impediment at the paſſage called the *New Croſſe*, three miles aboue *Ciuitella*, and from thence he tooke his way with great diligence to *Vincenſa*; but *Aluiano* ſeeking to ſtop his paſſage ouer the riuer of *Bacquillon*, preuented him. *Iohn Paul Baillon* and *Andrew Gritti* with a ſtrength of two hundred men at armes, and two thouſand footmen of the forces of *Treuiſa*, came and ioyned with *Aluiano* neare *Vincenſa*: and the opinion of the *Venetian* Captaines was not to fight with the enemies with banners diſplayed in open place, but guarding well the paſſages of ſtrength and places moſt conuenient, they ſhould labour to ſtop their way on what place ſoeuer they came, drawing now towards *Vincenſa*. To this end they had ſent *Iohn Paul Manfron* to *Monteſquo* with foure thouſand trained men: and to *Barberano* to hinder their paſſage in the mountains, were ſent fiue hundred light horſmē, with many other bands of the paiſants; & had alſo cauſed the country people to ſeize vpō all the paſſages ỹ led into *Germanie*, & to fortifie them with ditches, trenches, great ſtones, & trees laid thwart the wayes. *Aluiano* left *Theodor Triuulce* to guard *Vincenſa* with a garriſon ſufficient, and himſelfe with the reſidue of the armie incamped at *Olmo*, a place within two miles of *Vincenſa*, vpon the way that leades to *Verona*: which paſſage with another faſt by, was ſo choked with trenches, ditches, and artilleries planted vpon the places coming to it, that it was almoſt impoſſible to paſſe. The way towards *Verona* being thus peſtered, it was likewiſe hard for the *Spaniards* that marched along the mountaines to paſſe through the countries that were mooriſh and full of waters; and alſo difficult to take the way of the mountaine, which was narrow, and guarded by many armed men: in ſo much as being enuironed almoſt on all parts with enemies, both before, behind, and in flanke, and continually followed by great troupes of light horſemen, they could make no deliberation, which was not both difficult and very dangerous. After they had ſpent certaine time in skirmiſhing, they incamped in the beginning of the night, within halfe a mile of the place where the *Venetians* lay, and there the Captaines conſulting by night among themſelues what was beſt to be done amid ſo many difficulties and perils, they choſe as leaſt dangerous to turne their enſignes towards *Germany*, to the end to returne to *Verona* by the way of *Trent*, although for the longneſſe of the way, and the ſmall garriſon they had left there, they had almoſt an aſſured opinion that the celeritie of the *Venetians* would preuent their purpoſe. In this ſort then did they march at the dawning of the day towards *Baſſan*, turning their backes to the enemies, a matter then the which there is nothing more dreadfull or pernicious to an armie; and albeit they marched in order, yet it was with ſo ſmall hope of ſafetie, that they thought the loſſe of all their baggage and horſes of cariage, would be the leaſt harme that could happen to them. *Aluiano* was not ſo ſpeedily aware of their diſcamping without ſound of trumpet or drum, for that a thicke miſt falling that morning, tooke away the benefite of his ſight: but as ſoone as he perceiued it, he followed them with all the armie, wherein was thought to be a thouſand men at armes, a thouſand eſtradiots, and ſixe thouſand footmen, the eſtradiots vexing

were entred two dayes before. Afterwards he distributed his armie betweene *Padua* and *Treuisa*: and the Viceroy and *Prosper Colonno*, after they had sent their men to lie in garrison at *Polesina de Rouigna*, went to *Insprucb* to consult with *Cæsar* of matters incident.

This same yeare the countrey of *Friul* remained in tranquillitie more then was wont, by the taking of Captaine *Frangipan*, who was the man that afflicted it more then any other: and therfore the *Venetians* knowing how much it imported them to retaine him, had refused to render him in exchange for *John Paul Baillon*; who, for that solicitation had bin made before to exchange him for *Caruaial*, had got leaue of the *Spaniards* to go to *Rome*, giuing his faith to returne prisoner, if the permutation could not be agreed vpon: but for that during the treatie, it happened that *Caruaial* died, *John Paul* affirmed, that by the benefite of the accident he was set at libertie, and so holding himselfe acquitted, he would no more returne to him whose prisoner he was. Also at the same time, which was towards the latter end of the yeare, the *Adorneys* and *Fiesquoys* who were secretly fauoured, as was supposed, by the Duke of *Millan*, being entred by night into *Genes*, and come by intelligence as farre as the Pallace greene, were chased out again by *Octauian Fregoso*, who meeting them beyond the barriers, accompanied with the footmen of his guard, fought valiantly in his owne person aboue all others, and put them to flight, being no otherwise hurt then a litle in the hand, and *Sinibauld de Fiesquo*, *Hierome Adorno*, and *Iohn Camilla* of *Naples*, remained his prisoners. Besides that which hath bene said before, it seemes to me a matter worthy of memory, to report that this yeare there were Elephants seene at *Rome*, a beast which haply had not bene seene in *Italy* since the triumphs and publike playes of the *Romanes*: for *Emmanuel* king of *Portugal* sending to the Pope a very honorable Embassage to declare his obedience, presented him with many faire presents, and among the rest, with two Elephants which his ships had brought by sea from *India*, whose entry into *Rome* was celebrated with a very great concourse of people.

But at the same time the *French* king, who had other matter in his mind then pompes and publike shews, gaue order to make prouision for the war: and desiring to be assured of the Popes will (fully resolued notwithstanding to follow his determined enterprise whatsoeuer happened) he prayed him to declare himselfe in his fauour, and confirmed the offers he had made vnto him afore, assuring him, that if he were disappointed of his amitie, he would accept of *Cæsar* and the King Catholike the conditions which he had already refused. He set before his eyes the power of his kingdome, the confederation with the *Venetians*, and the succours promised by them: how, at that time the forces of *Cæsar* and the King Catholike were small in *Italy*, and how both the one and the other of them were very needie of money, hauing no meanes to pay their owne souldiers, much lesse to stirre the *Swissers*, who would not descend from their mountaines without pay: That all the people of *Millan* since they had proued the hard yoke of others, desired nothing more then to returne vnder the iurisdiction of the *French*: and that the victorie ought not to giue cause to the Pope to band against him, for that the greatnesse of the Kings of *France* in *Italy*, and his owne in particular, had bene in all seasons profitable to the Sea of *Rome*; and because standing alwayes contented with the things that of right appertained to them, they neuer had any thought to seize vpon *Italy*; a matter well testified by so many experiences: That the intention of *Cæsar* and the King Catholike was farre other, who studied nothing more, then to seize vpon the Empire of all *Italy*; and either by armes, alliances or policies, to bring into seruitude the Sea and Popes of *Rome*, no lesse then the other States; a desire which all the world knows to be very ancient in *Cæsar*: That he should therfore at one time prouide for the surety of the Church, for the common libertie of *Italy*, and for the greatnesse of the family of *Medicis*, and make vse of the occasion, which would neuer be presented at any other time, or with other alliance then his. On the contrary, on the behalfe of *Cæsar* and the King Catholike, there wanted no perswasions full of efficacie, to vrge him to ioyne with them for the defence of *Italy*: wherein they admonished him, that if conioyned all together, they had bene able to chase the *French* King out of the Duchie of *Millan*, they were much more able to defend it against him: and also that he was to remember the wrong he had done to the King the yeare past, sending money to the army of the *Swissers* at such time as the *French* armie marched into *Italy*; and to consider, that if the *French* king obtained the victorie, he would not be vnmindfull at one and the same time to reuenge himselfe of all the wrongs he had receiued, and to assure himselfe of all dangers and suspitions to come. But the Pope was much more moued by the authoritie and offers of

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the *Swiſſers*, who, continuing in their firſt obſtinacies, offered to command and defend with fixe thouſand footmen the paſſages of the mount *Senis*, of the mount *Geneura*, and *Finalo*, receiuing ſix thouſand florins of *Rhein* by the moneth: and in caſe their payes might be aduanced to fortie thouſand florins by the moneth, they offered to inuade *Burgundie* with twentie thouſand footmen. The Pope being doubtfull in himſelfe by reaſon of ſuch diuers propoſitions (his feare withdrawing him from the thing whereunto his deſire incited him,) deferred as much as he could, to declare his intention, giuing to euery one generall words and anſwers. But ſeeing himſelfe now almoſt importuned by the *Frenth* king, at laſt he made this anſwer, that no man knew better then himſelfe, how much he was inclined to his affaires, being not ignorant with what affection he had perſwaded him to paſſe into *Italy*, in a time when he might haue obtained the victory without danger or great effuſion of bloud: That his perſwaſions, for that things were not kept ſecret, as he had oftentimes required him, were come to the knowledge of others, to the detriment of them both, in as much as for his part, he ſaw himſelf in danger to be aſſailed by others; and the difficulties were become greater for the enterpriſe of the King, ſince others had giuen ſuch order to their affaires, that he could not now ouercome without manifeſt perill, and without the effuſion of much bloud: And that the power of the Prince of the *Turkes* being newly increaſed by ſo great a ſucceſſe, it was neither conformable to his nature, nor conuenient for the office of a Pope, either to fauour or counſell Chriſtian Princes to make warre amongſt themſelues: And that he could do no otherwiſe then exhort him to ſurceaſſe, expecting ſome other facilitie and better occaſion, which when it happened, he ſhould find in him the ſame diſpoſition to his glorie and greatneſſe, which he had ſo well diſcerned certaine moneths paſt. Which anſwer, (albeit it did no otherwiſe expreſſe his conception) if it had come to the knowledge of the King, had not onely depriued him of all hope of the Popes fauour, but alſo had certified him that the Pope was banded againſt him, both with counſell and with armes. Theſe were the accidents of the yeare 1514.

But death, whoſe cuſtome is oftentimes to cut off the vaine counſels of men euen in their greateſt hopes, was the cauſe that the warre which was ſo forward in apparence, began not with that ſpeed that was expected: for, as the *French* king was too hote in taking his pleaſure in the excellent beautie of his new wife, who was but eighteen yeares of age, not conſidering his owne yeares, and the weakneſſe of his complexion, he was taken with a feauer, with the which a ſudden fluxe coming vpon him, he died ſuddenly, and made the firſt day of the yeare 1515, memorable by his death. He was a iuſt King, and much beloued of his people, but neither afore he was King, nor after he had the Crowne, did euer find conſtancie either in good or ill fortune: ſeeing that from a ſmall Duke of *Orleance* as he was, being happily come to the Crowne by the death of King *Charles* yonger then he, and of two of his ſonnes, he conquered with very great facilitie the Duchie of *Millan* and the kingdome of *Naples*, all *Italy* being gouerned for many yeares almoſt according to his will. He recouered with great proſperitie the ſtate of *Genes* that was in rebellion, and vanquiſhed with no leſſe glorie the armies of the *Venetians*, being in perſon at both thoſe victories. But on the other ſide, when he was yet but yong, he was conſtrained by *Lewis* the eleuenth to marry his daughter that was both both barren and deformed, and yet could neuer get the good will nor countenance of his father in law: after whoſe death, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the Ladie of *Bourbon*, he could not obtaine the gouernment of the new King being then in minoritie, and was in a maner compelled to retire himſelfe into *Brittaine*: and afterwards being taken in the battell of *S. Albin*, he remained two yeares in priſon. To theſe afflictions may be added the ſiege and famine of *Nouaro*, the many diſcomfites in the Realme of *Naples*, the loſſe of the eſtate of *Millan*, *Genes*, and all the townes which he had taken from the *Venetians*: and likewiſe the warre he had in *France* againſt very mightie enemies, at what time he ſaw his Realme brought into very great dangers. Neuertheleſſe at the time of his death, it ſeemed that good fortune returned vnto him, for that he had defended his kingdome, and had eſtabliſhed peace and alliance with the King of *England*, with whom he was in good amitie, which gaue him great hope to be able to recouer the Duchie of *Millan*.

1515. *The death of king Lewis the twelfth.*

After *Lewis* the twelfth, ſucceeded *Francis d'Angouleſme*, who was the next heire male of the bloud royall, and of the ſame line of the Dukes of *Orleans*. He was preferred to the ſucceſſion of the kingdome before the daughters of the dead King, according to the order of the law Salike, a law very ancient in the Realme of *France*, which excludeth from the royall dignitie

Francis the firſt comes to the Crowne.

all women, ſo long as there is any iſſue male of the ſame line. The world had ſuch an opinion of his vertues, of his magnanimitie, and of his vnderſtanding and generous ſpirit, that of very long time there had not any come to the Crowne of whom there was greater hope then of this Prince: whereunto was much helping the conſideration of his age, being then but two and twentie yeares old, his excellent beautie, his great liberalitie, the great humanitie he vſed towards all men, together with the ripe knowledge he had in many things: but aboue all he was much pleaſing to the Nobilitie, to whom he ſhewed great fauour. He tooke vpon him together with the title of the *French* king, the name of Duke of *Millan*, as appertaining to him not onely by the ancient rights of the Dukes of *Orleans*, but alſo as comprehended in the inueſtiture that was made by *Cæſar* in the treatie of *Cambray*: and likewiſe he had the ſame deſire to recouer it as had his predeceſſor: whereunto not onely he, but alſo all the noble yong Gentlemen of *France* were induced by the glorie of *Gaſton de Foix*, and by the memorie of ſo many victories which the Kings reigning next afore had obtained in *Italy*: although (not to warne others afore the time to prepare to reſiſt him) he diſſembled the matter, as he was aduiſed by his Councel, and in the meane while (as is vſuall in the beginning of Kings reignes) he fell to practiſe the amities of other Princes: from whom were ſent to congratulate him many Embaſſadours, whom he receiued with countenance affable and gracious, but ſpecially the Embaſſadours of the King of *England*, who deſired to continue with him the amitie begun with King *Lewis*, (the iniuries he had receiued from the King Catholike being yet freſh in memorie.) There came alſo at the ſame time an Embaſſage from the Archduke, whereof the Lord of *Naſſau* was chiefe: and in this Embaſſage, for the regard of the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereof the Kings of *France* are ſoueraignes, were diſcerned demonſtrations of great ſubmiſſion, in acknowledging of ſuperioritie. Both the one and the other of theſe Embaſſages had a readie and happie expedition: for touching the King of *England*, the confederation made betweene him and the late King, was confirmed vnder the ſame conditions, ſo long as either of them ſhould liue, reſeruing a reſpite of three yeares for the *Scottiſh* king to enter into it: and touching the Archduke, ſundry differences ceaſſed, which many men ſuppoſed would haue hindered the peace. But the Archduke, who being no longer in minoritie had newly taken vpon him the gouernment of his eſtates, was moued hereunto for many cauſes, to wit, by the inſtance of the peoples of *Flanders*, who would in no wiſe haue warre with the Realme of *France*; by a deſire he had to be aſſured of ſuch impediments as might be oppoſed againſt him by the *French* in the ſucceſſion of the Realme of *Spaine*, when the death of his grandfather ſhould happen: and for that he thought it dangerous to dwell without any league of amitie in the midſt betweene the Kings of *England* and *France* being conioyned together. And on the other ſide, the King deſired greatly to remoue all occaſions that might conſtraine him to be gouerned by the authoritie and counſell of his grandfather, either by the fathers or mothers ſide. So that at laſt there was made between them in the towne of *Paris*, a perpetuall peace and confederation, reſeruing facultie for *Cæſar* and the King Catholike (without whoſe authorities the Archduke contracted) to enter within three moneths. In this capitulation was promiſed the accompliſhment of the mariage betweene the Archduke and the Ladie *Renee* daughter to King *Lewis*, which had bene ſo often ſolicited: and that the King ſhould giue in mariage with the Lady *Renee* ſixe hundred thouſand crownes, and the Duchie of *Berry* to her and her children for euer; who being then very yong, ſhould haue it aſſigned to her as ſoone as ſhe ſhould come to the age of nine yeares, with this condition notwithſtanding, that ſhe ſhould renounce all rights of inheritance either by the father or mother, and namely ſuch as might appertaine to her in the Duchies of *Millan* and of *Brittaine*: That the King ſhould be bound to aide the Archduke with men and ſhips to go to the kingdom of *Spaine*, after the death of the King Catholike. At the requeſt of the King, the Duke of *Gueldres* was named; and ſome affirme, that beſides the matters afore rehearſed, it was agreed that in both their names ioyntly, Embaſſadours ſhould be ſent within three moneths to the King of *Aragon*, to require him to proclaime the Archduke Prince of the Realmes of *Spaine* (ſuch is the title of him to whom the ſucceſſion appertaineth,) and to cauſe the people to be bound to him by oath: that he would render the kingdome of *Nauarre*, and abſtaine from the defence of the Duchie of *Millan*. And it is not to be doubted, that each of theſe two Princes making this confederation, had more reſpect to the preſent commoditie that appeared, then to the obſeruation of the ſame in time to come. For what foundation could be layed vpon the mariage that was promiſed, the Ladie *Renee* being as yet ſcarcely foure yeares of age?

The Fr. king aſſumeth the title of Duke of Millan.

Ratification of peace betweene the kings of England and France.

And

And how could it pleaſe the *French* king that Madame *Renee* ſhould be the wife of the Archduke, who (her eldeſt ſiſter being the Kings wife) had her action prepared for the Duchie of *Brittaine?* for that the *Britons* deſiring once to haue a particular Duke, at ſuch time as *Anne* their Ducheſſe maried the ſecond time, agreed that the Dukedome ſhould appertaine to the yongeſt of the children and deſcendents of her, if the eldeſt were preferred to the Crowne of *France*. The *French* king in like ſort treated with the King Catholike to prolong the truce made with his predeceſſor, but to leaue out the condition not to moleſt the Duchie of *Millan* during the truce; and he hoped he ſhould afterwards eaſily compound with *Ceſar*: for which reaſon he kept the *Venetians* in ſuſpence, who offered to renew the league made with his predeceſſor; becauſe he would be at libertie to accord with *Cæſar* againſt them. But the King Catholike, notwithſtanding he ſtood ſtill poſſeſſed of his deſire not to haue warre in the frontiers of *Spaine*, conſidering how great ſuſpition the prolongation of the truce would giue to the *Swiſſers*, and that the ſame would be the cauſe (his words being not credited, and his counſels deſpiſed) that the Pope, who till that time had bene in doubt, might turne to the *French* amitie, refuſed at laſt to prolong the truce, vnleſſe with the ſame conditions wherewith it had bene renewed with the late King: ſo that the King excluded from that hope, and not expecting any more to be able to contract with *Cæſar* againſt the will and counſels of that King, confirmed the league with the Senate of *Venice*, in the ſame forme it had bene made with his predeceſſor. Now there remained the Pope and the *Swiſſers*. Touching the *Swiſſers*, he required that they would admit his Embaſſadours; but they vſing the ſame rudeneſſe they had done before, refuſed to giue them ſafe conduct. And for the Pope, vpon whoſe will depended wholly the *Florentines*, he required no other thing of him, then that he would keep himſelf out of all bond, to the end that when the traine of affaires ſhould induce him to reſolue, it might be in his power to make choiſe of the better part; perſwading him that he ſhould neuer find, either for himſelfe or for the aduancement of his houſe, in any other, a greater amitie, a more aſſured faith, nor with better and more honorable conditions.

After the King had layed theſe foundations for his affaires, he began with great care to gather together great prouiſion of money, and to increaſe the bands of his men at armes to the number of foure thouſand, publiſhing that he did theſe things not with intention to make any warre for that yeare, but onely to make head againſt the *Swiſſers*, who threatned him to inuade *Burgundie* or *Dauphiney*, in caſe he refuſed to accompliſh the couenants made at *Dyon* in the name of the late King. Many beleeued this ſemblance, the rather for the example of former Kings, who had alwayes forborne to intangle the firſt yeare of their reigne with new warres: but that coniecture made no ſuch impreſſion in the minds of *Cæſar* and the King of *Aragon*, to whom the Kings youth was ſuſpected, and the facilitie he had (more then other Kings) to command the forces of the kingdome of *France*, where he was ſo much loued and eſteemed of all men; and beſides, they were not ignorant of the great preparations that King *Lewis* had left, by reaſon whereof (ſeeing he was aſſured of the King of *England*) he ſeemed not to determine to make a new warre, but rather that he recontinued the deliberation that was layed by his predeceſſor. Therefore becauſe they would not be taken vnprouided, they fell to ſolicite a confederation with the Pope and the *Swiſſers*: but the Pope vſing towards both the parties very gracious words, and ſtudying to entertaine them all with diuers hopes, deferred ſtill to make any certaine declaration. And touching the *Swiſſers*, their former heate did not onely continue ſtill, but alſo was more kindled: the cauſes that had taken their beginning of publike griefes; for the deniall of the augmentation of their penſions; for that King *Lewis* had entertained the Lanceknights into his pay; for the diſdainfull and iniurious words deliuered againſt their nation; being increaſed by the ſorrowes, diſpleaſures, and priuate ambition, riſing of enuie which the Commons bare to many particulars, who receiued gifts and penſions of the King, and for that thoſe that moſt hotly oppoſed themſelues againſt ſuch as followed the *French* amities, (which at that time were cõmonly called *Gallizzanti*,) being by that meanes aduanced, with the fauour of the Commons, into reputation and greatneſſe, feared a diminution of their authoritie, if the Commonweale were againe reallied with the *French*: in ſo much as matters being diſputed and conſulted vpon not with publik zeale, but with ambition & ciuil diſſention, and theſe men being in more credit then the *Gallizzanti*, they obtained that the great or rather vnmeaſurable offers of the *French* king ſhould be refuſed. In this diſpoſition of minds and affaires, the

Embaſſadours of *Ceſar*, of the King of *Aragon*, and the Duke of *Millan*, being aſſembled with the *Swiſſers*, contracted with them in the name of their Princes, a confederation for the defence of *Italy*, reſeruing a reſpite of fiftie dayes for the Pope to enter: in which capitulation it was agreed, that to compell the *French* king to diſclaime all right to the Duchie of *Millan*, the *Swiſſers*, receiuing monethly of the other Confederates thirtie thouſand duckats, ſhould inuade either *Burgundie* or *Dauphiney*: and the King Catholike with a mightie armie ſhould make warre vpon the Realme of *France*, either vpon the coaſt of *Parpignan* or of *Fontaraby*, to the end that the *French* king being compelled to defend his owne Realme, (although haply he ſhould determine otherwiſe) might not moleſt the Duchie of *Millan*. The deliberation of the King was kept ſecret vntill the moneth of Iune, but at laſt, by reaſon of the greatneſſe and ſolicitude of the ſeueral preparations, it was no longer poſſible to diſſemble ſo great & apparent ſtirres: for the prouiſion of money was vnmeaſurable; he leuied many bands of Lanceknights; he cauſed to be drawne towards *Lions* great ſtore of artilleries; and had a litle before ſent into *Guyen* to leuie ten thouſand footmen in the confines of *Nauarre*, vnder *Peter* of *Nauarre*, who was newly entred into his pay, for that the King of *Aragon* being diſcontented with him, by reaſon the ill ſucceſſe of the battell of *Rauenna* was much attributed to him, would not pay his ranſome which was twentie thouſand duckats, which the late King had giuen to the Marquis of *Rottelin* to recompence in ſome part the hundred thouſand crownes which he had payed in *England*; the new King determining to make vſe of him, defrayed his ranſome at his firſt coming to the Crowne, and afterwards tooke him into his pay, when the ſaid *Peter* of *Nauarre* for the ſauing of his honour, had ſent to the King of *Aragon* to excuſe himſelfe, for that being abandoned of him, he gaue place to neceſſitie, renouncing the eſtates which he had giuen him in the kingdome of *Naples*. It being then manifeſt to all the world, that thoſe preparations tended to make warre vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, and that the King determined to go thither in perſon; the King began openly to require the Pope to ioyne with him, vſing to this end (beſides many other inſtruments and perſwaſions) the helpe of *Iulian* his brother, who had newly taken for wife *Philibert* ſiſter to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the King by the mothers ſide, aſſigning him for dowrie an hundred thouſand crownes of the money which the Pope gaue him: which put him in ſome hope that the Pope in reſpect of the ſtraight alliance he had with him, would readily incline to his amitie; and the rather for that he hauing before treated with the King Catholike to marry *Iulian* with one of his kindred which was of the houſe of *Cardona*, it ſeemed that he had preferred that alliance before the other, more in regard of him thē for any other reaſon. And likewiſe he doubted not but *Iulian* would willingly helpe forward, by a deſire to get by that meanes ſome eſtate, by the which he might furniſh the expences conuenient for ſo great a mariage, and the better to eſtabliſh the perpetuall gouernment which the Pope had newly giuen him of the Cities of *Modena*, *Reggia*, *Parma* and *Plaiſance*: which being not ſupported by the fauour of mightie Princes, there was litle hope that he could keepe them after the death of his brother. But the King began quickly to giue ouer his hope, for that the Pope had transferred to the King of *Aragon* for two yeares the moneys of the Realme of *Spaine* appointed for the holy warres, which as was thought would amount to aboue a million of duckats: and for that he heard with great willingneſſe *Albert Carpy* and *Ierome Vich* Embaſſadours of *Cæſar* and the King Catholike, who were almoſt alwayes about him, and to whom it ſeemed the Pope did communicate all his counſels. Neuertheleſſe the Pope held the King in ſuſpence, giuing faire words, and making ſhew of a good intention to thoſe that negociated for the King, but without any reſolution: as one that deſired aboue all other things that the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould not be poſſeſſed by forreine Princes. Therefore the King purpoſing to be better aſſured of his intention, addreſſed to him new Embaſſadours, amongſt whom was *William Buda* of *Paris*, a man in humane learning, as well *Greeke* as *Latine*, of moſt abſolute and onely erudition of all the learned men of our time: and afterwards he ſent to him in the ſame Legation *Anthonie Maria Paluoiſin*, a man very acceptable to the Pope. But all this was loſt labour, for that before his coming, euen from the moneth of Iuly, he had very ſecretly contracted with others for the defence of the eſtate of *Millan*: notwithſtanding ſeeking to keepe cloſe that reſolution vntill the neceſſitie of affaires conſtrained him to declare himſelfe, and deſiring withall to publiſh it with ſome excuſe, ſometimes he required the King to conſent that the Church might retaine *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and ſometimes he preferred other demands, to the end that any one of the things which

Preparations of the French king againſt the Duke of Millan.

which he demanded being refuſed, it might ſeeme that neceſſitie more then will, had incited him to ioyne with the Kings enemies: and at that time, diſtruſting that he ſhould not be denied ſome one of thoſe things, which all together he would not propound without ſome honeſt colour, he made diuers doubtfull anſwers, and irreſolute. But there were others that vſed towards him likewiſe the ſame ſleights and ſubtilties: for *Octauian Fregoſa* Duke of *Genes*, fearing the great preparations of the *French* king, and on the other ſide holding for ſuſpected the victorie of the Confederates, for the inclination of the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swiſſers* to his aduerſaries, had made a ſecret contract with the *French* king by the meanes of the Duke of *Bourbon*, and yet very firmely aſſured the contrary to the Pope, both in the time of the debating of it, and after it was reſolued. And becauſe *Octauian* was one of the ancient friends of the Pope, and of his brother *Iulian*, and that they had fauoured him at ſuch time as he was created Duke of *Genes*, the Pope did in ſuch ſort beleeue him, that the Duke of *Millan* ſuſpecting things for the rumors that went, and hauing determined to inuade him with foure thouſand *Swiſſers* already come to *Nouaro*, together with the faction of the *Adorneys* and the *Fieſquois*, the Pope was the cauſe that the enterpriſe paſſed no further.

Octauian Fregoſa Duke of Genes compounds with the French king.

This was the capitulation of *Octauian Fregoſa*: That the towne and iuriſdiction of *Genes* ſhould be rendred to the King, together with the Caſtle: That *Octauian* ſhould beare no more the name of Duke, but take vpon him the name of perpetuall Gouernor of *Genes* for the King, with power to diſpoſe of the offices of *Genes*: That the King ſhould giue vnto him an hundred men at armes, the Order of *Saint Michael*, and a yearely penſion during his life: That the King ſhould not reedifie the fortreſſe of *Codifa*, which was very hatefull to the *Genowayes*, and ſhould grant to that Citie all thoſe capitulations and priuiledges which had bene reuerſed and burned by King *Lewis*: That he ſhould giue a certaine proportion of Eccleſiaſticall reuenues to *Federike* Archbiſhop of *Salerne* brother to *Octauian*, and to himſelfe certaine places in *Prouence*, if euer it hapned that he were driuen out of *Genes*. When theſe matters were ſpread abroad, it was not hard for *Octauian* to iuſtifie his reſolution, for that it was diſcerned of all men, that he had great reaſon to feare the Duke of *Millan* and the *Swiſſers*: and that which herein was onely found euill, was, that he had ſo many times denied the truth to the Pope, of whom he had receiued ſo many good turnes, and had broken his promiſe, in entring into couenants without his priuitie. And yet in a long letter which he wrote to him afterwards for his iuſtification, wherein he diſcourſed at large the cauſes that had moued him, together with all the excuſes wherewith he might defend his honour with him, and that which he had done; and declared vnto him that it was not done in contempt of the reſpect and deuotion which he owed him, as being Pope, and his benefactor: his concluſion was, that it would be more hard for him to be iuſtified, if he ſhould write to perſons priuate, or to any Prince that meaſured the affaires of eſtate according to priuate regards; but that writing to a Prince as wiſe as any that liued at that time, and who in his wiſedome knew that he could not otherwiſe ſaue his Eſtate, that it was a matter ſuperfluous to offer excuſes to him that ſo well vnderſtood and knew what was lawfull to Princes, or at leaſt what they haue bene wont to do, not onely when they were reduced to ſuch a neceſſitie, but alſo when there was queſtion of the increaſing or making better the condition of their Eſtate.

But now matters were come from words and counſels to deeds and executions. For the King who was come to *Lions* accompanied with all the Nobilitie of *France*, and with the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Gueldres*, cauſed his armie to march towards *Italy*, which was the moſt mightie and flouriſhing hoaſt that had bene ſeene of a long time: and he was aſſured to haue no troubles beyond the Mounts, for that the King of *Aragon*, who fearing at firſt leſt ſo great preparations might be turned againſt him, had armed his frontiers, and perpetually vnited the Realme of *Nauarre* to the kingdome of *Caſtile*, to the end that his peoples might be the more ready to defend it: and as ſoone as he had credible vnderſtanding, that the warre ſhould be made in *Italy*, he diſmiſſed all the companies he had leuied, holding no more reckoning of his promiſe made the ſame yeare to the Confederates to make warre vpon *France*, then he had done of all other couenants and contracts made to them the yeares before. At the bruite of the deſcent of the *French* king, the Viceroy of *Naples*, who hauing bene many moneths as it were in truce with the *Venetians*, being come into the countrey of *Vincenſa*, to draw neare to the enemies that lay incamped in a very ſtrong place neare to *Ormes* which is not farre from *Vincenſa*: he remoued

his armie to *Verona*, to go (as he ſaid) to the ſuccours of the Duke of *Millan*: and the Pope diſpatched into *Lombardie* his companies of men at armes, with the regiments of the *Florentines*, vnder the gouernment of his brother, choſen Captaine of the Church, to miniſter aide likewiſe to the ſame State, according to his reſolution not many dayes before with the other Confederates: although continuing ſtill in his accuſtomed faire ſhewes, he gaue out that he ſent them onely for the guard of *Plaiſance*, *Parma* and *Reggia*; and he had proceeded ſo farre with the Embaſſadours of the *French* king, that the King vndoubtedly perſwading himſelfe that he would fall to accord with him, had diſpatched from *Lions* to his Embaſſadours, commiſſion and authoritie to conclude, conſenting that the Church ſhould retaine *Plaiſance* and *Parma* vntill ſuch time as he ſhould giue ſuch a recompence as the Pope ſhould hold himſelfe contented. But for the cauſes that ſhall be ſhewed hereafter, all theſe remedies were to no end: for it was deſtinated that the defence or loſſe of the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be performed onely with the danger and bloud of the *Swiſſers*, who not ſtaying for any negligence, or ſmall quantitie of money, deſcended continually into the Duchie of *Millan*, ſo that there was already arriued aboue twentie thouſand, of whom ten thouſand were drawne neare to the mountaines, according to a counſell amongſt them, to keepe againſt the *French* the ſtraight paſſages of thoſe valleys, which being at the foote of the *Alpes* that deuide *Italy* from *France*, come to open themſelues vpon the plaines of *Lombardie*. This counſell of the *Swiſſers* troubled greatly the mind of the King, who afore had promiſed to himſelfe an aſſured victory by reaſon of the greatneſſe of his forces, which was ſuch, that he had in his armie two thouſand and fiue hundred lances, two and twentie thouſand Lanceknights led by the Duke of *Gueldres*, ten thouſand *Baſques* (ſo were the footmen of *Peter Nauarre* called,) eight thouſand *French* men, and three thouſand labourers that were payed according to the rate of the other footmen. The King conſidered with his Captains, that in regard of the valour of the *Swiſſers*, it was impoſſible to driue them from thoſe ſtraight and ſtrong paſſages, but with a farre greater number: of whom notwithſtanding ſmall vſe could be made in thoſe ſtraight places, and it would be very hard to do any matter of conſequence in ſhort time, and more difficult to remaine any long ſeaſon with ſo great an armie, in a countrey ſo barren, although there came continually towards the mountaines great ſtore of victuals. Amid theſe difficulties, ſome of the Captaines that were of opinion rather to diuert and draw them away then to ſet vpon them, gaue counſell to ſend out eight hundred lances through *Prouence*, and *Peter Nauarre* by ſea with his ten thouſand *Baſques* which ſhould all ioyne together at *Sauona*. Others were of opinion that to go ſo farre about were to loſe too much time, that it would weaken the armie, and increaſe too much the reputation of the enemies, for that it would be giuen out that they had not the courage to encounter with them. Then it was reſolued, that retiring not much from the ordinary way, they ſhould ſeeke out ſome other paſſage, that was not guarded by the enemies, or at leaſt not ſo carefully: and that *Emard de Prio* with foure hundred lances and fiue thouſand footmen ſhould take the way to *Genes*, not in hope to diuert them, but to make warre vpon *Alexandria* and the other townes beyond the riuer of *Po*.

The Swiſſers ſeek to ſtop the paſſage of the Frenchmen.

The French armie.

There be two wayes in the *Alpes* that leade ordinarily from *Lions* into *Italy*; that of *Montſenis* (this mountaine is in the iuriſdiction of the Duke of *Sauoy*) which is the ſhorteſt, the ſtraighteſt, and the moſt beaten way: and that of mount *Geneura* (this mountaine is in the iuriſdiction of *Dauphiney*) which is the longer way, and leades by turnings to *Grenoble*. Both the one and the other direct to *Suſa*, where the plaine beginneth to enlarge: but the *French* armies are alwayes wont to paſſe by the mount *Geneura*, notwithſtanding it be ſomewhat the longer way, becauſe it is more eaſie to paſſe, and more conuenient to draw the artilleries. Now the *Swiſſers* being carefull to keepe theſe two wayes, and the other paſſages thereabouts, were lodged at *Suſa*, for that the paſſages which be lower drawing towards the ſea, were ſo ſtraight and rough, that it being very hard for the horſes of ſo great an armie to paſſe thereby, it ſeemed the artilleries could by no meanes be carried. On the other ſide, *Triuulce*, to whom the King had giuen that charge, being followed with a great multitude of pioners, and hauing about him men induſtrious and experienced in drawing of artilleries, whom he ſent to view thoſe places, went ſearching theſe paſſages, if any meanes could be found to paſſe without impediment of the *Swiſſers*: by which occaſion, the armie that for the moſt part was diſperſed betweene *Grenoble* and *Brianſon*, marched ſlowly, expecting what would be determined, whereunto

unto they were alſo conſtrained by a neceſſitie to attend the prouiſions of victuals.

About this time a Gentleman ſent by the King of *England*, came to the *French* king, who was now departed frō *Lions*, to exhort him on the behalf of his King, that he ought not to paſſe into *Italy* for feare to trouble the vniuerſall peace of Chriſtendome. The cauſe of this alteration was, that that King being diſcontent with the alliance made by the *French* King with the Archduke, fearing leſt his affaires would take too happie a courſe, had ſince begun to lend an yeare to the Embaſſadours of the King Catholike, who ceaſſed not to put into his mind how hurtfull the greatneſſe of the *French* king would be to him, who, both by a naturall hatred, and for that he had made his firſt actions of warre againſt him, could be no other then a great enemy to him. But that which moſt moued him, was the emulation & enuie of his glorie, which he thought would be much raiſed if he got the victory in the State of *Millan*: remembring that he, notwithſtanding he found his kingdome in reſt, and very rich for the long peace it had enioyed, together with ſo great a maſſe of treaſure which his father had gathered, that he neuer had not for all ỳ the courage til within certain yeares, to inuade the *French* king, alone & enuironed with ſo many enemies, and wearied with ſo many aduerſities: That now the *French* King, ſomewhat yonger then he was at ſuch time as he came to the Crowne, although he found his kingdome ouerwearied and made poore with ſo many warres, durſt yet in the firſt moneths of his reigne, go to an enterpriſe, for the which ſo many Princes were banded againſt him: That touching himſelfe, with all his huge preparations, and ſo many occaſions, he had brought into *England* no other profite then the Citie of *Tournay*, and that with expences intollerable and infinite: but that the *French* king would returne with great glorie into his kingdome, by the conqueſt of ſo faire a Duchie, whereof it was thought he would carry the victory, and would alſo open a way to paſſe further, and haply take the occaſion afore he retired his armie out of *Italy* to inuade the Realme of *Naples*. Theſe were the motions that eaſily renewed in his mind the ancient hatred: but becauſe he could not as yet giue impediment to the *French* king with armes (whereof haply he ſought ſome occaſion or colour) he thought good to ſend him this meſſage: for the which the King not forbearing to march, tooke his way from *Lions* to *Dauphiney*, where he met with the armie of the Lanceknights, otherwiſe called the blacke bands, guided by *Robert de la Marche*, together with all the low *Almaines*, ſo greatly eſteemed for their valour, and for the loyaltie which they had alwayes ſhewed in the *French* ſeruices.

The king of England ſends to the French king not to paſſe into Italy

At this time *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* aduertiſed the King that his artilleries might be carried ouer the Mounts, betweene the maritime Alpes and the Coctien hils deſcending towards the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa*: and that although the paſſage was full of maruellous great difficulties, yet by the ſtrength of men and inſtruments it might in the end be accompliſhed: and becauſe there was not on that ſide, nor on the tops of the mountaines, nor in the entrie of the valleys any guard, that it was better to aſſay to ouercome the ruggedneſſe of the mountains and the ſteepnes of the valleys, which was a matter that might be done with paine, but without any danger of men, then to aſſay to winne the paſſages from the *Swiſſers*, who were ſo much redoubted, being reſolued either to vanquiſh or die, ſeeing withall they could not ſtay there many dayes, if any reſiſtance were made, for that no power or preparation was able to bring through places ſo impaſſable and barren, ſufficient prouiſion of victuals to feed ſo many mouthes. Which counſell being allowed and followed, the artillery that lay in a place conuenient to be turned on all parts, began immediatly to march that way. *Triuulce* had aduertiſed the King that the difficultie to paſſe the artilleries was very great, but when it was put to action, it was found yet more hard: for firſt they muſt of neceſſitie mount vpon very rough and high mountaines, and that not without extreme difficultie, for that there were no paths or wayes, and ſometimes not ſo much largeneſſe of roomth as was capable of the artilleries, but ſuch as was made by the aide of pioners from hand to hand, of whom there were a great number that marched before, whoſe ſeruice was readie, ſometimes to enlarge the ſtraits, and ſometimes to digge vp the hillocks and lumpes of earth that gaue impediment. From the tops of thoſe mountaines they deſcended by very ſteepe cliffes, whoſe onely aſpect gaue feare to the beholders, into moſt deepe valleys of the riuer of *Argentiero*. By the difficultie of theſe cliffes oftentimes the artilleries could not be ſuſtained, neither with the horſes that drew them, whoſe number was great, nor with the ſhoulders of the labourers that guided them, and therefore very often they were

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driuen to diſmount them, and faſtening them to great cables, they found a way to make them deſcend by the hands of the footmen, who in ſo great difficulties tooke maruellous paines, refuſing no trauell. And yet the labour ceaſſed not when they had ouercome the firſt mountaines and the firſt valleys, for that they found others, which of neceſſitie they muſt paſſe with the ſame difficulties. At the laſt, about the end of fiue dayes, the artillerie was brought ouer the mountaines into the open places of the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa:* but with ſo many difficulties, that it is moſt certaine, if they had found any reſiſtance, or if the mountaines had bene couered with ſnowes, as they were wont to be the moſt part of the yeare, they had taken in vaine ſo great trauell. But that which deliuered them from the reſiſtance and impediments of men, was, that no man beleeued that euer they could bring the artilleries by ſuch troubleſome and impaſſable mountaines; and the *Swiſſers* lodged at *Suſa*, were carefull to guard the places which muſt be paſſed by ſuch as deſcend the mount *Senis*, the mount *Geneura*, or the mountaines adioyning to them: the ſeaſon of the yeare alſo, being then vpon the tenth of Auguſt, had taken from them the impediment of ſnowes which were already melted. At the ſame time paſſed the men at armes and bands of footmen, not without the ſame difficulties, ſome by that way, and ſome by the paſſage called *la Dragoniera*, and the reſidue by the high tops of the rocke *Perotta* and of *Cunie*, paſſages more lower towards *Prouence:* by the which *Monſieur de Paliſſa* being paſſed, an occaſion was offered him to do an act worthy of memory. For, departing frõ *Singlaro* with foure cornets of light horſemen, after he had marched long and with great diligence by the guiding of the countrey men, he arriued before they had ſuſpition of him at *Villefranch*, a towne ſeuen miles from *Saluſſa*, and of which there goeth a fame farre greater then the qualitie of the towne requireth, for that the head of that notable riuer of *Po* riſeth out of a place very neare it. In that towne lay lodged with his companies *Proſper Colonno*, fearing nothing for the farre diſtance of the enemies, in whom he expected not that diligence & celeritie, which himſelfe being of nature ſlow and heauie, had not wont to vſe; and ſome ſay that he meant to haue departed the ſame day to ioyne himſelfe with the *Swiſſers*. But howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that he was ſet at the table at dinner, when the ſouldiers of *Monſieur de Paliſſa* arriued, who were not diſcerned of any till they were neare the houſe: for as much as thoſe of the towne, with whom *Monſieur de Paliſſa*, thirſting after ſo goodly a prey, had firſt ſecretly conſpired, had with as much ſilence as they could, ſeized vpon the ſcouts & ſentinels. And thus *Proſper Colonno*, a Captaine of ſo great name, and who as well for his authoritie, as for the credite he had in the Duchie of *Millan*, was of great importance for this warre, was made priſoner the fifteenth day of Auguſt, farre otherwiſe then appertained to his ancient glorie. *Peter Margano* a *Romane* was taken with him, and part of his companie, and the reſidue at the firſt bruit diſperſed themſelues and fled into diuers places.

The paſſage of the *French* and the taking of *Proſper Colonno*, changed the counſels of euery one, and the whole eſtate of all affaires, cauſing new diſpoſitions in the minds of the Pope, the Viceroy of *Naples*, and the *Swiſſers*. For the Pope, who conſtantly perſwaded himſelfe, that the *French* king could not paſſe the Mounts for the impediments of the *Swiſſers*, and truſted much in the vertue of *Proſper Colonno*, being now quite diſcouraged, commanded his nephew *Laurence*, Captaine generall of the *Florentines*, to march but ſlowly, to whom he had giuen in charge to leade the armie into *Lombardie*, for that *Iulian* his brother was conſtrained to abide at *Florence* by reaſon of a long feuer which came vpon him. Who being come to *Modena* three dayes after the taking of *Proſper*, tooke occaſion to recouer the Rocke of *Rubiera* that had bene occupied by *Guido Rangon*, for the which he payed him at laſt two thouſand duckats, and conſumed many dayes in the countrey of *Modena* and *Reggia*. Moreouer, the Pope hauing recourſe to his accuſtomed ſubtilties, diſpatched very ſecretly to the *French* King, *Cintio* his familiar friend, to excuſe himſelfe of the things that had bene paſſed till that day, and to begin, by the meanes of the Duke of *Sauoy*, to ſolicite a compoſition with him, to the end that by that beginning he might haue more facilitie to paſſe further, if the defence of the Duchie of *Millan* ſucceeded not well. But the Cardinall of *Bibiena* and certaine others who were caried more by their priuate paſſions then by the intereſts of their Prince, induced him to take a very raſh counſell. For declaring vnto him that there was danger, leſt by the fame of the happie ſucceſſe of the *French*, and by the perſwaſions and haply by the aide of the King, the Duke of *Ferrara* would now ſtirre to recouer *Modena* and *Reggia*, and the *Bentiuolois* to returne into *Bologna*:

lognia: and that amid ſo many other troubles, it would be very hard to contend againſt ſo great a number of enemies: but that it was a farre better and without doubt a more wiſe counſell, to labour to winne them with ſome propertie of benefite, and in all euents to make them his aſſured friends: they aduiſed him to reeſtabliſh the family of the *Bentiuoleis* in *Bolognia*, and to reſtore to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena* and *Reggia*: which he had preſently put in execution, if *Iulio de Medicis* Cardinall and Legate of *Bolognia* (whom the Pope had ſent thither, to the end that in ſo great troubles he might ſuſtaine things in thoſe parts, and was as it were moderator and counſellor of the youth of *Laurence*,) had not bene of a contrary opinion: who being touched with diſpleaſure, for the reproch that would haue fallen vpon the Pope by a counſell ſo full of cowardiſe, which no doubt would haue bene greater then had bene the glorie of *Iulio* in getting to the Church ſo great a iuriſdiction, and being moued with griefe, for that it would make the memory of his legation infamous, for that being ſcarcely entred thereinto, he ſhould reſtore *Bolognia*, the principall Citie of all the Eccleſiaſtike State, into the power of her ancient tyrants, leauing as a prey ſo great a Nobilitie, which in fauour of the ſea of *Rome* had openly conſpired againſt them: and therefore hauing diſpatched an expreſſe meſſenger to the Pope, he brought him againe, with reaſons and requeſts, to a counſell more honorable and ſafe. Although *Iulio* was a baſtard, yet he was made Cardinall by *Leo* in the firſt moneths of his Pontificacie, following the example of *Alexander* the ſixt in the effect, but not in the maner. For, *Alexander* at ſuch time as he created *Cæſar Borgia* his ſonne Cardinall, cauſed to be proued by witneſſes that depoſed the truth, that his mother at the time that ſhe was conceiued of him, had an husband, inferring thereupon, that according to the meaning of the lawes, the ſonne ought to be iudged to be begotten rather by the husband then by the adulterer: but touching *Iulio*, the witneſſes preferred the fauour of men afore the truth, for that it was proued that the mother of whom he was begotten, being yet a damzell and not married, afore ſhe conſented to the will of his father *Iulian*, had obtained of him a ſecret promiſe of marriage.

Theſe new accidents were likewiſe the cauſe that the Viceroy behaued himſelfe farre otherwiſe then he would haue done: who being not yet departed from *Verona*, for that he could not make his ſouldiers march without money, and becauſe he expected new companies promiſed by *Cæſar* who was now come to *Inſpruch*, to the end to leaue ſufficient garriſon within *Verona* and *Breſſia* as need required, he began with theſe and other excuſes to temporize and deferre, to ſee what would happen to the Duchie of *Millan*. Theſe matters alſo moued the *Swiſſers*, who retired to *Pinaruolo* immediatly after the paſſage of the *French* armie: and albeit vnderſtanding afterwards that the King who was paſſed the Mounts, muſtered his people at *Thurin*, they were gone to *Cium*, and had taken and ſacked it, for that they refuſed to furniſh them with victuals, and afterwards done the like at *Verceil* almoſt afore the Kings eyes, who was then at *Thurin*: yet being at laſt drawne into *Nouaro*, and thoſe factions of them that were not ſo farre eſtranged from the *French* amities, taking courage and diſcloſing themſelues the more for their aduerſities, they began to treate of peace with the *French* king. About this time, thoſe regiments of the *French* which came by the way of *Genes*, with whom were ioyned foure thouſand footmen waged by the *Genowayes* by the working of *Octauian Fregoſa*, entring firſt into the towne of *Caſtellaccio*, and then into *Alexandria* and *Tortona*, in which townes there was not one ſouldier, became Lords of the whole countrey on this ſide *Po*: and the King who was come to *Verceil*, and had there the firſt aduertiſement that the Pope was declared againſt him, which the Duke of *Sauoy* ſignified vnto him in his name; albeit he chafed extremely, yet (counſell and iudgement being not troubled and hindered by diſdaine) to the end not to prouoke him, he cauſed to be proclaimed publikly, as well through his armie, as amongſt the regiments that had taken *Alexandria*, that no man ſhould be ſo bold as to moleſt or inuade in any ſort the lands of the Church. Afterwards the King remained many days at *Verceil* expecting the iſſue of thoſe things that were treated with the *Swiſſers*, who intermitted not the debating of matters, but on the other ſide ſhewed themſelues full of varietie and confuſion. For at *Nouaro*, they began to fall into tumult, becauſe the money which the King of *Aragon* was bound to pay them was not yet come, and tooke by force from the officers of the Pope the money which he had ſent them, and with the ſame fury departed from *Nouaro*, with intention to returne into their countrey: a matter which many among them deſired, who hauing bene already three moneths

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in *Italy*, and laden with money and bootie, desired to conuey in safetie to their houses the riches they had gotten. But they were scarcely gone out of *Nouaro*, when the money which was due for the King of *Aragons* portion, was sent: the which although they had seized vpon as soone as it came, yet when they considered how shamefull such rash deliberations were, and being somewhat returned to themselues, they restored both the one and the other summes, to receiue them according to the accustomed manner at the hands of the officers. Afterwards they went to *Galera*, expecting another strength of twentie thousand footmen which was said to be newly arriued, and three thousand went with the Cardinall of *Sion* to be employed for the guard of *Pauie*. By which occasion, the King (the hope of agreement diminishing by these variations) departed from *Verceil* to go towards *Millan*, leauing in *Verceil* with the Duke of *Sauoy*, the bastard brother of the Duke, *Monsieur de Lautrech*, and the General of *Millan*, to continue the parley begun with the *Swissers*: and after the departing of the *Swissers* out of *Nouaro*, the Citie being brought to his obedience, he left the Castle besieged, which being battered by the artilleries, yeelded within few dayes, reseruing the liues and goods of those that kept it. Afterwards the King, to whom *Pauie* yeelded, passed the riuer of *Thesin*, and the same day *Iohn Iaques Triuulce* ran vp with part of his companies to *S. Christophers* neare to *Millan*, & afterwards euen to the suburbes of the gate of *Thesin*, hoping to be receiued by them of the towne, who being ill contented with the pillages and oppressions of the *Swissers* and *Spaniards*, desired to returne vnder the iurisdiction of the *French*: and also for that the towne was naked of souldiers. But the people of *Millan* stood in great feare of the *Swissers*, and the memory was yet fresh of the afflictions they had suffered the yeare before, when for the retrait of the *Swissers* from *Nouaro*, they mutined in fauour of the King. Therefore resoluing to expect the issue of things, notwithstanding they wished the victory to fal to the King, they sent to *Triuulce* to desire him to passe no further, and the next day dispatched Embassadors to the King being yet at *Bufaloro*, to beseech him, that resting contented with the disposition of the people of *Millan*, wel affected to his Crowne, and readie to furnish him with victuals, he would not demand of them a more manifest declaration, which would stand him in no stead for the substance of the warre, no more then their declaratiõ the yeare before had helped his predecessor, which brought vpõ them great domages: That he should march on happily, and vanquish his enemies, assuring himself that the towne of *Millan* should be readie to open their gates to receiue him when he should be maister of the field: whereunto the King, receiuing them with good countenance, albeit at the first he was displeased that they had not receiued *Triuulce*, answered, that he was content to yeeld vnto their demands.

From *Bufaloro* the King marched with his armie to *Biagrassa*, and whilest he remained there, the Duke of *Sauoy*, (after he had giuen audience to twentie Embassadours of the *Swissers* that were sent vnto him at *Verceil*, and going afterwards to *Galera* accompanied with the Bastard and others deputed by the King,) contracted a peace with the *Swissers* in the Kings name, vnder these conditions: That there should be betweene the *French* king and the nation of *Swissers* a perpetuall peace during the Kings life and ten yeares after his death: That the *Swissers* and the *Grisons* should make restitution of those valleis appertaining to the Duchie of *Millan* which they had occupied: and that they should discharge and acquit that Estate of a bond to pay yearely a pension of fortie thousand duckats: That the King should endue *Maximilian Sforce* with the Duchie of *Nemours*, with a yearely pension of twelue thousand frankes, a companie of fiftie Lances, and a wife of the bloud royall: That he should restore to the *Swissers* the ancient pension of fortie thousand franks, and defray the pay of three moneths to all the bands of *Swissers* that were then in *Lombardie*, or on the way to come thither: That he should pay to the Cantons (at certaine termes) the sixe hundred thousand crownes promised in the accord of *Dyon*, and three hundred thousand for the restitution of the valleys: That he should entertaine continually in his pay foure thousand of them. In this peace were named by common consent, the Pope, so farre forth as he would render *Parma* and *Plaisance*; the Emperour, the Duke of *Sauoy*, and the Marquis of *Montferrat*, without making any mention of the King Catholike, nor of the *Venetians*, nor of any other *Italian*. But this peace was made and broken almost in one and the same day, by the coming of new bands of *Swissers*, who being insolent and confident for the memory of the victories past, hoped to carry away by that warre no lesse riches, then such as they saw their countrimen loaden withall; and for that cause would in no wise

The treatie betweene the King and the Swissers broken.

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heare ſpeake of peace, but to hinder and breake it, they refuſed to reſtore the valleys: in ſo much as the firſt *Swiſſers* being not able to withdraw them from this eagerneſſe, fiue and thirtie thouſand of them drew to *Monſo* to lie in the ſuburbes of *Millan*, *Alberto Peter* a notable Captaine going from them with many enſignes by the way of *Coma*, which way the King of purpoſe had left free and open. Thus the peace being almoſt as ſoone broken as made, things returned to the ſame difficulties and doubts, yea farre greater, by reaſon of the new armies and forces that were approched neare the Duchie of *Millan*. For, the Viceroy leauing for the guard of *Verona* *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with an hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and two thouſand Lanceknights; and twelue hundred Lanceknights in *Breſſia*, was come at laſt to lodge vpon *Po* neare to *Plaiſance*, hauing in his armie ſeuen hundred men at armes, ſixe hundred light horſemen, and ſixe thouſand footmen, with a bridge prepared to paſſe the riuer. And to leaue him no occaſion to complaine, *Laurence de Medicis* who had with great induſtrie remained many daies at *Parma* with the armie, wherein there was ſeuen hundred men at armes, eight hundred light horſemen, and foure thouſand footmen, was come to *Plaiſance*: who had ſent afore foure hundred light horſemen to the *Swiſſers* whileſt they treated of the accord, to ſerue them to fetch in victuals; which he did at their requeſt, which foure hundred light horſemen were guided by *Mucio Colonno* and *Lodowike* Count *de Petillano*, the one a Captain of the Church, and the other a Commander of the *Florentines*; whom he ſent not ſo much for any deſire he had to aide the common cauſe, as to giue no occaſion to the *Swiſſers* not to comprehend the Pope within the peace if they accorded with the *French* king. On the other ſide, *Bartlemew Aluiano*, who had ſent word to the King that he would ſo intangle the *Spaniſh* armie, that they ſhould haue no meanes to hurt him, as ſoone as he vnderſtood the Viceroy was departed from *Verona*, he went from *Poleſina de Rouigna*, and paſſed the riuer of *Adice*; and marching all along *Po* with nine hundred men at armes, foureteene hundred light horſemen, nine thouſand footmen, and with ſufficient prouiſion of artillerie, he came with great diligence neare the walls of *Cremona*: of which diligence, vnuſuall among the Captaines of our time, *Aluiano* himſelfe tooke ſuch glorie, that in his vaunting he was wont to compare it with the celeritie of *Claudius Nero*, when, to make head againſt *Aſdrubal*, he led the ſwifteſt part of his armie vpon the riuer of *Metauro*. Thus the ſtate of the warre was not onely diuers and variable, but alſo confuſed and much intangled. On the one ſide, the *French* king was neare vnto *Millan* with an army appointed and furniſhed of all things, who was come to *Marignan* to giue facilitie to *Aluiano* to ioyne with him, and to let the vniting of the Eccleſiaſtike and *Spaniſh* companies with the enemies: and on the other ſide lay fiue and thirtie thouſand *Swiſſers*, which was a force of footmen full of valour, who till that day could neuer be vanquiſhed by the *French*. The Viceroy kept along the ſhores of *Po* neare to *Plaiſance*, and vpon the way adioyning that leades to *Loda*, hauing a bridge readie dreſſed to paſſe the riuer, to the end to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*: and *Laurence de Medicis* was gotten into *Plaiſance* with the regiments of the Pope and the *Florentines*, to ioyne with the Viceroy to the ſame ends: and *Aluiano* a circumſpect and reſolute Captaine, lay with the *Venetian* armie vpon the territories of *Cremona*, almoſt vpon the banke of *Po*, to aide the *French* king, either by ioyning with him, or by drawing away the Eccleſiaſtike and *Spaniſh* regiments. The Citie of *Loda* which ſtandeth in the mid way betweene *Millan* and *Plaiſance*, and of an equall diſtance from them both, ſtood abandoned of each part. It had bene ſacked before by *Ranſe de Cere* who had entred into it as a ſouldier to the *Venetians*, and who for quarrels ariſing betweene him and *Aluiano*, had afore, with proteſtations and almoſt with threats, got leaue of the Senate to depart, and was entred into the Popes pay with two hundred men at armes, and two hundred light horſemen. But for that his ſouldiers could not follow him with that ſpeed, by reaſon the *Venetians* would not ſuffer many of them to depart from *Padua* where they lay, he went from *Loda*, to fill vp his numbers with thoſe companies wherewith he had bene retained. And the Cardinall of *Sion*, who being amazed with the practiſes which his people held with the *French* King, and by the wauering eſtate of the Citie of *Millan*, was fled to *Plaiſance* with a thouſand *Swiſſers* and with part of the regiments of the Duke of *Millan*, and afterwards went to *Cremona* to ſolicite the Viceroy to march on: and being on the way towards *Millan*, before that ſide was occupied by the *French* king, he left certaine of his companies for the guard of *Loda*, who when they heard that the *French* king was come to *Marignan*, abandoned the place for feare. But whileſt the Viceroy lay vpon the riuer of *Po*, and be-

before *Laurence de Medicis* came to *Plaiſance*, *Cintio* whom the Pope had ſent to the *French* King, was taken by the ſouldiers of the Viceroy, who finding about him Briefes and letters of credite, although he let him ſuddenly paſſe, for the reuerence he bare to him that ſent him, yet he entred into great doubt, that the hope that had bene giuen him, that the Church armie that was ioyned with him would paſſe the riuer of *Po*, was but vaine: and ſo much the more, for that at the ſame time *Laurence de Medicis* was detected to haue ſent ſecretly to the *French* king one of his men; which he did either of his owne motion, or by the commandement of the Pope; to excuſe himſelfe for that he led the armie againſt him, being conſtrained by a neceſſitie to obey the Pope; but that as much as he might, without incenſing his vnkle, or ſtaining his owne honour, he would endeuour himſelfe to content him, and giue him ſatisfaction, as he had alwayes had a deſire to do, and now more then euer. Now when *Laurence* was come to *Plaiſance*, there began a diſputation betweene the Viceroy and him, with others that ſate with them in counſell, whether it were beſt to paſſe ouer the riuer of *Po* all together to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*, amongſt whom were produced diuers reaſons. Such as perſwaded to paſſe the riuer, ſaid, there was no reaſon to diſſwade them from going into *Loda*, for that being there, they might let *Aluiano* for ioyning with the *French* armie; and for their owne parts, they ſhould haue good oportunitie to vnite themſelues with the *Swiſſers*, either in going to *Millan* to meet them, or elſe the *Swiſſers* coming towards them: and if the *French* men came to get it (as the bruite went they would) being already vpon the way betweene *Loda* and *Millan*, they ſhould haue vpon their backes both their armies ioyned together, which would put them in trouble and danger: and that haply it would not be hard to find meanes to ioyne with the *Swiſſers*, notwithſtanding they ſhould be driuen to make a greater circuite: That this reſolution was very profitable, yea neceſſary to the enterpriſe, both to take from the *Swiſſers* all occaſions of new practiſes of accord, and to increaſe their forces with ſuch things as they ſtood in need of againſt ſo great an armie, and chiefly of horſes: That beſides this, the faith and honour as well of the Pope as of the King Catholike did ſo require, both for that the capitulations bound them to ſuccour the Eſtate of *Millan*, and that they had often promiſed no leſſe to the *Swiſſers*, who finding themſelues diſappointed of aſſured friends, might take occaſion to become moſt dangerous enemies: That it was neceſſary for the intereſt and regard of their owne Eſtates, for that the *Swiſſers* either loſing the battell, or making accord with the *French* king, there would remaine no force in *Italy* able to let him from ouerrunning the whole eſtate of the Church, euen to *Rome* it ſelfe. On the contrary were produced many reaſons, whereof this was the chiefe, that it was not credible that the *French* king had not alreadie ſent a great ſtrength of ſouldiers to *Loda*; and if it were ſo, they would be driuen to retire with ſhame, and haply not without danger, ſince they ſtood ſubiect to haue at one time the *French* and the *Venetians* either in front or in flanke: and that they could not repaſſe the bridge without confuſion & long tract of time: That ſuch a danger were not to be reiected, if the prize & the recõpence were very great. But although they ſhould be entred into *Loda* being abandoned, what profite could grow by the enterpriſe? how could they lay their plot, either to go and vnite themſelues with the *Swiſſers*, or the *Swiſſers* to come and ioyne with them, there being ſo mightie an armie between *Millan* and *Loda*? And beſides, haply it was not a counſell aſſured, to put into the hands of men ſo raſh and vnreaſonable, all the forces of the Pope and the King Catholike, ſeeing the greateſt part of them had made peace with the *French* king, and were at diſcord with their companions. At laſt it was reſolued, that the firſt day both the armies ſhould paſſe ouer *Po* without any baggage or cariage, leauing ſufficient garriſon within *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, for feare of the *Venetian* armie, whoſe light horſemen euen at that time had made incurſions and pillages through the countrey. But this reſolution was not ſincerely executed by any of the parties, for that each of them thought in making ſhew to be willing to paſſe, to lay the fault vpon another without putting himſelfe in danger. For the Viceroy that was already entred into ſuſpition for the going away of *Cintio*, and knowing well enough with what cunning the Pope proceeded in his affaires, was of opinion, that his will was that *Laurence* ſhould paſſe no further: and *Laurence* conſidering how hardly the Viceroy was drawne to commit his armie to the power of fortune, gaue of another the ſame iudgement that others gaue of him. In the afternoone the *Spaniſh* bands began to paſſe the bridge, whom the Church armie was appointed to follow with ſpeed: but by reaſon of the night that came vpon them, they deferred by neceſſitie vntill the next morning, and not onely they

paſſed

paſſed not, but alſo the Viceroy retired with his armie on this ſide the riuer, being aduertiſed by a ſcout of foure hundred light horſemen ſent out from both the armies to eſpie the enemies and their doings, that an hundred *French* lances were entred into *Lodi* the day before: ſo that the Viceroy and *Laurence* returning to their firſt lodgings, *Aluiano* went with his armie to *Lodi*.

About this time the *French* King departed from *Marignan* to lodge at Saint *Donato*, and the *Swiſſers* retired to *Millan*, one part whereof being vnwilling to heare of warre, and the other of peace, there aroſe oftentimes amongſt them diſputes and tumults. But at laſt, as they were one day aſſembled all together, the Cardinal of *Sion* began with words ful of affectiō & vehemency, to incite them without any more deferring to iſſue out ỹ ſame day to aſſaile the *French* king, & ỹ they ſhould not ſtand ſo much vpon the number of horſmen & artilleries of the enemy, as thereby to forget the ancient valour of the *Swiſſers*, and the victories which they had obtained againſt the *French*. Hath our nation (ſaid he) ſuſtained ſo many paines, bene expoſed to ſo many dangers, powred out ſo much bloud, to the end to leaue (in one day) ſo great glorie, and ſuch a reputation, to the enemies that haue ſo often bene vanquiſhed by vs? Are not theſe the ſame *French* men who being ioyned with vs haue obtained ſo many victories, but ſeparate frō vs, haue bene continually vanquiſhed of euery one? Are not theſe the very ſame who the laſt yeare were ouerthrown at *Nouaro* with ſo great glory by a ſmal cōpany of vs? Be not theſe they, who aſtoniſhed at our valour, & confuſed for their owne cowardize, haue exalted to the heauens the name of the *Swiſſers*? famous when we were conioyned with them, but more famous being ſeparate from them? Thoſe that were at *Nouaro* had neither horſes nor artilleries, and yet without expecting the ſuccours that were to come, they ranne with Captaine *Motin* (the ornament and glorie of the *Swiſſers*) to charge the *French* men euen in their tents, and without fearing their artilleries, ouerthrew them, and ſlue together with them ſo many Lanceknights, as they blunted their weapons and wearied their armes: and do you beleeue that now they wil haue the courage to abide fortie thouſand *Swiſſers*, an armie ſo valiant and ſo puiſſant, that it is able to meete in the field with all the reſidue of the world ioyned together? Be you aſſured, they will flie at the very noiſe of your coming, and that their coming to *Millan* is not in confidence of their owne valour, but onely through an hope they haue of your diuiſions. The perſon and preſence of their King cannot ſtay them, for as much as being in feare to put his life and Eſtate in danger, he will be the firſt that will looke to his ſafetie, and will ſerue as example to the reſidue to do the like. If with this armie, that is to ſay, with the forces of the whole countrey of *Swiſſerland*, you haue not the courage to ſet vpon them, with what forces can you haue hope to be able to reſiſt them? To what end are we deſcended into *Lombardie*? & wherfore come to *Millan*, if we ſhall be feareful to go charge our enemies? What ſhall become of the braue words and proud threats which we haue vſed all this yeare, when we vaunted that we would deſcend into *Burgundie*, and reioyced for the accord of the *Engliſh* King, and the Popes inclination to confederate with the *French* King, eſteeming our glorie would be ſo much the greater, by how much all thoſe great Princes were ioyned in conſpiracie againſt the State of *Millan*? It had bene better we had not enioyed the yeares before ſo many honorable victories, nor chaſed the *French* out of *Italy*, and to haue contained our ſelues within the termes of our ancient renowne, if now deceiuing the expectation of all men, we ſhall proceed with an vniuerſall cowardiſe. Now is the world to iudge, whether our vertue was the cauſe of our victorie at *Nouaro*, or our fortune. If we ſhew our ſelues fearfull of our enemies, euery one will aſcribe it either to chance or to temeritie: but if we ſhal vſe the ſame vertue, all men wil confeſſe, that it was our valor, and hauing (as doubtleſſe we ſhall) the ſame ſucceſſe, we ſhall not onely be feared and redoubted by the people of this age, but alſo be admired and recommended by poſterities to come, by the iudgement and praiſes of whom the name of the *Swiſſers* ſhall be raiſed aboue that great name of the *Romanes*, for that it is not read of them, that they haue euer vſed ſuch a reſolute hardineſſe, nor gotten any victory with ſo great valour, nor that euer without neceſſitie they ſet vpon their enemies with ſo great diſaduantage: but of vs may be read the battell we gaue neare to *Nouaro*, where, with a few ſouldiers, without artilleries, and without horſes, we put to flight a mightie armie, furniſhed with all neceſſary prouiſions, and guided by two moſt notable Captaines, the one the moſt renowmed in all *France*, and the other the chiefe of all *Italy*. We ſhall leaue behind vs alſo the memory of the encounter at *S. Donato*, executed on our parts with the ſame difficul-

The Cardinall of Sion perſwadeth the Swiſſers.

« ties, againſt the perſon of a *French* King, and againſt ſo many Lanceknights, who by how much « they are many in number, by ſo much will they fill, and ſatisfie our hatred, and giue vs ſo « much the better occaſion to extinguiſh for euer the name of their armes, and by ſo much the « more ſhall they for euer abſtaine raſhly to compare themſelues with the *Swiſſers* in matters of « warre. It is not a matter certaine, but rather ſuch as ſeemes impoſſible, for many difficulties, « that we ſhould be ſuccoured by the Viceroy, or the bands of the Church, to what end then « ſhall we attend them? And beſides, their coming is not neceſſary, yea this impediment ought to « be acceptable to vs, for ẏ the glorie wil be wholy ours, together with the great ſpoiles & wealth « which are in the armie of our enemies. It is very vnlikely that Captain *Motin* wil cõmunicate his « glorie to ſtrangers, ſeeing he would not do it to his owne countrimen. And ſhall we be ſo « cowardly, and make ſo ſmall account of the fame of our valour, as, though they could ioyne « with vs, to attend them, to the end to communicate ſo great an honour to ſtrangers? The repu- « tation of the *Swiſſers* cannot endure, neither doth the eſtate of affaires require, that we ſhould « deferre, or ſtand vpon any more counſels. Let vs take the field, and preſently aſſaile « the enemies. It belongs to cowards, to whom dangers are fearfull, to conſult and ſpend « the time in counſell, and not to a nation of ſuch warlike minds as we beare, to whoſe glorie it « appertaines to make triall of the enemie as ſoone as he is diſcloſed. Therefore truſting in God, « who iuſtly purſueth the pride of the *Frenchmen*, take your pikes in your hands with your accu- « ſtomed courage, ſound vp your drummes, and let vs go, without loſing of time, and without « deferring an houre onely, to aduance our enſignes and ſatisfie our thirſt with the bloud of « thoſe, who by their pride ſeeke to trouble the whole world, but by their cowardiſe are alwayes « left a prey to euery one.

The battell of Marignan.

The *Swiſſers* encouraged and incited by theſe ſpeeches, ſuddenly armed themſelues with great furie: and as ſoone as they were iſſued out of the gate towards *Rome*, they fell into battell array; and albeit the day was almoſt ſpent, they marched with their ſquadrons towards the *French* armie, with ſuch cheerfulneſſe, and ſo great ſhouts, that ſuch as knew not the cauſe, might certainly haue beleeued that they had obtained ſome glorious victorie. The Captaines encouraged the ſouldiers, telling them that at what houre ſoeuer they came neare the campe of the enemies, they would ſuddenly giue the ſigne of battell, aſſuring them that they would couer the field with dead bodies, and vtterly raze out the name of the Lanceknights, and chiefly of thoſe, who prognoſticating their death, bare the blacke Enſignes. Now as in this furie they were come neare the place where the *French* men lay, albeit there remained no more then two houres of that day, they began the battell with a deſperate courage, charging the artilleries and fortifications of the enemies, breaking and diſperſing at this firſt charge, the bands that made head againſt them, and with their incredible valour won part of their artilleries. But the horſemen with a great part of the armie, and the King himſelfe who was enuironed with a valiant troupe of Gentlemen, coming againſt them, their great furie was ſomewhat abated, and there began a cruell fight betweene them, which, with diuers chances, and great danger of the men at armes of *France*, who began to ſtagger, continued till foure houres within night, diuers *French* Captains lying dead on the ground, and the King himſelf, receiuing many wounds with a pike: and then, both the parties being ſo wearied, that they were no more able to hold their weapons in their hands, they ſeparated, and withdrew themſelues frõ the conflict without ſound of trumpet, or commandement of their Captaines, and the *Swiſſers* incamped in the ſame place, expecting the next Sunne or day light, in the meane ſpace neither partie offending the other, as if there had bene a ſecret truce betweene them. But the firſt aſſault of the *Swiſſers* (to whom the Cardinall cauſed victuals to be brought from *Millan* whileſt their bodies tooke reſt) hauing ſucceeded ſo happily, that there ranne a bruite throughout all *Italy*, that the *Swiſſers* had put to flight the armie of the enemies, the King conſumed not vnprofitably the reſidue of the night; for, knowing the greatneſſe of the perill, he laboured to range his artilleries into places conuenient, to reaſſemble his horſemen, and put in order his ſquadrons of Lanceknights and *Gaſcons*. By this time it was day, at the beginning whereof, the *Swiſſers*, who not onely deſpiſed the *French* armie, but alſo made no reckning of al the forces of *Italy* knit together, recontinued their charge vpon the enemies with the ſame furie, and very raſhly: who entertaining them valiantly, but with more diſcretion and better order, the *Swiſſers* found themſelues beaten partly by the artilleries and partly by the crosbowes of the *Gaſcons*, and withall charged by the horſemen,

ſo

ſo that they were battered both in front and in flanke. Beſides, at the riſing of the Sunne came *Aluiano*, whom the King had ſent for ouer night, bringing with him his light horſemen and the moſt ſpeedie part of his armie: he arriued at ſuch time as the fight was moſt cloſe and furious, and all things reduced into greateſt trauell and danger: and hauing the reſidue of his armie coming on in due courſe, he ſet furiouſly vpon the backes of the *Swiſſers*; who, notwithſtanding they alwayes maintained the fight with great valour and reſolution, yet ſeeing the braue reſiſtance that was made, and that the *Venetian* armie was now arriued, they began to deſpaire of the victory, ſo that the Sunne hauing now ſhined many houres vpon the earth, they ſounded the retrait, and charging vpon their ſhoulders the artilleries they had brought with them, they withdrew their ſquadrons, and retired, keeping alwayes their accuſtomed order, and marched faire & ſoftly towards *Millan*, with ſo great aſtoniſhment of the *French*, that of the whole armie neither horſman nor footman had the courage to follow them: onely there were two companies of them, who being fled into a farme hourſe, were burned therein by the *Venetian* light horſemen. The reſidue of the armie returned to *Millan*, not breaking their order, retaining ſtill in their apparence and countenance, the ſame conſtancie and aſſurance: and ſome ſay that they buried fifteene peeces of great artilleries which they wonne at the firſt charge, for that they had no oportunitie to carry them away. All men with one common conſent do affirme, that there had not bin ſeene in *Italy* of long time a battell more furious and dreadful: for that, what by the deſperate valour wherewith the *Swiſſers* began the charge, and after by the errors of the night the order of the whole armie being confuſed, and the fight ſo mixed, that they could not obſerue any commandement nor perceiue any ſigne, all things were wholly expoſed to fortune. The King himſelfe who was many times in danger, might well diſcerne, that his preſeruation came more by his owne vertue and good fortune, then by the aide of his people, from whom he was oftentimes ſeparate by the confuſion of the battell and by the darkneſſe of the night: ſo that *Triuulce* (a Captaine who had ſeene ſo many things) affirmed, that this battell was fought by Giants and not by men, and that eighteene battels wherein he had bene preſent, were but combats of litle children, in compariſon of this; and was of opinion, that without the aide of the artilleries the victory had remained to the *Swiſſers*, who being entred at the firſt charge within the fortifications of the *French*, and recouering from them the moſt part of the artilleries, had alwayes wonne further into their campe. And likewiſe the arriuing of *Aluiano* was to great purpoſe for the *French*, who coming vpon them when the battell was yet doubtfull, he gaue courage to the *French*, and terrified the *Swiſſers*, who ſuppoſed that the whole *Venetian* armie was with him. Touching the number of the dead, if euer it was vncertaine in a battell (as almoſt alwayes it is) it was moſt vncertaine in this, men ſpeaking diuerſly, ſome by paſſion, and ſome by errof. Some affirme more then foureteene thouſand *Swiſſers* to be ſlaine, others ſay more then ten thouſand; and thoſe that ſpeake more moderatly, eight thouſand; and there wanted not ſuch as would reduce them to three thouſand, all men of litle worth. But on the *French* part, in the encounter that was giuen ouer night, were ſlaine *Francis* brother to the Duke of *Bourbon*, *Monſieur d'Imbercourt*, the Count of *Sancerre*, and many other men of worth: in that of the next day, the Prince of *Tallemont* ſonne to *Monſieur Trimoille*, *Buſſi d'Amboiſe*, *Chaſtelart* of *Sauoy*, and *Mouy* Enſigne-bearer to the Kings band; all perſonages of marke, either for their nobilitie and greatneſſe of eſtate, or for the honorable places they managed in the armie: and touching the number of their dead, whereof men ſpake diuerſly for the ſame cauſes, ſome hold that there died ſixe thouſand, others that there was not aboue three thouſand, amongſt whom were certaine Captaines of the Lanceknights.

When the *Swiſſers* were retired to *Millan*, they fell into great diſagreement, for that ſome were deſirous to come to accord with the *French* King, and others that they ſhould continue the defence of *Millan*: and thoſe Captaines that afore had ſolicited the accord, ſeeking ſome cauſe leſſe diſhoneſt to be gone, demãded mony of *Maximilian Sforce*, knowing wel inough y he was not able to pay them: and then the bands of footmen at the perſwaſion of *Roſt* their Colonell, departed the day following to returne into their country by the way of *Coma*, giuing hope to the Duke that they would returne ſpeedily to ſuccour the Caſtle, wherein remained fifteene hundred *Swiſſers* and fiue hundred *Italians*. With this hope, *Maximilian Sforce* accompanied with *Iohn Gonzaga*, and *Ierome Moron* with other Gentlemen of *Millan*, incloſed himſelfe in the Caſtle, after he had with great difficultie conſented that his brother *Francis* Duke of *Bary*

ſhould go into *Germany*: and the Cardinall of *Sion* tooke his iourney towards *Cæſar* to ſolicite for ſuccours, hauing giuen his faith to returne ſuddenly. The Citie of *Millan* thus abandoned, yeelded to the *French* King, agreeing to pay him a great ſumme of money: but the King would not enter into the towne ſo long as the Caſtle was held by the enemies, holding it a matter vnworthy the maieſtie of a King, to enter into a towne that is not wholly in his power. The King cauſed Maſſes to be ſong ſolemnely for three dayes in the place where he had wonne the battell. The firſt was to thanke God for his victorie; the ſecond to pray vnto him for the ſoules of thoſe that were ſlaughtered in the battell; and the third for peace: and in perpetuall memory of his victory, he built in the ſame place a Chappell. All the townes and Caſtles of the Duchie of *Millan* followed the fortune of the victory, except the Caſtle of *Cremona* and that of *Millan*, to the ſiege whereof *Peter* of *Nauarre* being ſent, he aſſured that he would carry it in leſſe then a moneth, not without the maruell of all men, foraſmuch as the Caſtle was very ſtrong, and plentifull of all things neceſſary for to defend and keepe it, and for that there were within it more then two thouſand men of warre. The Viceroy hauing receiued aduertiſement of the victory of the *French*, remained a few dayes in the place where he was incamped, and that more by neceſſitie then by will, by reaſon that he could not eaſily remoue his armie for want of money. But hauing at laſt receiued a certaine ſumme, and borrowed ſixe thouſand duckats of *Laurence de Medicis*, he retired himſelfe to *Pontenuro*, with intention to go to the Realme of *Naples*. For, albeit the Pope vnderſtanding what was hapned, had from the beginning expreſſed to the world the conſtancie of his predeceſſor, the Embaſſadours of the Confederates perſwading him to make head againſt fortune, and to endeuour to hold the *Swiſſers* in good diſpoſition, or at leaſt if they would reuolt, to take in their place the Lanceknights: yet he was of opinion, that the remedies and prouiſions would fall out too ſlow for his perils, and that he ſhould be the firſt that ſhould be aſſailed: for that though the reuerence of the Church held the King from moleſting the Eccleſiaſtike State, yet he could not beleeue, that it was able to retaine him from aſſailing *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, as members depending on the Duchie of *Millan*, and from moleſting the State of *Florence*; a matter wherein all regards did ceaſſe, and for the which he would thinke himſelfe as deeply offended, as if violence were directly offered to the State of the Church. And certainly it was not without cauſe that he was in feare, for that the King had already giuen order to caſt a bridge ouer the riuer of *Po* neare to *Pauie*, to ſend to take *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and after the taking of thoſe Cities, if the Pope refuſed his amitie, to ſend by the way of *Pontreſmo* to chaſe the *Medices* from the Citie of *Florence*. But now according to his commiſſion, the Duke of *Sauoy* and the Biſhop of *Tricaro* his Nuncio, treated with the King, who fearing leſt he ſhould make new alliances againſt him, and bearing great reuerence to the Sea Apoſtolik, for the terror that was through the whole Realme of *France* by reaſon of the perſecutions receiued by *Iulio*, he deſired much to be at vnitie with him. Therefore there was concluded betweene them a preſent confederation for the defence of the States of *Italy*, wherein was particularly expreſſed, that the King ſhould take vpon him the protection of the perſon of the Pope, the State of the Church, *Iulian* and *Laurence de Medicis*, and the State of *Florence*: That the King ſhould giue an Eſtate in *France* and a penſion to *Iulian*, and to *Laurence* a penſion and a companie of fiftie Lances: That he ſhould conſent that the Pope might giue paſſage to the Viceroy through the ſtates and iuriſdiction of the Church, to returne with his armie to the kingdome of *Naples*: That the Pope ſhould be bound to cauſe the ſouldiers to depart out of *Verona* that were there, and withall, to countermand the companies ſent to the ſuccours of *Cæſar* againſt the *Venetians*: That he ſhould giue vp to the *French* King the Cities of *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and in recompence thereof, the King to agree, that from thence forward the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould be bound to furniſh it ſelfe with the ſalt of *Ceruia*, a matter of great profite to the Church, and wherein the Pope had already agreed with the Duke of *Millan* in the confederation he made with him: That a compromiſe ſhould be committed to the Duke of *Sauoy*, to iudge whether the *Florentines* had broken the confederation made with King *Lewis*; and if they had offended that way, then he to haue power to impoſe ſuch penaltie as they had deſerued: which the King ſaid, he demanded more for his honour, then for any other reſpect. As ſoone as this concluſion was made, the Biſhop of *Tricaro* went to *Rome* in poſt to perſwade the Pope to ratifie it, and *Laurence* withdrew to *Parma* and *Regge* the companies that were within *Plaiſance*, to giue occaſion to the Viceroy to depart the ſooner; and him-

himſelfe went to the King to obtaine his good fauour, and to perſwade him (according to the artificiall inſtruction of his Vnkle) that in all euents he would depend vpon him. The Pope was hardly induced to this ratification, for that it diſpleaſed him much to loſe *Parma* and *Plaiſance*: and he could willingly haue temporized to ſee what the *Swiſſers* would firſt determine, who hauing called a Diot at *Zurich* (the principall Canton of all the *Swiſſers*, and enemie to the *French*) debated to giue reſcue to the Caſtle of *Millan*, although they had abandoned the valleys and the townes of *Bellinzona* and *Lugarno*, but not the Caſtles, of whom neuertheleſſe the King obtained that of *Lugarno*, by giuing ſixe thouſand crownes to the Captaine: but the *Griſons* would not abandon *Chiauenna*. At laſt the Biſhop of *Tricaro* laying afore him the danger leſt the King ſhould preſently inuade *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, and ſend men of warre into *Tuſcane*, and aggrauating much the harmes the *Swiſſers* had receiued at the battell of *Marignan*, the Pope was content to ratifie the peace, albeit vnder this moderation, that neither he nor his Agents ſhould be bound to giue vp into the Kings hands *Parma* and *Plaiſance*, but by leauing them voide of men and officers, to giue libertie to the King to enter vpon them: That the Pope ſhould not be bound to reuoke his people from *Verona*, for that he would not commit ſuch an iniurie againſt *Ceſar*: which notwithſtanding he promiſed to do as ſoone as any conuenient occaſion was offered; and that the *Florentines* ſhould be abſolued of the pretended breaking of the league. The accord bare alſo that the King ſhould not take vpon him the protection of any feodarie or ſubiect of the State of the Church, and that not onely he ſhould not hinder the Pope to proceed againſt them as their ſupreme Lord with correction, but alſo that he ſhould be bound to miniſter aide to him in that action when he ſhould be required. Moreouer it was agreed that the Pope and the *French* King ſhould haue an enteruiew together in ſome place conuenient; which was a matter propoſed by the King, but deſired indifferently by them both: by the King, the better to eſtabliſh that amitie, to aſſure the eſtates of ſuch friends as he had in *Italy*, and for that he hoped with his preſence, and by offering great aduancements to the Popes brother and nephew, to obtaine, that with his conſent he might inuade the Realme of *Naples*, a matter which he deſired moſt ardently: by the Pope, to the end that by this office, and maner of dealing, moſt fit to winne grace and amitie with euery one, to entertaine the King whileſt he ſtood in ſo great proſperitie: although many approued not of this deliberation, as an action vnworthy the maieſtie of a Pope, and as though it had bene fit that the King ſhould haue come to him to *Rome*, if he would haue had any conference with him. But the Pope affirmed, that he condeſcended hereunto for a deſire he had to induce the King not to moleſt the Realme of *Naples* during the life of the King Catholike, which to the iudgement of man could not long endure, for that it was more then a yeare ſince he was very ill diſpoſed. In the meane while *Peter* of *Nauarre* was labouring to get the Caſtle of *Millan*, and hauing won a murdring houſe which ſtood on the right hand at the entrance of that gate of the Caſtle which is towards *Coma*, and afterwards approching nearer the ditch and the Caſtle wall by the helpe of pauiſſes and engines of wood, he began to worke a mine within the ſaid ditch; and all other defences being ouerthrowne, he began to labour more mines, taking away with the helpe of his Engines a great pane of the wall in a corner of the Caſtle, and applied his hooks and rammes to make it fall at the ſame inſtant that he put fire to his mines: matters which albeit in common iudgement ſeemed not ſufficient to carry the Caſtle but with great difficultie and long time, and that already there was certaine knowledge that the *Swiſſers* according to that which had bene reſolued at the Diot of *Zurich*, prepared to ſuccour it: yet a practiſe being begun between *Iohn Gonſaga* the Duke of *Millans* Captaine which was within the Caſtle, and the Duke of *Bourbon* his kinſman, and *Ierome Moron*, with two other *Swiſſer* Captaines interpoſing, who were alſo in the Caſtle, the reſolution was concluded the fourth day of October, to the great admiration of all men: and there wanted not ſuch as blamed *Ierome Moron* ſpecially for this concluſion, for that either through too great feare, or with very litle faith, he had vſed his authoritie to perſwade the Duke to ſuch an agreement: whereof he excuſed himſelfe by the diſcord that was among the footmen of the *Swiſſers* and *Italians*. The accord was, that *Maximilian Sforce* ſhould immediatly giue vp into the hands of the *French* King, the Caſtles of *Millan* and *Cremona*: That he ſhould yeeld vnto him all the rights and intereſts he had in that State, and receiue of the King a certaine proportion of money to pay his debts, and that he ſhould go into *France*, where the King ſhould giue him a yearely penſion of thirtie thouſand duckats, or

Peter Nauarre afore the Caſtle of Millan.

procure him to be made Cardinall with the like reuenue: That the King ſhould pardon *Galeas Viſconte* with certaine other Gentlemen of that Duchie, who had done their beſt endeuours for *Maximilian*: That he ſhould giue ſixe thouſand crownes to the *Swiſſers* that were within the Caſtle: That he ſhould confirme to *Iohn Gonzaga* the goods that he held in the State of *Millan* by the gift of the Duke, and enlarge his liuing with ſome yearely penſion: That he ſhould in like ſort ratifie to *Moron*, as well the goods that appertained to him in propertie, as others that he had of the Dukes gift, together with the offices he exerciſed, and ſhould make him Maiſter of Requeſts in the Court of *France*. Vpon the publication of this accord, *Maximilian* ſurnamed the *More*, according to the name of his father, departed out of the Caſtle, and went into *France*, ſaying, he was deliuered from the ſeruitude of the *Swiſſers*, the ill dealings of *Cæſar*, and the deceits of the *Spaniards*: and yet all men praiſed Fortune more for hauing ſo ſpeedily depoſed him from ſuch a degree, then for that ſhe had afore exalted a man, who, for his incapacitie, extrauagant thoughts, and moſt foule manners of life, was vnworthy of all greatneſſe.

But afore the Caſtle of *Millan* was giuen vp, there were ſent to the King as Embaſſadours foure of the moſt principall and honorable perſons of the Senate of *Venice*, to wit, *Anthonie Grimani*, *Dominicke Treuiſan*, *George Cornaro*, and *Andrew Gritti*, to congratulate his victorie, and to beſeech him to aide them to recouer their townes, as he was bound by the capitulations of the confederation: an enterpriſe wherein they had no other impediments then the forces of *Cæſar*, and the Popes regiments that were within *Verona* vnder the charge of *Marke Anthonie Colonno*: for, the Viceroy after he was gone from the territories of *Plaiſance*, and had repoſed ſome few dayes vpon the frontiers of *Modena*, expecting whether the Pope would ratifie the accord with the *French* King; as ſoone as he heard of the ratification, he returned with all diligence to the Realme of *Naples* by the way of *Romagna*. The King gaue ſpeedie order, that the baſtard of *Sauoy* and *Theodore Triuulce* ſhould go to their ſuccour with ſixe hundred Lances and ſeuen thouſand Lanceknights: who, whileſt they deferred to depart, either to ſee what would become of the Caſtle of *Millan*, or for that the King had a meaning to ſend out the ſame bands againſt the Caſtle of *Cremona*; *Aluiano* drew with his armie towards *Breſſia*, for that the *Venetians* would not conſent that he ſhould follow the Viceroy, becauſe they deſired to recouer *Breſſia* and *Verona* (if it were poſſible) without forreine ſouldiers. But becauſe that Citie was newly reſupplied with a thouſand Lanceknights, (*Bergamo* being rendred to the *Venetians* many dayes before) *Aluiano* reſolued to go firſt to beſiege *Verona*, as being the leaſt fortified, hauing there greater commoditie of victuals; and for that *Verona* being taken, *Breſſia* being alone, and the ſituation bearing no oportunitie to be eaſily ſuccoured by the *Almaines*, was eaſie to be taken. But he forbare to giue beginning to his enterpriſe, for feare leſt the Viceroy and the Popes bands that were in the countries of *Reggia* and *Modena*, ſhould repaſſe ouer *Po* at *Oſtia*, to reſcue *Verona*: of which doubt when he was deliuered by the departure of the Viceroy, he fell into another impediment of ſickneſſe, whereof he died in the beginning of October at *Gueda* in the countrey of *Breſſia*, hauing not yet attained threeſcore yeares of age. The *Venetians* were much grieued for his death, but much more the ſouldiers, who being not ſatisfied with grieuing for him, kept his bodie in the armie the ſpace of fiue and twentie dayes, carying it about with them with very great pompe, at ſuch time as they were to march: and when he ſhould be conueyed to *Venice*, *Theodore Triuulce* would not ſuffer that ſafeconduct ſhould be demanded of *Marke Anthonie Colonno* to carry him by the marches of *Verona*, as many aduiſed him to do; ſaying, it was not conuenient that he who in his life had neuer feare of enemies, ſhould now being dead make ſhew of fearing them. He was buried at *Venice* by publike decree, with very great honour in *S. Stephens* Church, where yet remaineth the monument of his ſepulcher; and *Andrew Nauaier* a very eloquent yong Gentleman of *Venice*, made his funerall Oration. He was a Captaine (in all mens opinion) of great reſolution and courage, and a diligent executioner of things determined: and yet, either by the malice of fortune, or (as many thinke) for that he was ſudden and raſh in counſell, he receiued many foiles by his enemies; yea haply, when he was ſ chief cõmander in ſ armie, he neuer obtained any victory. By reaſon of the death of *Aluiano*, the *French* King being required by the *Venetians*, gaue to them for Gouernour of their armie, *Triuulce*, whom they deſired much, as well for his experience, as for his reputation in the ſcience of warre: and withall for that by the common inclination of the faction of

The death of Aluiano.

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the *Guelfes*, there had bene alwayes a ſetled amitie and goodwill betweene him and that Commonweale. Whileſt he went to the armie, to take his charge, the *Venetian* bands tooke *Peſquiero*, but a litle before they ouerthrew certaine troupes of horſemen, and three hundred *Spaniſh* footmen that went to their reſcue, recouering alſo *Aſola* and *Lona*, which the Marquis of *Mantua* had abandoned. As ſoone as *Triuulce* was come to the armie, they beſieged *Breſſia* at the inſtance of the Senate, notwithſtanding it ſeemed a matter of great difficultie to carry it without the *French* armie, for as much as the towne was ſtrong, and well manned with two thouſand footmen as well Lanceknights as *Spaniards*, and for that a great number of the *Guelfes* had bene conſtrained to go away, the Winter alſo drawing on, and the ſeaſon much diſpoſed to raine. Neither did the ſucceſſe of the matter beguile the iudgement that the Generall gaue. For as they had begun to batter the walls with their artilleries, which they had planted vpon the brinke of the ditch, on that ſide where iſſueth the ſmall riuer of *Garzetta*, thoſe within making many ſallies, brake forth at laſt with fifteene hundred Lanceknights and *Spaniards*, to charge the guard of the artillerie, which was an hundred men at armes and ſixe thouſand footmen: and beating them alſo with the ſhot that for that end was ranged vpon the towne wall, they put them eaſily to flight, notwithſtanding *Iohn Paul Manfron* with thirtie men at armes ſuſtained ſomewhat their furie. They ſlue about two hundred footmen, burnt the powders, and drew into *Breſſia* ten peeces of artilleries: by reaſon of which diſorder, *Triuulce* thought good to retire and incampe more at large, expecting the coming of the *French* men, and withdrew himſelfe to *Coccaio*, which is ten miles from *Breſſia*, the *Venetians* looking in the meane while to make new prouiſions of artillerie and munitions. But as ſoone as the *French* men were come to the campe, they returned to beſiege the towne, and began to batter it in two ſundry places, on that ſide of the gate of Piles towards the Caſtle, and on that ſide of the gate of *S. Iohn*. In one of thoſe quarters the *French* men were incamped, and after they had giuen leaue to the Lanceknights, for that they refuſed to do ſeruice againſt the townes of *Ceſars* obedience, *Peter* of *Nauarre* arriued at the campe with fiue thouſand *Gaſcons* and *French* men: and in the other quarter lay with the *Venetian* regiments, *Triuulce*, in whom reſted almoſt the whole ſuperintendencie of thoſe affaires, for that the baſtard of *Sauoy* being fallen ſicke, was gone from the army. When they had battered the wall, they went not to the aſſault, for that thoſe within had made ſundry rampiers, and with great care and valour had prouided all things neceſſary for defence: but *Peter* of *Nauarre* hauing recourſe to his accuſtomed remedies, began to vndermine the walls. At which time *Marke Anthonie Colonno* iſſuing out of *Verona* with ſixe hundred horſemen and fiue hundred footmen, encountred in the plaine *Iohn Paul Manfron* and *Marke Anthonie Bua*, who were beſtowed in garriſon within *Valeggio* with foure hundred men at armes and foure hundred light horſemen, & ouerthrew them: in which skirmiſh was taken *Iulio* the ſon of *Iohn Paul*, his horſe being killed vnder him as he fought, and his father fled to *Goito*. Immediatly after, *Marke Anthonie* occupied *Legnaguo*, where were taken priſoners certaine Gentlemen of *Venice*. At laſt the taking of *Breſſia* appearing dayly more difficult, for that the mines made by *Peter* of *Nauarre* did not anſwer the hopes that he had giuen, and vnderſtanding that eight thouſand footmen were to come out of *Germany*, which the Captains that lay about *Breſſia* had no confidence to be able to hinder; the *Venetians* were content, ſomwhat to couer the ignominy of their retrait, to agree with thoſe within *Breſſia*, that if they were not ſuccoured within thirtie dayes, they ſhould abandon the Citie, and go out of it with their enſignes diſplayed, their artilleries, and what elſe appertained to them; a promiſe which euery one knew would ſerue to no purpoſe for the aſſurance they had of ſuccours: onely it was a thing profitable to them of *Breſſia*, to be deliuered in the meane while from aduerſities and afflictions. Afterwards the *Venetians* put eight thouſand footmen within *Bre*, a towne ſubiect to the Counts of *Lodron*; but as ſoone as they heard that the Lanceknights marched, to whom the borough of *Anſo* was rendred, they retired cowardly to the armie. The Captaines themſelues ſhewed no greater courage; for fearing to be charged at one time by theſe bands, and by thoſe that were within *Breſſia*, and alſo by *Marke Anthonie Colonno* with the regiments that were within *Verona*, they retired to *Gueda*, whither likewiſe, being already aſſured of this accident, they had ſent their greateſt artillery and almoſt all their baggage: and the Lanceknights that entred into *Verona* without impediment, returned into *Germanie*, after they had refurniſhed it with victuals, and reenforced the garriſon.

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bene diſcerned to be rather raſh and impudent,then honeſt or aduiſed. This man ſounding the intention of the Marquis,entred ſo farre in diſcourſe with him, that they began to ſpeake of cutting in peeces the regiments that remained in the Duchie of *Millan*, and to make the Marquis King of *Naples*, if the Pope and the *Venetians* would be concurrant therein. To which counſell,the Pope being full of doubt and perplexitie, after he was founded by the aduice of *Moron*, ſhewed himſelfe no whit diſagreeing, although on the other ſide,he aduertiſed the Emperour,vnder colour of friendſhip, that he ſhould keepe his Captaines in good contentment; which he did,not to diſcloſe the practiſe, but to prepare a refuge for himſelfe if the matter ſucceeded not wel.But the *Venetians* ſhewed themſelues very affectionate hereunto,euery one perſwading themſelues that no leſſe readineſſe of mind would be found in the Ladie Regent, who began to perceiue, that ſince her ſonne was arriued in *Spaine*, the negociations of his deliuerie were not continued with that facilitie that was looked for. Without doubt theſe counſels had eaſily ſucceeded, if the Marquis of *Peſquiero* had proceeded ſincerely in this confederation againſt the Emperour.But whether at the firſt the ſaid Marquis gaue eare to this practiſe or not, there was diuerſitie of opinions,euen amongſt the *Spaniards*, and in the very Court of the Emperour: and many obſeruing the times and euents of affaires, beleeued that at the beginning he had indeed bene concurrant with the reſidue, but that afterwards (conſidering many difficulties that might happen in time, and fearing principally the continuall ſolicitations of the *French* with the Emperour, and alſo for that it was reſolued that the Ducheſſe of *Alenſon* ſhould go into *Spaine*)he made new deliberations: yea ſome do aſſure, that he deferred ſo long to aduertiſe the Emperour of theſe nouelties that were practiſed in *Italy*, that the Emperour hauing receiued knowledge thereof by *Anthonie de Leua* and *Marino* Abbot of *Nagera*, Commiſſarie in his armie, all the whole Court maruelled at the ſilence of the Marquis. But howſoeuer it was then, it is certaine,that a litle after he ſent *John Baptiſta Caſtaldo* to the Emperour, and that he manifeſted vnto him all the conſpiracie: and that with his conſent he continued the ſame practiſe; and further, the better to decipher the thoughts of euery man, and to take from them all the meanes to denie that they had conſented thereto, he ſpake himſelfe with the Duke of *Millan*, and perſwaded *Moron* to induce the Pope (who a litle before had giuen him the perpetuall gouernment of the Citie of *Beneuent*, and in whoſe fauour and ſeruice he kept himſelfe as much as he could) to ſend *Dominicke Saulo* with a letter of credence to conferre with him of that matter.The concluſions of the treatie were theſe: That betweene the Pope, the Realme of *France* and the gouernments of *Italy*, ſhould be a league, of which the Marquis of *Peſquiero* ſhould be Captaine generall: and that firſt he ſhould beſtow the *Spaniſh* footbands ſeuerally in ſundrie places of the Duchie of *Millan*, and then drawing to himſelfe ſo many as would follow him, the others ſhould be ſpoiled and put to the ſword; together with *Anthonie de Leua*, who next to himſelfe was the chiefe man in the armie: and then with the forces of all the Confederates, he ſhould execute the enterpriſe of the kingdome of *Naples*, whereof the Pope would grant him the inueſtiture. The Marquis ſeemed to find no other difficultie in theſe actions, ſauing that afore he put any thing to triall, he deſired to be ſatisfied,whether without blemiſhing his honour and fidelitie,he might embrace ſuch an enterpriſe in caſe the Pope put it vpon him by his authoritie: whereupon was brought into conſideration, to whom, he (being a Baron and ſubiect of the Realme of *Naples*) ought to be obedient, either to the Emperour, to whom the profitable iuriſdiction of the Realme appertained by the inueſtiture he had receiued of the Church, or to the Pope, who had direct ſoueraignte ouer it, being abſolute Lord thereof. Vpon which article, both at *Millan* by the ordinance of *Francis Sforce*, and at *Rome* by the appointment of the Pope,were called very ſecret conſultations of excellent Doctors with ſuppreſſion of their true names. Theſe hopes againſt the Emperour were augmented by the offers of the Ladie Regent, who iudging that either neceſſitie,or at leaſt the feare of the Emperour, would aduance much the matters that were treated with him for the deliuerie of her ſonne,ſolicited to take armes,promiſing to ſend into *Lombardie* fiue hundred Lances, and to be concurrant in the expences of the warre with a great ſumme of money. And *Moron* ceaſſed not to confirme the minds of the reſidue in this opinion. For,beſides the perſwaſions he made how eaſie it would be, euen without the aide of the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, to defeate that armie,ſo much diminiſhed in numbers, he promiſed in the Dukes name, that if the Marquis ſhould not ſtand firme in that which had bene debated, that immediatly after order giuen to the other buſineſſe, both he and the other

Capitulations betweene the Confederates againſt the Emperour.

Cap-

Captaines who went dayly to the Caſtle to conſult, ſhould there be made priſoners. But albeit theſe occaſions ſeemed great, yet they had not bene ſufficient to cauſe the Pope to take armes without the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, if at the ſame time hearing of the prouiſion ſent to *Genes* to arme the foure Caricks, he had not likewiſe had ſome intelligence from *Spaine* of the Emperours inclination to paſſe into *Italy*; which matter maruellouſly afflicting him, as well in regard of the conditions of the preſent time, as for the ancient diſpoſition of the Popes of *Rome*, to whom nothing had wont to be more fearfull then the coming of the Emperours armed into *Italy*, deſiring to meete with this danger, he diſpatched ſecretly into *France*, with the conſent of the *Venetians*, to conclude the matters negociated with the Ladie Regent, *Sigiſmund* Secretarie to *Albert Carpy*, a fit man, and of ſingular confidence with the Pope: who riding in poſt, was ſlaine in the night by theeues neare the lake of *Iſea*, in the territories of *Breſſia*; which accident being kept ſecret many dayes, brought the Pope into great ſuſpition that he was ſecretly taken and ſtayed in ſome place by the appointment of the Imperiall Captaines, and haply by the Marquis himſelfe, whom they began to diſtruſt much for his maner of proceeding, and for the delays which he vſed.

In this eſtate of affaires, arriued the diſpatch giuen by the Emperour to *Lopes Vrtado*, who remaining ſick in *Sauoy*, ſent it preſently to *Millan* by expreſſe meſſengers, with ſ patteut whereby the Marquis of *Peſquiero* was declared Captaine generall, who to continue with others in the ſame ſemblance, made as though ſuch a charge was not very plauſible to him, and yet he accepted it immediatly. And the ſaid *Lopes* ſent alſo to the Pronotarie *Caracciol*, the commiſſion to go to *Venice* in the Emperours name, to induce the Senate to a new confederation, or at leaſt that all men might know what deſire the Emperour had to liue in peace with all men. *Francis Sforce* who was fallen into a very dangerous diſeaſe, accepted the inueſtiture of the Duchie, and payed for it fiftie thouſand duckats, but ceaſſed not for all that to continue the practiſes begun with the Marquis. The opinions were diuers touching this diſpatch of the Emperour: for ſome beleeued that he had ſimply determined to aſſure the *Italians*: and others iudged, that for feare of new ſtirres he ſought to hold men in ſuſpence with diuers hopes, and to proceed alwayes winning of time, in agreeing to the inueſtiture, and in appearance granting a commiſſion ſo agreeable to all *Italy*, to cauſe his armie to retire; though on the other ſide he had giuen direction to his Captaines not to ſtirre. Yea and there were ſome that had this opinion, that he had intelligence from the Marquis of the practiſes entertained with *Moron*, and therefore that he ſent ſuch a commiſſion, not to be obeyed, but to get ſome iuſtification, and with theſe hopes to lull mens minds aſleepe, vntill he ſaw fit time to execute his purpoſes. In which diuerſitie, it being verie hard to know the ſimple truth, ſeeing withall it was not knowne whether *Lopes Vrtado* was diſpatched at the ſame time that *Iohn Baptiſta Caſtaldo*, ſent by the Marquis to aduertiſe the Emperour of the negociation, arriued at the Court: yet conſidering what courſe the Emperour hath taken ſince in many things, it is without doubt that he is leſſe deceiued that holds for true the better and more eaſie interpretation. In the meane while the Marquis ceaſſed not to entertaine *Moron* and the others with the ſame hopes, deferring notwithſtanding the execution with many excuſes: wherein he tooke one occaſion of the ſickneſſe of the Duke of *Millan*, who was growne ſo weake, that euery one held almoſt for certaine that he would die. For all the Captaines pretending that in ſuch a caſe that Eſtate ſhould returne to the Emperour, as ſoueraigne Lord in chiefe, he was not onely not permitted to retire the armie, but alſo was conſtrained to call in a new ſtrength of two thouſand Lanceknights, and alſo to take order that there might be a greater number in readineſſe: ſo that the ſoldiers being ſo puiſſant in the Duchie of *Millan*, there was no meanes either to diſſolue them, or to offend them: and he gaue hope to execute the counſels of the conſpiracie as ſoone as time would ſerue; in expectation whereof he ſaid he would proceed with great reſpect to the Pope; and to gratifie him, he leuied from off the Eſtates of the Church the garriſons, whereof he complained much. But at the ſame time almoſt all things were changed by a new accident which happened in *Spaine*. For the *French* King being much diſpleaſed that he had in vaine deſired the preſence of the Emperour, fell, by a ſickneſſe which tooke him in the Caſtle of *Madril*, into ſuch extremitie and danger of his life, that the Phyſitions appointed for his cure, told the Emperour, that they had no hope of his recouerie, if he himſelfe in perſon came not to comfort him, and giue him ſome hope of his deliuerie: and as he prepared himſelfe to go vnto him, his high Chancellor endeuoured to diſſwade him from it, and

The French king extremely ſick in the Caſtle of Madrill.

and told him that it ſtood not with his honour to go, vnleſſe it were with intention to deliuer him preſently, and without any couenant: and that otherwiſe it would be a humanitie not royall but mercenarie, and a deſire to recouer him, not moued of charitie, but puſhed on by his proper intereſt, to the end not to loſe by his death the occaſion of the profit hoped for by the victorie; a counſell indeed memorable, and worthy to be followed by ſo great a Prince: and yet others counſelling otherwiſe, he took poſt & went vnto him. The viſitation was ſhort, for that the Moſt Chriſtian King was now almoſt at the extremitie; yet for the time full of gracious words, and of moſt certaine hope that he would deliuer him as ſoone as he had recouered his health: and whatſoeuer was the cauſe, either the comfort that he gaue him, or his youth, which of it ſelfe was ſtronger then the maladie, he began after this viſitation to find himſelfe ſo much refreſhed, that within a few dayes he was out of danger, although he could not recouer his former health but with longer time. And now neither the difficulties that were ſhewed on the Emperours ſide, nor the hopes which were giuen by the *Italians*, could ſtay the voyage of the Ladie *Alenſon* into *Spaine*: for that nothing was more hard to the *French* men then to leaue off the practiſes of accord begun with thoſe that had power to reſtore their King, and nothing more eaſie to the Emperour, then by giuing hope to the *French*, to diuert their minds from taking of armes, and by that meanes to keepe the *Italians* in ſuſpence, ſo that they had not the courage to enterpriſe any new thing: and thus, ſometimes vſing delayes, and ſometimes preſſing forward the affaires, to keepe the minds of all men confuſed and intangled. The Ladie *Alenſon* was receiued by the Emperour with very gracious demonſtrations and hopes, but the effects fell out both hard and difficult: for when ſhe had ſpoken to him the foureteenth day of October, for the mariage of his ſiſter the widow with the King, he made anſwer, that it was a matter which could not be done without the conſent of the Duke of *Bourbon*: and other particularities were debated by the deputies of both parts, the Emperour inſiſting obſtinately to haue the Duchie of *Burgondie* reſtored, as appertaining to him: but the *French* men conſented not, vnleſſe he would either accept it for dowrie, or referre it to the ſentence of the law, to decide to whom it belonged. They could eaſily haue agreed to the reſt, but becauſe they were ſo farre different in regard of *Burgondie*, the Ladie *Alenſon* returned at laſt into *France*, without hauing gotten any other thing then leaue to ſee the King her brother; who growing more and more into diſtruſt of his deliuerie, deſired her (as they ſay) at her departure, to admoniſh his mother and all the Councell from him, to looke carefully to the profite of the Crowne of *France*, without hauing any conſideration of him, as if he liued not: and yet for the departing of the Ladie *Alenſon*, the ſolicitations for the Kings deliuerie were not altogether layed aſide, for that the Preſident of *Paris* and the Biſhops of *Ambrun* and *Tarbe* remained behind, who had followed the matter till then, but with very litle hope, for that the Emperour would not hearken to any condition, if *Burgondie* were not firſt rendred, which the King would not conſent to giue him, but in a laſt neceſſitie. At this time the Cardinall *Saluiati* the Popes Legate arriued at the Court, where being receiued of the Emperour with great honour, he debated vpon his commiſſions, which principally contained the ratification of the articles promiſed by the Viceroy, and that for the common ſafetie of *Italy*, the inueſtiture might be giuen to the Duke of *Millan*. But the ſame Viceroy diſſwaded the reſtitution of *Reggia* and *Rubiera*, by the counſel and hopes of whom the Duke of *Ferrara*, who deſired to ſolicite his owne cauſe before the Emperour, when the Pope had promiſed him not to execute any enterpriſe vpon his Eſtate for ſixe moneths, tooke his way to the frontier of the Realme of *France*, with intention to paſſe further; but the Ladie Regent refuſing to giue him ſafeconduct, he returned backe againe to *Ferrara*. There was debated alſo betweene the Pope and the Emperour, touching a diſpenſation to take to wife the King of *Portugals* ſiſter, a mariage which the Emperour was determined to contract, notwithſtanding he had alreadie promiſed the King of *England* by oath, that he would take no other wife then his daughter. But the Pope ſtood long to accord to this diſpenſation, for that many perſwaded him, that the deſire to obtaine ſuch a grace, would make the Emperour more tractable to his deſires touching the matters in negociation: and that at leaſt in caſe he would make warre vpon him, it ſhould be very vnwiſely done, to giue him meanes to heape together ſo great a maſſe of money as would grow to him by that mariage, for that the King of *Portugal* offered him for a dowrie nine hundred thouſand duckats; of which, deducting ſo much as was ſet downe to defray the debts contracted betweene them, it was thought there would come to his hands

The Ladie Alenſon treateth with the Emperour for the kings deliuery.

Cardinall Saluiati the Popes Legate in the Court of the Emperour.

hands at leaſt a ſumme of fiue hundred thouſand duckats; beſides the foure hundred thouſand which his ſubiects of *Spaine* offered to giue him, vnder the title of a beneuolence or ſeruice, which taking beginning in time paſt of the proper wils of the people to relieue the neceſſities of their Kings, was reduced into an ordinarie Subſidie: and beſides, they offered alſo to giue him foure hundred thouſand duckats, if he went through with the mariage. On the other ſide, the Pope could not reſiſt the importunities of the Duke of *Seſſa* the Emperours Embaſſadour, for that there was almoſt alwayes in him great repugnancie betweene that he purpoſed and that which he executed: for being by nature much eſtranged from granting any grace that was demanded of him, he could not vſe difficulties, nor conſtantly make deniall, but oftentimes he ſuffered his will to be ouerruled by the importunitie of ſuch as ſued to him; and that in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed many times that he accorded to things more through feare then by grace, wherein he proceeded neither with that conſtancie nor maieſtie, which the greatneſſe of his dignitie and the importance of the affaires that were negociated did require. And thus it hapned in the diſpenſation which the Emperour required, that his proper profite ſtriuing in him on the one ſide, and on the other his facilitie, he layed vpon the backe of another (as he often vſed to do) that which it is not well knowne whether he had the boldneſſe or courage to ſuſtaine. He diſpatched by a Briefe the diſpenſation in the ſame forme the Emperour demanded it, and ſent it to the Cardinall *Saluiati*, with commiſſion, that if he had made a reſolution of his affaires with the Emperour, according to the hope he had giuen him, as ſoone as the ſaid Cardinall ſhould come to the Court, he ſhould deliuer the Briefe, but otherwiſe to retaine it; which was a commiſſion wherein the ſeruant (as ſhall be ſaid in his place) ſhewed himſelfe neither more firme nor more conſtant, then the maiſter had bene.

Deſcription of the nature of Pope Clement.

But whileſt the Cardinall debated the Popes commiſſions with the Emperour, and was alwayes entertained with hope to haue the expedition he deſired, there fell out in *Lombardie* very diuers effects. For the Duke of *Millan* being ſo well recouered of his ſickneſſe, that it was holden for certaine, that he was out of danger of ſudden death, the Marquis of *Peſquiero* hauing receiued by the ſame *Caſtaldo* commiſſion from the Emperour to prouide for thoſe dangers as he thought good, determined to enter vpon the Duchie of *Millan*, vnder this colour, that the Duke by reaſon of the conſpiracies and practiſes holden by *Moron*, was fallen from the rights of inueſtiture, and the freehold reuerted to the Emperour as ſupreme Lord. Therefore the Marquis, who was at *Nouaro*, although very ſicke, and had beſtowed part of the armie within *Pauie*, and lodged the Lanceknights neare *Loda*; which two Cities he had cauſed to be fortified, he reuoked to *Nouaro* (when there was leaſt doubt, and vnder colour to diſpoſe the armie through all the Eſtate of *Millan*) the reſidue of the bands diſperſed in *Piedmont* and the Marquiſdome of *Saluſſa*, which the Imperiall Captaines had occupied almoſt immediatly after the victorie. He called alſo *Ierome Moron* to *Nouaro*, in whoſe perſon the importance of all things might be ſaid to reſt, for as much as it was certaine that *Moron* being made priſoner, the Duke of *Millan*, depriued of men and counſell, could make no reſiſtance, whereas remaining at libertie, the Marquis might feare that he might trouble him much, with his wit, experience, and reputation, and giue many impediments to his deſignes. Beſides, it was neceſſarie for the Emperour to haue the perſon of *Moron* in his power and poſſeſſion, who had bene the author and inſtrument of all the conſpiracies, to the end to proue by his confeſſion, that wherewith the Duke of *Millan* was to be charged. There is nothing more hard to auoide then iuſtice, neither can any remedie auaile againſt the euils that muſt fall vpon vs. *Moron* might now diſcerne that the practiſe entertained with the Marquis was vaine, that he was much hated of all the *Spaniſh* ſouldiers, amongſt whom ranne alreadie many rumours of his infidelitie; and he knew that *Anthony de Leua* gaue out publike threats that he would kill him: it is very likely that he conſidered not the importance of his perſon, and that he diſcerned not to what eſtate the Duke of *Millan* was reduced, being then vnprofitable, and as it were dead: all things were in ſuſpence and full of ſuſpition betweene them many dayes before: euery one counſelled him not to go thither: himſelfe was full of doubt: and yet either for that his mind was troubled with the faire ſemblances of the Marquis, or ſetting vp his reſt vpon the great amitie that ſeemed to be betweene them, or repoſing confidence in his faith, which afterwards he aſſured he had receiued by a letter ſubſigned with his hand, or laſtly being puſhed on by that fatall neceſſitie which draweth on men that will not be led, he reſolued to go as it were to a manifeſt priſon; a matter ſo much the more wonderfull

derfull vnto me, by how much I haue often heard *Moron* say in the armie in the time of Pope *Leo*, that in all *Italy* there was not a more impious and disloyall man then the Marquis of *Pesquiero*. The Marquis receiued him graciously, and they spake together alone of the former conspiracies, in a chamber apart, both how to kill the *Spaniards*, and to murder *Anthonie de Leua*, whom the Marquis had secretly caused to be hidden behind a peece of Tapestrie, to heare all that should be spoken: but as soone as he was gone from the Marquis (which was the foureteenth day of October) *Anthonie de Leua* apprehended him prisoner, and sent him to the Castle of *Pauie*, whither the Marquis himselfe went to examine him vpon the matters they had debated together, and *Moron* confessed from point to point the whole conspiracie, charging the Duke of *Millan* both as guiltie and consenting to all that had passed, which was the matter that principally was sought. *Ierome Moron* being prisoner, the Marquis who had in his hands already *Loda* and *Pauie*, required of the Duke that for the suretie of the Emperours Estate he should deliuer vp to him *Cremona* and the Castles of *Trezzo*, *Lecquo*, and *Pisqueton*, places supposed to be the keyes of the Duchie of *Millan*, for that they haue their situation vpon the passage of *Adda*, promising when he had them to introduce no more innouation. The Duke finding himselfe depriued of all things, and abandoned of counsell and hope, caused them to be presently deliuered. When he had them, he proceeded further, and demanded that he might be admitted and receiued into *Millan* to speake with him, as he alledged; which was granted him with the same facilitie: and when he was entred into *Millan*, he sent vnto him to make instance, that he would cause the Castle of *Cremona* to be deliuered vnto him; and that he would not demand the Castle of *Millan*, as being a request not reasonable, for that his person was lodged within it, but that he would require, for the suretie of the Emperours armie, that he would consent that the Castle might be enuironed with trenches. He required of him also to haue deliuered into his hands *Iohn Angeo Riccio*, his Secretarie, and *Politian* Secretarie to *Moron*, to the end they might be examined of that wherewith they were charged to haue conspired against the Emperour. To which demands the Duke answered: That he held the Castles of *Millan* and *Cremona* in the name and at the instance of the Emperour, to whom he had alwayes bene a most faithfull vassall, and that he would not deliuer them vp to any, vntill he first vnderstood his pleasure; for the better knowledge whereof, he would forthwith send an expresse messenger vnto him, so that the Marquis would giue him suretie of passage: and that he held it not conuenient to consent to be inclosed in the meane while in the Castle, from which violence he would defend himselfe with all his power: That he could not depart with *Iohn Angeo*, who was instructed in all his affaires of importance, and at that time the onely man about him: That he had greater need also of the Secretarie of *Moron*, to the end to present him before the Emperour, and by that meanes to proue, that whilest he was sicke, his maister had dispatched in his name, and without his priuitie many expeditions, wherewith he might be charged, if by that meanes he iustified not his innocencie, and shewed that the practises of *Moron* were farre different and separate from his practises. But the effect was, that after many replies and protestations past by writing, as well by the one as the other partie, the Marquis compelled the people of *Millan* to passe an oath of fidelitie to the Emperour, placed officers euery where in the name of the Emperour, to the great discontent of all men; and began with trenches to incompasse the Castles of *Cremona* and *Millan*, in the which the Duke was resolued to remaine with eight hundred choise footmen which he had there, and with such store of victuals as in so short time he could prouide: and that because of the great comforts and hopes of succours which were giuen him by the Pope and the *Venetians*, not failing to hinder with the artilleries as much as he could the working of the trenches which were made without, and of more distance from the Castle then those which *Prosper Colonno* had made. All *Italy* was much astonished, and that with good reason, for the vsurpation of the Dukedome of *Millan*, knowing well that it would fall into manifest seruitude, whensoeuer an Emperour should be Lord ouer *Millan* and *Naples*. But aboue all others the Pope was maruellously afflicted, perceiuing those practises to be disclosed, wherewith he had intended not onely to assure *Millan*, but also to destroy the Emperours armie, and to take from him the kingdome of *Naples*. Touching the Marquis of *Pesquiero*, it may be he wonne great fauour with the Emperour, but with all others he purchased perpetuall infamie, not onely for the opinion that most men conceiued of him that in the beginning he had an intention to play false with the Emperor, and to bandie against him, but also for that although he had alwayes bene faithfull vnto him, yet

Ierome Moron prisoner.

all

all men esteemed it a matter full of great infamie, to haue encouraged men, and with so great deceit and double dealing, to haue allured them to make conspiracies with him, to get occasion to discouer them, and make himselfe great by the transgressions of others, solicited with feigned words and subtilties. This alteration made difficult the hope of accord that was negociated with the Senate of *Venice* by the Pronotary *Caracciol*. The Pronotary hoped (for the termes wherein things stood) that the Senate would speedily draw to a conclusion to renew the former confederation with the same conditions: and that he should pay to the Emperour fowe-score thousand duckats, in recompence for that in times past he had withdrawne his aide, leauing off wholly all demands to contribute hereafter with money: but the accident of *Millan* which happened, filled the Senate with great perplexitie. For on the one side it grieued them much to be the onely people in *Italy* against the Emperour with danger, seeing the Marquis of *Pesquiero* threatned them to cause the warre to be transported vpon their Estate, whereof they discerned already certaine preparations: and on the other side, they were not ignorant that in case the accord went through, the Emperour should with greater facilitie make himselfe absolute Lord of that Duchie, which being ioyned to so many Estates, and so many other oportunities, was a degree to subdue them, together with all the residue of *Italy*; a matter which was continually declared to them by the Bishop of *Bayeux*, whom the Ladie Regent had sent to debate of her vnion with the *Italians* against the Emperor: and in so great a doubt and so dangerous a straight, they made many assemblies, but without any resolution, by reason of the diuersitie of opinions. And albeit to accept the accord was a thing more conformable to their custome, for as much as that put them out of present dangers, so that they might haue hope in the length of time, and the occasions which follow Commonweales, which in comparison of Princes are immortall; yet it seemed to them a matter of too great importance, that the Emperour should confirme himselfe in the estate of *Millan*, and that the *French* should be excluded from all hope to haue any alliance in *Italy*. Therefore after they had at last resolued to be bound to nothing, they made this answer to the Pronotarie *Caracciol*: That their actions past made knowne to all the world, and he himselfe being present at the conclusion of the confederation, could well testifie, how much they had alwayes desired the amitie of the Emperour, with whom they had contracted a confederation at such a time, as if they had hearkned to the *French*, it had bene (as all the world knew) a matter of right great consequence; and that they had alwayes perseuered and would continue now more then euer in the same disposition, but by necessitie they were held in suspence, for that they saw in *Lombardie* changes and innouations of so great importance; and specially for the remembrance that their confederation with the Emperour, together with so many sturres happened that yeare in *Italy*, had bene to no other end, then to transferre to *Francis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*, as the principall foundation of the libertie and suretie of *Italy*; and therefore they besought his Maiestie, that herein maintaining himselfe and his goodnesse, he would remoue this innouation, and establish the tranquillitie of *Italy*, as it was in his power to do, for as much as he should find them alwayes very ready, both with their authoritie and their forces, to follow so holy an inclination; and would neuer giue him cause to desire of them any kind of dutie, as well in respect of the vniuersall good, as of his particular interests. Which answer being without any hope of conclusion, bred not for all that any ouerture of warre: for that both the sicknesse of the Marquis of *Pesquiero*, who was dayly worse and worse, and the desire to impatronize himselfe first of the whole Estate of *Millan*, and to establish and assure that conquest, together with the desire of the Emperour to put an end to so many other affaires which he had in hand, would not suffer him to giue beginning to an enterprise of so great consequence.

About this time the Duke of *Bourbon* passed into *Spaine*, who arriued at the Emperors Court the fifteenth day of Nouember; touching whom we must not forget to write, that albeit the Emperour receiued him with all ſ demonstrations and honors that could be, and that he entertained him as his brother in law, yet all the Lords of the Court, who are accustomed in all other things ordinarily to follow the example of their Prince, abhorred him as a person infamous, stiling him traitor to his owne King: and which more is, one of them being required in the Emperours name to lend his pallace to lodge him in, answered in the stout courage of a *Spaniard*, that he could not denie the Emperour whatsoeuer he would demand of him, but that he should well vnderstand, that as soone as *Bourbon* was gone out of it, he would burne it, as a pallace in-

The Duke of Bourbon in Spaine.

feated with the infamie of *Bourbon*, and vnworthy to be inhabited by men of honour. But the honors done by the Emperour to the Duke of *Bourbon*, increased the distrust of the *French* men, who (both for this, and more for the returne of the Ladie *Alanson* without effect, hauing litle hope in the accord, notwithstanding it was continually negociated by men expresse which they had about the Emperour) laboured as much as they could to aduance the league with the Pope: wherein did concurre the perswasions and authoritie of the King of *England*, and the redoubled and vehement instances of the *Venetians*; whereunto was added an oportunitie, without doubt of great consequence, that about that time (which was the beginning of December) the Marquis of *Pesquiero* died, haply by the iust iudgement of God, who would not suffer him to enioy the fruite of that seed which he had sowne with so great malignitie. He was of the house of *Aualos*, originally of *Catelano*, whose predecessors came into *Italy* with *Alphonse* King of *Aragon*, who was the first of that house which made conquest of the kingdome of *Naples*; and beginning at the battell of *Rauenna*, where, being very yong he was taken prisoner, he was present in all the wars which the *Spaniards* had in *Italy*: in so much as though he had not passed the age of sixe and thirtie yeares, yet he was old in experience, ingenious, resolute, very carefull, circumspect and aduised, and much esteemed and loued of the Infanterie of *Spaine*, ouer whom he had long bene Colonell: so that the victorie of *Pauie*, and all other memorable actions executed by that armie since certaine yeares, had principally succeeded by his counsell and vertue. He was assuredly a Captaine of great valour, but one who with art and faire shewes knew how to grace his doings, being herewithall proud, deceitfull, malignant, without any sinceritie, and worthy, as oftentimes he desired, to haue *Spaine* for his countrey rather then *Italy*. His death therefore put the whole armie into great confusion, with whom he was in such fauour and reputation, and gaue hope to others the more easily to oppresse it, since they had lost a Captaine of so great authoritie and valour: and therefore the instances of such as desired that the league might be accomplished, were more vehement and importunate with the Pope: but the doubts which detained him were nothing lesse, and that for iust cause, since on all sides verie strong reasons troubled his mind, and such as might hold confused and in suspence any man right actiue and resolute, and not Pope *Clement* alone, who proceeded alwayes in his affaires slowly and with much doubt. There was no further expectation from the Emperour of any deliberation which might assure *Italy*, and he was discerned vehemently to solicite the taking of the Castle of *Millan*; which being taken all others, and chiefly the Pope, whose Estate was weake, and situate betweene *Lombardie* and the Realme of *Naples*, remained a manifest prey vnto him: and presupposing that it were in the power of the Emperour to oppresse the Pope, it was much to be doubted lest he would do it, either for ambition, which is almost naturall in the Emperours against the Popes, or for his owne suretie, or to reuenge himselfe, being full of disdaine and distrust, as it was thought, for the conspiracies which he entertained with the Marquis of *Pesquiero*: and if the necessitie to prouide for this danger was great, the foundations and hopes to do it seemed not light, but such, as if the remedie could not succeed by the meanes of so mightie a league and vnion, it was vtterly to be despaired of. The Regent of *France* promised fiue hundred Lances, and to contribute for euery moneth so long as the warre should endure, fortie thousand duckats, with the which it was intended to wage ten thousand *Swissers*. The Pope and the *Venetians* together, were to leuie eighteene hundred men at armes, twentie thousand footmen, and two thousand light horsemen. The *French* men and the *Venetians* were to take the sea with a great nauie to assaile *Genes* or the Realme of *Naples*. The Ladie Regent promised to begin warre immediatly vpon the frontiers of *Spaine* with a strong armie, to the end to hinder the Emperour for sending of men and money for the warre in *Italy*. The armie that remained in *Lombardie* was not great, and had not Captaines of such authoritie as was accustomed, the Marquis being dead, and the Duke of *Bourbon* and the Viceroy of *Naples* in *Spaine*: they were without meanes to recouer money, and had no plentie of victuals: the inhabitants were great enemies to them, for the desire of their Duke, and for the intollerable exactions made by the souldiers in the Citie of *Millan* and elsewhere: the Castles of *Millan* and *Cremona* were holden for the Duke: and the *Venetians* gaue hope that the Duke of *Ferrara* would also enter into this confederation, if the Pope would be content to yeeld him *Reggio*, which by one meanes or other he had alwayes possessed. But on the other side, that which made the matter more difficult, was the subtiltie and vertue of the enemies, who vsed (when need required) to maintaine them-

The death of the Marquis of Pesquiero.

Deuices of Princes against the power of the Emperour.

themſelues a long time with litle money, and to endure many neceſſities and diſcommodities the townes which they held being wel fortified, and the facilitie no leſſe to reduce them to better ſtrength with rampiers, and other ſort of fortifications, for that they were townes ſituate in the plaine countrey: wherein they were able to entertaine themſelues vntill there came vnto them out of *Germanie* a ſufficient ſuccour to reduce all the warre to the fortune of a battell: and whilſt the ſouldiers of the league could be no other but new and vntrained men, in compariſon of that armie reſolute and nouriſhed in ſo many victories: and beſides they wanted a Captaine generall, for that the Marquis of *Mantua* who was then Captaine of the Church, was not able to ſuſtaine ſo great a charge; neither could they with any ſuretie commit themſelues to the fidelitie of the Duke of *Ferrara* nor the Duke of *Vrbin*, whom they had ſo much offended, and who could not be well pleaſed with the greatneſſe of the Pope: and alſo the armes and weapons of the Church had but dull edges, and not much better thoſe of the *Venetians*: and, if either of them apart were bad, how much worſe being conioyned together? conſidering withall, that in the armies of leagues, prouiſions are ſeldome ſeene to arriue at conuenient times; and among ſuch diuerſitie of minds, where there are diuers intereſts and ſundrie ends, diſorders, diſdaines, diſcontentments and diſtruſts do eaſily happen, and neuer any readineſſe reſolutely to follow the fauour of fortune when ſhe ſhewes her ſelfe benigne, nor a diſpoſition to reſiſt her conſtantly when ſhe is aduerſe. But that which in this deliberation cauſed moſt feare and difficultie, was a ſuſpition leſt the *French* men, whenſoeuer the Emperor ſeeing himſelf conſtrained, ſhould offer them to deliuer their King, would not onely abandon the league, but alſo aide the Emperour againſt the Confederates: and albeit the King of *England* gaue his faith for them, that they ſhould not accord thereunto, and that it was negociated that they ſhould giue aſſurance in *Rome*, *Florence*, or *Venice* for three moneths pay, yet there was no meanes found to aſſure this ſuſpition. For the *French* men hauing no other end then to recouer their King, and it being manifeſt that they had no inclination to the warre vntill they ſaw no hope to effect the accord, it was a thing very likely, that whenſoeuer the Emperour ſhould conſent, they would preferre the accord with him afore all other regards and intereſts. And likewiſe it was well knowne, that by how much were great the preparations and forces of the league, by ſo much more would the Emperour be inclined to compound with the *French* King: and therefore it ſeemed a very dangerous matter to enter into confederation to make a warre in the which the ſtrong prouiſions of the Confederates might as well hurt as helpe. With theſe reaſons did the Embaſſadours and Agents of the Princes labour the Pope on all ſides, and no leſſe his owne ſeruants, for that his Court and thoſe of his Councell were deuided, each of whom fauoured euery one his owne inclination, with ſo much the leſſe regard, by how much the greater they eſteemed their authoritie to be with him, who till that time was accuſtomed to ſuffer himſelfe to be caried for the moſt part by the will of ſuch as in reaſon ought to haue obeyed the twinkling of his eye, and to be nothing elſe but miniſters and executers of the will and commandements of their Lord: for the better knowledge whereof, and of many other occurrences, it is neceſſary to declare the matter more at large.

Leo who brought the ſoueraigne Eccleſiaſtical dignitie into the houſe of the *Medices*, & being Cardinall, did ſo well ſupport both himſelfe and that family, which was fallen from a high degree into much declination, that they might expect the returne of a proſperous fortune, was a man very liberall, if this name be fit for ſuch an exceſſiue expence as is without all meaſure. In this man at ſuch time as he was choſen Pope, there was ſeene ſuch magnificence and maieſtie, and courage indeed royall, as might ſeeme wonderfull euen in one that by long ſucceſſion had deſcended of Kings and Emperours: and he was not onely prodigall of money, but alſo of all the fauours that are in the power of a Pope, the which he granted ſo vnmeaſurably, that he made the ſpirituall authoritie vile, diſordered the courſe of the Court, and by his too great expences, brought himſelfe into neceſſitie to ſeeke mony always by extraordinary meanes. This great facilitie was accompanied with a moſt deepe diſſimulation, with the which he beguiled all the world in the beginning of his Pontificacie: and that which made him ſeeme a good Prince (I ſpeake not of Apoſtolike goodneſſe, for that in thoſe corrupted times, the goodneſſe of the Pope is praiſed, when it exceeds not the malignitie of other men) was the opinion that was conceiued of his clemencie, and that he deſired to do good to all men, without doing harme to any man. Amongſt his other felicities which were very great, it was no litle happineſſe to him

The qualities of Pope Leo and Clement.

to haue about him *Iulio de Medicis* his couſin, whom (notwithſtanding he was not borne in lawfull mariage) he made Cardinall, being before a Knight of the Order of *Rhodes*. For *Iulio* being by nature graue, diligent, laborious in affaires, not giuen to his pleaſure, but ordered and regular in all things, and hauing vnder his hands by the will of Pope *Leo* the adminiſtration of all the affaires of importance of the Popedome, did beare out and moderate many diſorders which proceeded of his bountie and facilitie: and which more is, not following the cuſtome of all the other couſins and brethren of the Pope, he preferred the honour and greatneſſe of *Leo*, afore all the means he might vſe for his own good after the Popes death, & was very faithful & obedient vnto him, ſo that he ſeemed to be indeed a ſecond himſelfe: by reaſon whereof he was dayly more aduãced by the Pope, who put him continually more in truſt with his affaires; which being in the hands of two natures ſo different, did ſhew how well the mixture of two contraries doth oftentimes agree together, the aſſiduitie, diligence, order, grauitie of manners of the one, with the facilitie, prodigalitie, pleaſures and merrineſſe of the other: which things made many beleeue, that *Leo* was gouerned by *Iulio*, and that of himſelfe he was not able to rule ſo great a charge, nor to hurt any one, but rather deſirous to enioy the commodities of the Popedome: and on the contrary, that *Iulio* was of a ſpirit ambitious, ſtirring, and addicted to innouations: ſo that it was deemed, that all the rigours, all the ſtirres and enterpriſes of *Leos* time, proceeded from the inſtigation of *Iulio*, who was reputed a man malicious, but of great ſpirit: which opinion of his valour was confirmed and increaſed after the death of *Leo*, for that amidſt infinite contradictions and difficulties which befell him, he ſupported his affaires with ſuch a dignitie, that he ſeemed almoſt a Pope, and ſo conſerued his authoritie with the Cardinals, that making his entrie into two Conclaues abſolute commander of ſixteene voices, he was at laſt after the death of *Adrian* made Pope, within two yeares after the death of Pope *Leo*, notwithſtanding the infinite contradictions of the moſt part, and chiefly of the more ancient of the Colledge: and he entred into his Popedome with ſuch an expectation, that it was thought he would become the greateſt Pope, and do greater things then euer did any that till that day had ſate in that ſeate. But it was found out afterwards how farre men were deceiued in their iudgements, as well of *Leo* as of him, for that *Clement* had many conditions much differing from that which men beleeued of him before: ſeeing there was not in him either that deſire of innouation, or that greatneſſe of courage and inclination of mind to noble and high enterpriſes, which was ſuppoſed before; and that he had rather bene about *Leo* an executer of his deſignes, then a director and introducer of his owne counſels and deſires. And albeit he had a very capable wit, and a deepe inſight in all the affaires of the world, yet when he muſt come to reſolution and execution, he was not correſpondent to himſelfe, for that he was not onely hindered by a timiditie of mind which was not litle in him, and by a deſire of ſparing, but alſo by a certaine irreſolution and perplexitie, which was naturall in him: ſo that he ſtood in ſuſpence and doubt, when he was vpon the point to eſtabliſh things which he had aforetime with great foreſight conſidered and almoſt reſolued: whereby it happened, that as well in his deliberations, as in the execution of his proiects, euery ſmall reſpect newly happening, and euery light impediment that he met withall, ſeemed ſufficient to cauſe him to returne into the ſame confuſion wherein he was afore he determined, being alwayes perſwaded that after he had conſulted, that counſell was the beſt which he had reiected. For then, calling to mind thoſe reaſons onely whereof he had made no reckoning, he reuoked not into his minde the arguments which had moued him to make the election, the which being debated and compared with the contraries, would haue weakened their force; and was not careful not to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſurmounted by feare, by experience of himſelfe, who ought to remember, that he had often bene fearefull in vaine, and without any occaſion: in which confuſed nature, and diſorderly maner of proceeding, ſuffering himſelfe oftentimes to be tranſported by his ſeruants, he ſeemed rather to be led then counſelled by them. Of theſe, *Nicholas Scõberg* a *German*, & *Iohn Mathew Gibert* a *Genoway*, were of great authoritie with him: for *Scomberg* was reuerenced and almoſt feared of the Pope, and *Gibert* much loued and fauoured: *Scomberg* who was a diſciple of *Ierome Sauonarola*, became a preaching Frier whileſt he ſtudied the lawes, but afterwards leauing his religion and profeſſion, and retaining onely the habite and the name, he became a follower of State matters: *Gibert* had bene beſtowed very yong in the function of religion, but afterwards he left that vocation by the conſent of his father, notwithſtanding he was not borne in lawfull mariage, and diſclaimed as well the habite as the

name

name of his profeſſion. They agreed well together whileſt he was Cardinall, and alſo in the beginning and entrie to his Popedome, ſo that they cauſed him to do whatſoeuer they would: but beginning afterwards to diſagree, either through ambition, or by the diuerſitie of their natures, they vndid him, and brought him into great confuſion. For, Frier *Nicholas* either becauſe he was a *Germane*, or for ſome other regard, being much affected to the name of the Emperour, and naturally obſtinate and reſolute in his opinions, which oftentimes were different from the iudgment of others, the Pope entred many times into doubt of him, as if he loued more the profit of others then his owne. And touching the other, he affected no man but the Pope, nor acknowledged any other Lord, and naturally tooke his affaires to heart. And albeit in the time of *Leo* he had bene a great enemie to the *French*, and had fauored the affaires of the Emperour, yet after the death of *Leo* he was quite altered. Thus theſe two officers of the Pope, who were in great credite with him, being at manifeſt diſcord betweene themſelues, proceeded not diſcreetly, nor with any reſpect to the honour of the Pope; and being the cauſe that all men knew how irreſolute and weake the Pope was, they made him contemptible and almoſt ridiculous to moſt men: and thus he being alreadie by nature irreſolute, knew not which way to turne himſelfe in a deliberation ſo ſlipperie and difficult, ſeeing thoſe who ought to aide him to reſolue himſelfe, were the men that put him into greater confuſion. Neuertheleſſe at the laſt, more by neceſſitie to deliberate ſomething, then by reſolution or firme iudgement, and chiefly for that he found himſelfe in ſuch termes, that to deliberate nothing, was a kind of deliberation, he inclined to go through with the League, and in companie of the reſidue to begin the warre againſt the Emperour. They fell to accord, and drew the articles, and there wanted nothing but to giue the full perfection, at ſuch time as he receiued newes that the Commander *Errera* whō the Emperor had ſent to him, was arriued at *Genes*, and that he was coming with diligence with a gracious and good diſpatch; in which reſpect he determined to attend his coming, whereof the Embaſſadours, whom he had aſſured to paſſe the confederation the ſame day, complained much. The cauſe of his coming was, that the Emperour after he had ſent ſuch a commiſſion to the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, that at leaſt it was in his power to ſeize vpon the Eſtate of *Millan*, fearing leſt by that occaſion new ſtirres would be raiſed in *Italy*, he began to debate more ſtraitly of the accord with the Legate *Saluiati*, ſo that there paſſed betweene them a capitulation, reſeruing neuertheleſſe the condition of the ratification by the Pope, wherein he was ſatisfied touching the reſtitution of *Reggio* and *Rubiera*, and alſo the defence and conſeruation of the Duke of *Millan* was comprehended therein; matters which the Pope did principally deſire. And it was expreſly ſet downe, that if the Duke ſhould die, the Emperour ſhould not retaine that Dukedome, nor giue it to the Archduke his brother, but that he ſhould inueſt the Duke of *Bourbon*, which the Pope himſelfe very vndiſcreetly, and by the perſwaſion of the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, had propounded vnto them, together with *George* of *Auſtria* baſtard brother to the Emperour *Maximilian*, at ſuch time as the life of *Francis Sforce* was holden almoſt deſperate. Which capitulation being made, the Legate without tarrying till Pope *Clement* had giuen it perfection, either could not, or would not refuſe to preſent the Emperour with the writ of diſpenſation ſo much deſired: ỹ which for that it was made before, onely with mention of impediment to the ſecond degree without naming the King of *Portugals* daughter, the leſſe to offend the King of *England*, or becauſe there was betweene them a double bond of affinitie, mention being made of the mightier bond onely: it was neceſſarie to make another, which with expreſſe mention of the perſons, contained all the impediments. The Commander *Errera* departed from the Emperours Court with the diſpatch of this confederation, a day or two after the Emperor was aduertiſed of the impriſoning of *Moron*: and being come to the Popes Court the ſixt day of December, and brought into his preſence (after he had made many offers to his Holineſſe, and well informed him of the good will of the Emperour) he deliuered him the capitulations, wherein albeit the articles touching the ſalt, and matters of Benefices in the Realme of *Naples*, were contrary to that which had bene ſolicited and reſolued vpon with the Viceroy, yet (for that his principall end was to be aſſured of ſuſpitions) he had accepted them, if he had ſeene and knowne that there had bene ſincere proceeding touching the Duchie of *Millan*. But ſeeing that in the article concerning *Francis Sforce*, there was no mention made of the imputation made againſt him, nor any promiſe to render vnto him the Eſtate that was taken from him, nor to pardon his faults if he had committed any, but the Emperour in the

Pope Clement the vij. makes a league againſt the Emperour.

concluſion made with the Legate, and in the inſtructions giuen to his Agent, had made no ſhew to take any knowledge of ſuch things, their art and ſubtilties were eaſily diſcerned. For the confederation and promiſe made to defend and preſerue *Francis Sforce* in the Dukedome of *Millan*, depriued not the Emperour of power to proceed againſt him as againſt his vaſſall, and to declare the freehold to be confisked for that wherewith he was charged, that is, to haue conſpired againſt his Maieſtie: and *Monſieur de Bourbon* appointed to be Duke in caſe of his death, was alſo to ſucceed in caſe of his priuation, for the lawes do conſider the death natural and the death ciuill, by the which they iudge him to die, who is condemned for ſuch a crime. For this cauſe the Pope anſwered with very graue ſpeeches, that he had no particular matter of diſcord with the Emperor elect, yea touching all differences & contentions that might happen betweene them, he wold neuer chuſe other Iudge then himſelf; but alſo that it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh ſo good an order for the publike affaires, as *Italy* might remained aſſured, which could not be done vnleſſe he reſtored to *Francis Sforce* the Duchie of *Millan*. And he layed afore him reaſons, prouing that ſo generall an article was not ſufficient; concluding that it would be no ſmall griefe to him to be driuen to a neceſſitie to enter into new deliberations, and to eſtrange himſelfe from the Emperour elect, with whom he had alwayes bene moſt firmely conioyned. The Duke of *Seſſa* replied, that the Emperour had without doubt a ſincere and vpright intention, and that he was content, that notwithſtanding whatſoeuer had happened, the Duchie of *Millan* ſhould remaine to *Francis Sforce*, but that by inconſideration that article had not bene ſet downe in more ample forme, and that the Pope ſhould reforme it as he thought good, promiſing to preſent to him within two moneths the ratification, ſo farre forth alſo as he would giue his word not to conclude the League which was negociated with the gouernment of *France* and the *Venetians* during that time. It was clearely diſcerned, that this offer had no other foundation then a deſire to gaine the time of two moneths, to the end the Emperour might haue the more leiſure the better to aduiſe himſelf, and to prouide remedies againſt ſo great a League: and yet after many diſputes, and to the great diſcontentment of the Embaſſadours, the Pope conſented to that demand, as well for a deſire to enter as ſlowly as he could into expences and troubles, as for that he ſuppoſed that ſo long as the *French* King continued priſoner, all contracts and confederations made with the Regent of *France* would be very dangerous, for that it was in the Emperours power to diſſolue it whenſoeuer he would: and alſo that by this reſpite, it might be (although he had no great hope thereof) that he might obtaine his deſire; which delay if haply it wrought concord betweene the two Kings, he conſidered very wiſely (though many iudged otherwiſe) that it were better to be done in a time when the Emperour ſtood in leaſt neceſſitie, for that by how much his affaires were aduanced or ſtood in good traine, by ſo much the more heauie conditions would he lay vpon the *French* King, which being ſo ſeuere and rigorous, he ſuppoſed the King would not obſerue them when he was at libertie. There was alſo added to this treatie, that during the ſaid time, there ſhould be no new enterpriſe embraced, nor any action executed againſt the Caſtle of *Millan*, if *Francis Sforce* would be bound not to moleſt or offend thoſe without, which condition he would not accept.

1526. The yeare of the natiuitie of the Sonne of God 1525, being paſſed in theſe actions more diſpoſed to warre then to peace, there begun the yeare 1526, which was full of great accidents and wonderfull troubles: in the beginning whereof the Commander *Errera* returned to the Emperour with letters written with the Popes owne hand, by the which he denied not abſolutely, nor confeſſed the conſpiracies practiſed againſt him, but laying the fault vpon the Marquis of *Peſquiero*, he laboured to excuſe *Francis Sforce*, ſeduced (if he had committed any fault) by the counſels of *Ierome Moron*, and beſought him moſt affectionately, that for the benefite and quiet of all Chriſtendome, it would pleaſe him to pardon him. At which time the Emperour expecting the anſwer of the Pope, held in ſuſpence the practiſes of all others; and albeit he made much of the Duke of *Bourbon*, promiſing with ſpeed to aduance the accompliſhment of the mariage betwixt his ſiſter and him, yet when *Bourbon* vrged the finiſhing thereof, and would haue conſummated the mariage, he was alwayes put off till another time, & was told for excuſe, that the Emperour would firſt giue perfection to his owne mariage with the infant of *Portugal*, who was expected from day to day: but to the end it might be alwayes in the power of the Emperour (notwithſtanding his promiſe to the Duke of *Bourbon*) to giue her to wife to the *French* King

King if the accord went on: following herein the custome of Princes, who are led rather by profite, then by honestie. Now after the Emperours mariage was consummated at *Seuille* in *Spaine*, the Commander *Errera* arriued at the Court, with the breuiat of the article concerning *Francis Sforce*, which article the Pope had deduced at large in his fauour: so that the Emperour being well assured that the Legate *Saluiati* had no commission to conclude any thing but according to that article, and all his Councell thinking it necessarie to hinder the league that was in hand, and dangerous to haue to do at one time with so great a number of enemies, he saw himselfe reduced to such termes, that he must either content the Pope and the *Venetians* by restoring *Francis Sforce* to the Duchie of *Millan*, or compound with the *French* King, who in the end, after long arguing and disputation for the countrey of *Burgondie*, and being out of hope to recouer his libertie by any other meanes, he offered to render it to the Emperour, with all the appertenances and dependances, and to renounce all his rights to the kingdome of *Naples* and the Duchie of *Millan*, and to deliuer two of his sonnes in hostage for the assurance of his promises. The disputations were great vpon the election of the one or the other way, and the Viceroy who brought the Most Christian King into *Spaine*, and had giuen him so many hopes, and so ardently procured his deliuerie, made greater instance then euer to that end, whose authoritie was great with the Emperour, for the reputation he had to loue his profite, and to be faithfull vnto him: but on the contrarie, *Mercurie Gattinaro* the great Chancellor, a man of base parentage in the countrey of *Piedmont*, who was of so great credite and experience, that he had managed of long time all the affaires of the Court of most importance, rather exclamed then disputed. These two being entred one day into the Councell, the Emperour being present, to resolue at last all the matters that had bene discoursed so many moneths, the great Chancellor spake thus:

The Emperour maried to the daughter of Portugal.

The Oration of the Chancellor.

I haue alwayes feared (inuincible Emperour) lest our too great couetousnesse, and that we haue proposed vnto our selues immoderate ends, wold be the cause that of so singular and great a victorie, we should reape in the end neither glorie nor profite: but yet I could neuer beleeue, » that the victorie could bring your reputation and estate into danger, as I see now manifestly it » will, since there is question of an accord, by the which all *Italy* will become desperate, and the » *French* King set at libertie, but vnder so vnequall conditions, that if not willingly, yet by ne- » cessitie, he will continue a greater enemie to you then before. For my part, I could also wish, and » with as great affection as others, that at one and the same time the Duchie of *Burgondie* might » be recouered, and ỹ foundations of your imperie in *Italy* established: but this I know, that who- » soeuer will so suddenly embrace so much, puts himselfe in danger to effect nothing: and that » there is no reason for which it may be said, that the *French* King being deliuered, will obserue ar- » ticles of so great importance. Knoweth he not, that in rendring *Burgondie*, he openeth you a way » into *France*, and that it will be alwayes in your power to runne vp euen to *Paris*? and that when » you haue the meanes to vexe *France* in so many places, it will be vnpossible for him to resist you? » Doth not he know, and all the world see, that if he consent that you go to *Rome* with an ar- » mie, you will become a bridle to all *Italy*, and dispose at your pleasure of the Estate spi- » rituall and temporall of the Church, and by that meanes your puissance being redoubled, you » shall alwayes after neuer want money nor forces to offend him? and that he shall be constrained » to accept all such lawes as you will impose vpon him? Can any man beleeue then, that he will » obserue an accord, by the which he is made your slaue, and you his Lord? The lamentations » and exclamations of all the Realme of *France*, will they faile him, together with the perswasions » of the King of *England*, and the incitations of all *Italy*? It may be the amitie that is betweene you » two, may cause him to trust you, or willingly to see your great power: but was there euer two » Princes, betweene whom there was greater cause of hatred and contention? There is not onely » betweene you a reciprocall iealousie of greatnesse, a matter apt to stirre vp one brother against » another; but also ancient and great hatreds, begun in the times of your fathers and great » grandfathers, so many and so great warres betweene these two houses, so many peaces and ac- » cords not obserued, so many iniuries and offences done and receiued. May we not beleeue » that he burneth with disdaine, when he remembreth how many moneths he hath bene your pri- » soner? that he hath bene alwayes kept vnder very strait guard, and neuer had so much fauour » shewed him as to see you or speake with you? and that in this prison he hath had so many per- » perplexities and incommodities, as he had almost died therewith? and that now he is not deli- »

" uered through magnanimitie, or any loue that is borne him, but for feare of ſo great a confe-
" deration conſpired againſt you? Shall we beleeue that an alliance made by neceſſitie, will be
" more mightie then ſo many incitations? and who knoweth not, how much Princes eſteeme of
" ſuch bonds? and who can be a better witneſſe then our ſelues, of the eſtimation that is had of
" parentages? But to ſome it may haply ſeeme, that we ſhall be greatly aſſured by the faith he will
" giue to returne againe into priſon. But what foundations can be more inconſiderate, and what
" hopes more vnwiſe then theſe? The great griefe which I haue found (inuincible Emperour)
" that there is a diſpoſition to take a courſe ſo hurtfull and dangerous, conſtraines me to ſpeake
" in this ſort. We all know well, what reckoning men make of their faith, when there is queſtion
" of intereſts of Eſtate; and of what force are the promiſes of the *French* men, who, though free
" and open in all other things, yet in this regard are maiſters and moſt perfect in deceiuing; and
" that this King is naturally ſo much the more hard and ſparing in effects, by how much he is plen-
" tifull and prodigall in words. Therefore I conclude, that neither the good will betweene two
" Princes, who haue for a very ancient inheritance iniuries and offences; nor the memorie of be-
" nefites, which are none; nor faith or promiſes, which in matters of eſtate import litle with ma-
" ny, but nothing with the *French* men, will induce him to follow an accord which raiſeth his ene-
" mie to heauen, and throweth himſelfe and his kingdome into manifeſt ſubiection. I know well
" it will be anſwered, that for feare of theſe things, and for better aſſurance, two of his children
" ſhall be demanded, and among others the eldeſt, whoſe loue he will eſteeme more then the price
" of *Burgondie*: but for my part I am of opinion, that the loue of his children will rather cauſe
" the contrary, when the memorie of them ſhall come to his mind, and the conſideration that to
" obſerue the accord, would be the beginning to make them your ſlaues. I know not whether ſuch
" a pawne would be ſufficient, if he ſhould be altogether deſperate to recouer it in other ſort: for
" that it is a matter of too great importance to put his Realme in danger, which being once
" loſt would hardly be recouered: but he may well hope to redeeme his children in time, either
" by accord, or ſome other occaſion; and in reſpect of their tender age, the expectation will not be
" grieuous vnto him: but when he may haue almoſt all the Princes of Chriſtendome ioyned in
" league againſt you, who doubteth but he will confederate with them? and that he will ſeeke to
" moderate this accord by the way of warre? and that the gaine and profit which we ſhall reape by
" this victorie, will be nothing elſe but a very ſtrong and dangerous warre, ſtirred vp by the ha-
" tred, neceſſitie and deſpaire of the *French* King, the King of *England*, and all *Italy*? againſt all
" whom we may defend our ſelues, if God be not wearie with working dayly ſuch miracles for vs
" as he hath ſo often done, euen till this time; and if Fortune for our ſakes change her nature;
" and her inconſtancie and mutabilitie become vnto vs, contrary to all examples paſt, a mirrour
" of conſtancie and ſtabilitie. It is now many moneths ſince we haue concluded in all our coun-
" ſels, to vſe all poſſible meanes to let the *Italians* for vniting with the houſe of *France*: and now
" we throw our ſelues raſhly into a deliberation which takes away all difficulties that till this houre
" haue kept them in ſuſpence, which multiplieth our dangers, and increaſeth the forces of our
" enemies. For who knoweth not, that that league will be more mightie which ſhall haue for
" chiefe the *French* King, free and in his owne kingdome, then that which ſhall be made with the
" gouernment of *France*, the King remaining your priſoner? Who knoweth not, that nothing elſe
" hath detained the Pope till this day from entring confederation againſt you, then a feare leſt
" you ſhould ſeparate the *French* men from them, in offering them their King? But they will haue
" leſſe feare of ſuch a matter, when you ſhal haue ỹ children & not him: and ſo the medicine which
" we would vſe to preuent danger, will be that which without all compariſon will increaſe it,
" and in ſtead of breaking this vnion, we ſhall be the meanes whereby it will become both more
" firme and more puiſſant. But ſome may aske me, What is your aduice then? do you thinke it fit
" to make no profite of ſo great a victorie? ſhall we alwayes dwell in theſe doubts and perplexi-
" ties? I confirme that which I haue many times ſpoken, that it is a matter too hurtfull to receiue
" ſo much meate at one time, as the ſtomacke cannot beare: and that it is neceſſarie, either by
" returning into amitie with *Italy*, which demands nothing of vs but to be aſſured, to ſeeke to get
" *Burgondie* of the *French* king, and as much elſe as we can: or to make a compoſition with him,
" whereby *Italy* may remain at our diſcretion, but ſo eaſie in reſpect of his intereſts, ỹ he may haue
" cauſe to obſerue the conditions of it: and in the election of one of theſe two wayes, it is meet
" (moſt mightie Emperor) that your wiſedome & goodnes preferre that which is ſtable and more
iuſt,

iuſt, afore that which at the firſt ſhew may haply ſeeme more great and profitable. I confeſſe the Duchie of *Millan* is an Eſtate more rich and commodious for many regards then *Burgondy*, and that there can no amitie paſſe with *Italy*, vnleſſe *Millan* be transferred either to *Francis Sforce* or to ſome other to the Popes liking: and yet I rather like this, then to accord with the *French* men, for that *Burgondie* appertaineth to you more iuſtly then *Millan*, and is more eaſie to be maintained, then a countrey where no man deſireth you. To ſeeke to get *Burgondie* your ancient inheritance, is an action of great praiſe: but to aſpire to *Millan*, either for your ſelfe, or for any that dependeth wholly vpon you, cannot be without note of ambition. The firſt requireth of you ỹ memory of ſo many of your glorious predeceſſors, whoſe bones lying buried in captiuitie, do crie for nothing elſe, but that you deliuer and recouer them; and their ſo iuſt, ſo deuout, and holy deſires, may haply moue God to be more fauourable vnto you. It is a more diſcreete and eaſie counſell, to ſeeke to eſtabliſh an amitie with him that vnwillingly becomes your enemie, then with one who in no time can be your friend. For in the *French* king there wil always be a perpetual hate and deſire to oppoſe againſt your doings: but the Pope and the other *Italians*, once freed of ſuſpition by the reuoking of your armie that is in *Lombardie*, will haue no occaſion of controuerſie with you, either through iealouſie or feare, and remaining your friends, you ſhall draw from them both now and alwayes, great commoditie and profite. Therefore let honour, profite and ſuretie, make you the more inclined to this amitie, and no leſſe neceſſitie, if I be not deceiued. For, albeit you come to accord with the King, and bind him to no other thing then to aide you in the enterpriſes of *Italy*, yet me thinkes it is not likely he will obſerue it, for that he will be of opinion, that leauing you *Italy* in prey, he ſhould put his owne Realme in danger: and on the other ſide, the hopes and oportunities will be very great, that by the meanes of ſo mightie an vnion he ſuppoſeth he hath to trouble you, and to reduce you to accord vnder eaſie conditions: ſo that of a King priſoner, we ſhall make him free and our enemie, and giue a head to the Realme of *France*, ſo that ioyning with the reſidue, he may raiſe warre againſt vs with greater forces and more profite. How much better were it to confederate with the *Italians*? to make a good and true alliance with the Pope, who hath continually deſired it? and take from the *French* all hope to ioyne with the *Italians*? ſeeing that in that caſe neither neceſſitie nor feare of new leagues, but your owne will and the qualitie of the conditions, will draw you to accord with the *French*? Then ſhall you ſee that neceſſitie and deſpaire will conſtraine them not onely to deliuer *Burgondie* into your hands, and to grant you greater things, but alſo to deliuer you ſuch hoſtages, that you ſhall not neede to feare the obſeruation? For to ſpeake the truth, children are not ſufficient, ſo long as they may hope to effect ſo great an vnion: and ſcarcely *Bayon*, *Narbon*, and the armie by ſea, would ſuffice if they were put into your hands. Thus may you draw of this victorie a fruite great and honourable, iuſt and ſure: otherwiſe, either I vnderſtand nothing, or by this accord you ſhall embarke your eſtate into ſo great dangers, that I ſee no way to deliuer you therefrom, if haply it happen not that the indiſcretion of the *French* King become greater then ours. The Chancellor with this accurate and vehement ſpeech, and with the reputation of his wiſedome, had moued the minds of a great part of the Councell, when the Viceroy, principall and author of the contrarie opinion, ſpake, as they ſay, in this ſort:

The Oration of the Viceroy.

Certainly (moſt glorious Emperour) he is not to be praiſed, that by an appetite to haue much, embraceth more then he is able to hold; and he is no leſſe to be blamed, who by too much doubt and diſtruſt, doth willingly depriue himſelfe of great occaſions, gotten with ſo many difficulties and dangers: but both theſe faults being very great, that which proceedeth of feare and abiection of mind, is more to be reprehended and condemned in a great Prince, then that which proceedeth of generoſitie and greatneſſe of courage: and it is more laudable to ſeeke to winne much with danger, then for the auoiding of perill to ſuffer the occaſions to be loſt or interrupted, which very rarely happen to mortall men. Now this is that which indeed the Lord Chancellor doth counſell you, who doubting that by this accord *Burgondie* and *Millan* may not be obtained (for we muſt not thinke he is puſhed on either by the loue of *Italy* which is his countrey, or by the good that he wiſheth to the Duke of *Millan*) hath reſolued of a way, by the which, as he ſaith, we ſhall get *Burgondie* and loſe *Millan*, an Eſtate without compariſon of greater importance. But my opinion is, that we ſhould loſe *Millan*, and not winne *Burgondie*, and in ſtead that this victorie hath moſt gloriouſly opened a way to the Imperie of all Chriſtendome,

« dome, there will remaine no other fruite of it, if you follow his counsell, then domage and in-
« famie. And certainly I cannot discerne any suretie in his counsell, but very great danger, and
« verie small profit, and that easie to slide out of our hands, which would be a matter ful of shame
« and indgnitie: but on the contrarie, in compounding with the *French* King, me thinks there is
« great glorie, great profit, & sufficient assurance. For I ask you, my Lord Chancellor, what reason
« haue you, what suretie, what faith, that the *Italians*, after we haue left them the Duchie of *Mil-*
« *lan*, will obserue the accord, and not intermeddle in the affaires that shall passe betweene
« the *French* King and vs? and not rather when they haue embased our reputation, when they haue
« caused the armie to be dissolued that doth restraine and bridle their malignitie, and when they
« shall be assured that no new companies of Lanceknights can come into *Italy*, because there is
« no place in *Lombardie* to receiue them, nor where they may lodge; what suretie, I say, haue
« you, that the *Italians* will not then continue their practises, and will not by threatning the king-
« dome of *Naples* which will remaine almost at their discretion, force vs to deliuer the *French*
« King? Do you thinke, my Lord Chancellor, that *Francis Sforce* will acknowledge the fauours
« that haue bene done vnto him? seeing he hath recompenced so many benefites receiued of the
« Emperour with such a trecherous part and wicked treason? What will he do now, when he
« knoweth there is a purpose to punish so vile an act by the sentence of law? when he feareth pu-
« nishment, and expecteth his safetie and deliuerance from your enemies? Will you trust the *Ve-*
« *netians*, who are naturall enemies to the Empire and the house of *Austria*? and who tremble
« when they remember that almost yesterday *Maximilian* your grandfather tooke from them so
« many of those townes which they now possesse? Haue you any confidence in the goodnesse of
« the Pope, or in his inclination towards the Emperour? with whom the first alliance that Pope
« *Leo* made, was (after he had attempted many things against vs) for a desire either to be reuen-
« ged, or to be assured against the *French* men, and for ambition to occupie *Ferrara*? and after him
« the Pope now reigning who was hated of the one moitie of the world, continued by necessitie
« (after the death of *Leo*) in your amitie; but when he was become Pope, he returned immediatly
« to the nature of Popes, which is to feare and hate the Emperours, so that he had nothing more
« in horror then the name of the Emperour. All this haply may be excused, & it may be answered,
« that their cõplots and enterprises proceeded not of hatred or ambition, but only of the iealousie
« of your greatnesse, the which being ceassed, all practises will take end. But either this is not
« true, or if at the beginning it was true, it must of necessitie haue taken other rootes, and be-
« come another humor, for that it is a thing naturall, that hatred followeth suspition, and offences
« and vexations come after hatred, and after offences men draw to alliance and amitie with the e-
« nemies of him whom they haue offended, labouring to raise practises, not onely for their proper
« suretie, but also to make their profit of the ruine of him whom they haue offended: and further,
« the remembrance of wrongs is far greater and more stirring in the mind of him that doth them,
« then in him that receiueth them. Wherefore although at the first they were moued onely with
« suspition, the same was the cause that moued them to become your enemies, & incited them to
« turne as wel their minds as their hopes to the *French* part, and afterwards to begin to deuide a-
« mong themselues the Realme of *Naples*, as they haue done in all contracts past: now let vs giue
« them what suretie, and make what accord you will with them, hatred and feare will still burne in
« their breasts; not trusting to that which seemeth to them to be done by necessitie; and
« supposing they haue no more meanes to range you to their wils, fearing lest in the
« end there be made betweene the *French* King and vs a new appointment, semblable to that
« which was made at *Cambray*, and desiring (to vse their owne words) to deliuer *Italy* of strangers;
« they will presume to giue you lawes, and to demand of you the deliuerie of the *French* King;
« the which if you refuse (most noble Emperour) how can you defend against them the king-
« dome of *Naples*? and if you grant it them, you lose all the fruits of the victorie, and remaine
« the most dishonored and despised Prince that euer was. But let vs put the case that *Italy* will ob-
« serue the accord, and that necessitie constraine you either to leaue *Millan* or not to reco-
« uer *Burgondie*, what comparison is there betweene these two? *Burgondie* is a countrey of litle
« circuite, of small reuenue, and not so commodious as many perswade themselues. The Duchie
« of *Millan*, both for the riches and beautie of so many Cities, for the number and nobleness of
« the subiects, for the great reuenues, and for that it is sufficient to nourish all the armies of the
« world, is more to be esteemed then many kingdomes; and besides the amplitude and puissance

of

of it, there is more reckoning to be made of the commodities that may reuert to you by the conqueſt thereof, then of the value of the thing it ſelfe. For *Millan* and *Naples* being at your deuotion, it will follow by neceſſitie that the Popes, as anciently they were wont, muſt depend vpon the Emperours: That all *Tuſcane*, the Duke of *Ferrara*, and the Marquis of *Mantua*, ſhall be your ſubiects: and the *Venetians* being enuironed by *Lombardie* and *Germanie*, will be conſtrained to accept lawes at your hand: and thus, I ſay, not with force and armes diſplayed, but with the reputation of your name, with one onely Herald, with the enſignes of the Empire, you ſhall command all *Italy*. And who knoweth not what *Italy* is? A Prouince by good right eſteemed the Queene of all others, for the oportunitie of her ſituation, for the temperature of the aire and Climate, for the multitude & excellencie of wits moſt apt for all honorable enterpriſes, for the fertilitie of all things neceſſarie to the life of man, for the greatneſſe and beautie of ſo many noble Cities, for her riches, for the ſeate of Religion, for the ancient glorie of the Empire, and for infinite other regards, the which if you command, you ſhal be always redoubted of all other Princes. It belongeth more to your greatneſſe and glorie, to looke after this, and is more agreeable to the bones of your elders (ſith theſe alſo are brought into conſideration) who both for their goodneſſe and pietie, we are not to beleeue do deſire any other thing then what is moſt conuenient, and moſt glorious for your name. So that, by following the counſell of the Lord Chancellor, we ſhall loſe a very great matter for a thing righe ſmall, that hitle alſo being very vncertaine, as we may well know by that which was like to haue happened certaine moneths paſt. Do we not remember how much we were troubled when the *French* King lay in ſo great danger of death? and that the ſame proceeded of no other thing then of the knowledge, that by his death we ſhould loſe all the fruite hoped for by the victorie? And who can aſſure vs that the verie ſame may not now happen? but more eaſily, for as much as the relikes of his maladie do yet hang vpon him, and for that the hope which till now hath ſupported him, being taken away, greater diſcontentments, the onely cauſe of his ſickneſſe, will returne vpon him: eſpecially ſeeing (by reaſon there is debating of new conditions and aſſurances, which cannot eaſily be agreed vnto) the negociation of new practiſes will be long and tedious, which will be ſubiect to this accident, and haply to others more great and more dangerous. Do we not well know, that nothing hath ſo long retained the Gouernment and Counſel of *France*, as the opinion they haue of his ſpeedie deliuerie? by meanes whereof the Nobles and Chieftaines of that Realme haue remained peaceable and obedient to the Ladie Regent: but aſſoone as they ſhall find this hope to faile, it may eaſily happen thereby that the Realme being moued therewith, will alter the gouerment: That if the great ones of the kingdome get once the bridle in their hand, they will take no care for the deliuerie of their King, but to maintaine themſelues in libertie and to be maiſters, they will be glad of his captiuitie, and ſo in ſtead of getting *Burgondie* and ſo many other great things, we can no more hope for any thing by his deliuerie. But I aske you further, my Lord Chancellor, whether the Emperour in this reſolution ought to haue any regard to his dignitie and Maieſtie? and what greater infamie he can receiue, and what greater diminution of his honour, then to be conſtrained to pardon *Francis Sforce*? and that a man halfe dead, a rebell, and ſingular example of ingratitude, not in humbling himſelfe, and imploring your mercie, but caſting himſelfe into the armes of your enemies, ſhould force you to yeeld vp & render vnto him the Eſtate which ſo iuſtly hath beene taken from him, and to receiue lawes of him? It were better (moſt inuincible Emperour) and more agreeable to the dignitie of the Empire and your greatneſſe, to expoſe your ſelfe againe to fortune, & to put all things again in danger, then forgetting the degree which you hold, and hauing no regard to the authoritie of the ſoueraigne Prince ouer all Princes, & to the name of the Emperor, hauing ſo often vanquiſhed ſo mightie a King, to accept & receiue at the hands of Priſts and Merchants, ſuch conditions, as if you had beene ouerthrowne, there could not haue beene offered to you either more vniuſt or more vnworthy. Therefore all theſe reaſons conſidered, and how ſmall the profit wil be which may come to you by the accord with the *Italians*, and by how many accidents it may eaſily ſlip out of your hands; how vnſure it is to truſt them, and how vnworthy a thing it is to leaue the Eſtate of *Millan*, and all that it is neceſſarie to reſolue our ſelues, and once to conſider the end, and that the imprioonment of the King profiteth vs not, but in regard of the fruites that may be drawne of his deliuerie: Haue counſelled, and do counſell againe, that we compound rather with the King then with the *Italians*, which is a matter

ter that cannot be denied to be more glorious, more reasonable, and more profitable, so farre forth as we may be assured of the obseruation, wherein I make some foundation, both of his thankefulnesse for the benefite he shall receiue of you, of the bond of affinitie, and of the vertue of your sister, a fit instrument to maintaine this amitie; but much more of his two sons, and among these of the eldest, which is such a pawne, as I know not whether any more great or more important can be receiued. And seeing our necessity driueth vs to determine something, we ought rather repose confidence in a *French* king vnder such hostages, then in the *Italians* without any gage: and rather to trust the word and faith of so great a King, then the immoderate couetousnes of Priests, and the suspitious niggardlinesse of Merchants: and with more facilitie may we haue amitie for a time with the *French* (as our elders haue often had) then with the *Italians* our naturall and perpetuall enemies. And in this way I do not onely discerne greater hope that faith will be kept with vs, but also lesse danger in case of promise breaking. For if the King refuse to render vs *Burgondie*, at least he will not dare (his children remaining hostages) to offend you againe, but will labour by solicitation and suite to moderate the accord: and besides, being as it were but yesterday vanquished by you, and newly come out of prison, he will stand in feare of you, and will not haue the courage to make a new proofe of your fortune. And if he take not armes against you, it is certaine that all others will be quiet enough: so that you may conquer the Castle of *Millan*, and so establish your selfe in that Estate, that hereafter you shall not need to feare the malice of any man. But if you accord now with the *Italians*, and they will breake their promise, there remaineth no bridle to restraine them: and their power increasing to offend you, their desire will likewise augment and be more free therein. Therefore in my iudgement it would be verie great both timorousnesse and imprudencie, for too great suspition, to lose an accord so full of glorie, and so honorable, and wherein there is sufficient suretie, to take in place thereof a resolution (if I be not deceiued) very dangerous and domageable.

When the Viceroy had spoken, the opinions of the residue of the Councell were diuerse: all such as were of vpright iudgement supposing that to accord with the *French* King according to the maner propounded, would be a deliberation very dangerous: and yet the desire to get *Burgondie* was so great in the *Flemings*, as being the ancient patrimonie and title of their Princes, that it suffered them not to discerne the truth: and likewise the bruite went, that the gifts and great promises made by the *French* men, wrought much with many: but the Emperour aboue all the residue (either for that such was his first inclination, or for that the authoritie of the Viceroy could do much with him, chiefly hauing the Count *Nassau* concurrant with him, or haply, because he held it too great an indignitie to be constrained to pardon *Francis Sforce*,) hearkened willingly to such as counselled him to compound with the *French* King: so that when he had caused the Legate *Saluiati* to be sounded againe, to know if he would consent that the Estate of *Millan* should be giuen to the Duke of *Bourbon*, and that he was certified that the Legate had no commission to accept of that condition (in which case he would haue preferred the amitie of the Pope,) he determined to accord with the *French* king, with whom (matters hauing bene alreadie debated, and in a maner concluded) he came to conclusion in a very few days, the Popes Legate not medling with any thing: & the Emperor had alreadie obtained the consent of the Duke of *Bourbon* to giue in mariage to the *French* King his sister, whom he had promised to him, whereunto he consented after he had bene much intreated, not so much for the desire he had to get the Duchie of *Millan*, which was promised to him against the will of the great Chancellour and the Viceroy, although with condition to be bound to pay a great summe of money, as for that his affaires being reduced to such termes that they neither depended nor could depend vpon any other then the Emperour, he was constrained to accommodate himself to his will; and as soone as he had giuen his consent, he departed forthwith by the Emperours direction, to the end not to be present at the Court at so inconuenient a time, taking his way towards *Barselonia*, whither necessarie prouisions to passe into *Italy* were to be sent vnto him the which for want of vessels (for at that time there were but three galleys in *Spaine*) and for lacke of money, stayed verie long.

The treatie of Madril touching the deliuerie of the French king.

The solicitation of the peace which was resolued the fourteenth day of February in the yeare 1526. contained: That betweene the Emperour and the *French* King should be a peace perpetuall, in the which should be comprehended all such as should be named by their common consent:

ſent: That the *French* King by the ſixt day of the next moneth of March, ſhould be ſet at libertie, vpon the marches in the coaſt of *Fontarabie*; and that within ſixe weekes after he ſhould conſigne to the Emperour the Duchie of *Burgondie*, the Countie of *Charrolois*, the iuriſdiction of *Noyers*, the Caſtle *Chinon* dependances of the ſaid Duchie, the Viſcountie of *Auſſone*, the iuriſdiction of *S. Laurence de la Roche* a dependant of *Franch* Countie, together with all the appertenances as well of the ſaid Duchie as Countie of *Burgondie*, which hereafter ſhould be ſeparate and exempted from the ſoueraigntie of the Realme of *France*: That at the very houre and inſtant that the King ſhould be deliuered, there ſhould be put into the Emperours hands the *Daulphin* of *France*, and with him either the Duke of *Orleans* the Kings ſecond ſon, or twelue of the principall Lords of *France*, whom the Emperour ſhould name, leauing it in the election of the Ladie Regent, either to deliuer the Kings ſecond ſonne or the twelue Barons, who ſhould remaine as hoſtages vntill reſtitution were made of the lands and places aforeſaid, and the peace ſworne and ratified, together with all the articles, by the general Eſtates of *France*, and enregiſtred (which they call abſolute approbation) in all the Courts of Parliament of that kingdome, with neceſſarie ſolemnities: for the performance whereof, there was ſet downe a terme of foure moneths; at which time returning the hoſtages, there ſhould be put into the Emperours hands, the Duke of *Angouleſme* the Kings third ſonne, to the end he might be trained vp with the Emperour, the better to entertaine and aſſure the peace: That the *French* King ſhould renounce and giue vp to the Emperour all his rights to the Realme of *Naples*, and chiefly thoſe which were to come to him by the inueſtiture of the Church: and that he ſhould do the like touching his intereſts in the Eſtates of *Millan*, *Genes*, *Aſt*, and likewiſe of *Arras*, *Tourney*, *de l'Iſle*, and of *Doway*: That he ſhould render vp alſo the Towne and Caſtle of *Hedin* as a member of the Countie of *Artois*, with all the munitions, artilleries, and moueables that were in it when it was laſt taken: That he ſhould renounce the ſoueraigntie of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and all other places which the Emperour poſſeſſed. And on the other ſide, that the Emperour ſhould reſigne to him all the title and quarell which he pretended to any place poſſeſſed by the *French* men, and ſpecially the townes and Caſtlewikes of *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, *Roye*, the Counties of *Bulleine* and *Poitiers*, with other townes ſtanding vpon the ſhores of the riuer of *Somme*: That there ſhould be betweene them a league and confederation perpetuall for the defence of their Eſtates, with obligation to aide one another when need required, with fiue hundred men at armes and ten thouſand footmen: That the Emperour ſhould promiſe to giue in mariage to the Moſt Chriſtian King the Ladie *Eleoner* his ſiſter, whom as ſoone as the diſpenſation ſhould be obtained from the Pope he ſhould contract, with words binding for the preſent, and afterwards ſhe ſhould be led into *France* to conſummate the mariage at the ſame time that according to the capitulations the hoſtages were to be deliuered: That ſhe ſhould haue for her portion two hundred thouſand crownes, with Iewels according to her eſtate, the one moitie of the money to be payed within ſixteene moneths, and the other halfe one yeare after: That a mariage ſhould be made betweene the *Daulphin* and the daughter of the King of *Portugal*, daughter to the Ladie *Eleoner*, as ſoone as their age would ſuffer: That the *French* King ſhould do all that he could to induce the ancient King of *Nauarre* to giue vp to the Emperour the rights of that kingdome; and in caſe he would not do it, that the King ſhould giue him no ſuccours: That the King ſhould likewiſe cauſe the Duke of *Gueldres* and the Count of *Zutphen*, and the principall townes of their eſtates, to promiſe with ſufficient ſecuritie, to giue themſelues to the Emperour, after their death: That the King ſhould giue no ſuccours to the Duke of *Wittenberg*, nor likewiſe to *Robert de la March*: That he ſhould furniſh and rigge for the Emperour, when he ſhould paſſe into *Italy*, and two moneths after he ſhall be ſo required, twelue galleys, foure ſhips, and foure gallions, all well munitioned and appointed at his owne coſt, except the men of warre; and that the ſaid veſſels ſhould be rendred three moneths after, accounting from the day of his embarking: That in ſtead of the armie by land which the King offered for *Italy*, he ſhould pay two hundred thouſand crownes in money, the one halfe within ſixteene moneths, and the other halfe within a yeare after: And that at the time when the hoſtages ſhould be deliuered, he ſhould be bound to giue bils of exchange for the pay of ſixe thouſand footmen for ſixe moneths immediatly after the Emperours arriuall in *Italy*: That he ſhould alſo furniſh for his ſeruice fiue hundred Lances payed, with a band of artillerie: That he ſhould ſaue harmeleſſe the Emperour of his promiſe made to the King

of *England* for the pensions which the *French* King owed him, the arrerages whereof amounted to fiue hundred thousand crownes, or else to deliuer so much readie money to the Emperour: That they should both ioyne to intreate the Pope to call a generall Councell as soone as possibly might be, to the end to consult of peace among Christians, of an enterprise against the Infidels and heretickes, and to grant to all men the Croisado for three yeares: That within sixe weekes the King should restore the Duke of *Bourbon* in most ample forme, into all his Estates & goods, moueable and vnmoueable, with the fruits and reuenues receiued: and that he should not molest him for any thing past, nor constraine him to dwell or go to the Realme of *France*: and that it should be lawfull to the said Duke of *Bourbon* to demand by the way of iustice, the Earledome of *Prouence*: That in like sort all those that had followed him should reenter in safetie into their goods and estates, and namely the Bishop of *Autun* and *Monsieur de Saint Valier*: That the prisoners taken in the warre should be deliuered on both parts within fifteene dayes: That there should be restitution made to the Ladie *Margaret* of *Austria* of all that she possessed afore the warre: That the Prince of *Orange* should be set at libertie, with restauration to the Principalitie of *Orange*, and all that he possessed by the death of his father, which had bene taken from him for following the faction of the Emperour: and that the like should be done to some other Barons: That the Marquis of *Saluſſa* should haue his Estate restored vnto him: That the King, as soone as he arriued in the first towne of his Realme, should ratifie this capitulation, and be bound to procure the *Daulphin* to ratifie it when he should come to the age of foureteene yeares. Many were named by common consent, and among them the *Swissers*: but not one of the Potentates of *Baly*, except the Pope, whom they named as conseruator of this accord, and that more for manners sake and ceremonie, then in effect and true meaning. Lastly, it was expressed in the said capitulation, that in case the King for any occasion should not accomplish the things promised, he should returne voluntarily into prison. All Christendome maruelled much at this accord. For when it was vnderstood that the first execution thereof consisted in the deliuerie of the King, the vniuersall opinion was, that being deliuered, he would not giue vp *Burgondie*, as being a member of too great importance for the Realme of *France*: and besides those few who had counselled the Emperour to it, all his Court had the same iudgement, and aboue all the great Chancellor reproued and detested the matter with so great vehemencie, that notwithstanding he was commanded to signe the capitulation according to the office of chiefe Chancellor, he refused to do it, alledging that in matters dangerous and hurtfull, as that was, he ought not to vse the authoritie that was giuen him: neither could he euer be altered from this opinion, notwithstanding the Emperour was angrie with him: who seeing him so resolute in his opinion, signed it himselfe, and within few dayes after went to *Madril* to confirme the alliance and make a foundation of amitie and good-will with the King, by entertaining him with familiar and priuate conference. Great were the ceremonies and demonstrations of amitie betweene them: oftentimes they shewed themselues together in publike places; they had oftentimes alone in secret very long discourses: they went together in one coach to a Castle halfe a dayes iourney from thence, where was Queene *Eleoner* whom the King contracted: and yet notwithstanding all these great signes of peace and amitie, he was no lesse straitly guarded then before, without hauing any more libertie: so that at one and the same time he was embraced as a brother and guarded as a prisoner; which made manifest to the world, that it was an accord full of discord, an alliance without amitie, and that vpon euery occasion their ancient iealousies and passions would be stronger in them then the regard of things done more by force then otherwise. Now when many dayes were spent in these actions, and that the ratification of the Ladie Regent was come, together with the declaration, that with the *Daulphin* of *France* they would rather giue in hostage the Kings second sonne then the twelue Barons, the King departed from *Madril* to go to the frontier of his Realme, where his person was to be exchanged for his sonnes, who were verie yong: and there was sent to accompanie him the Viceroy the author of his deliuerie, to whom the Emperour had giuen the Citie of *Ast* and other Estates in *Flanders* and in the kingdome of *Naples*.

The French king contracteth the Emperours sister.

At this time the Emperour wrote to the Pope a letter of Court, wherein he certified him, that for the desire of peace, and the common good of Christendome, so many iniuries and enmities forgotten, he had restored the *French* King to libertie, and had giuen him his sister in mariage,

The Emperour writeth to the Pope touching the French kings deliuery.

mariage, and that he had choſen him for the preſeruer of peace, and would alwayes continue his moſt obedient ſon: and not many dayes after he wrote to him another letter of his owne hand, which he ſent by the ſame Commander *Errera*, who had brought with him the letter written vnto him with the Popes owne hand, anſwering it partly with gracious and partly with rigorous words, concluding, that if *Francis Sforce* were not found guiltie of that whereof he was accuſed, he would reſtore to him the Duchie of *Millan*; and that he would haue the matter tried by the courſe of iuſtice, by ſuch Iudges as ſhould be deputed by himſelfe, as his ſuperiour: but in caſe it were found that he were guiltie, he could do no leſſe then inueſt in that Eſtate the Duke of *Bourbon*, to whom himſelfe was the cauſe that he had promiſed it, aduiſing him thereunto whileſt *Francis Sforce* lay ſicke; and as well to ſatisfie him, as to aſſure all *Italy*, he purpoſed not either to retaine that Dukedome for himſelfe, or to giue it to his owne brother, affirming vpon his faith, that ſuch was his ſimple intention, the which he earneſtly deſired him to approue, offering him alwayes his authoritie and forces, as an obedient ſonne to the Sea Apoſtolike. The ſame *Errera* alſo brought the anſwer to the draught of the article which had bene ſet downe at large by the Pope in fauour of *Francis Sforce*, which article the Emperour continuing in his firſt reſolution, would not allow: but ſent by the ſaid *Errera* to the Duke of *Seſſa* the forme of the accord as he was determined finally to paſſe it, with authoritie and power to contract if the Pope would accept it. The contents whereof were: That *Francis Sforce* ſhould be comprehended in the confederation, ſo farre forth as he were not found guiltie in the crime of treaſon: but in caſe of his death or depriuation, the Duke of *Bourbon* ſhould ſucceed in the confederation, and receiue of him the inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*: The obligation was confirmed which the Viceroy had made for the reſtitution of the townes holden by the Duke of *Ferrara*, but with condition that the Pope ſhould be bound to paſſe to him the inueſtiture of *Ferrara*, and forgiue him the penaltie of contrauention; matters contrary to the Popes drifts, who had determined to exact a paine of an hundred thouſand duckats, to pay the hundred thouſand which he had promiſed to the Emperour in caſe of that reſtitution: He would not admit that the eſtate of *Millan* ſhould take Salt of the Church, nor referre himſelfe touching the collation of benefices in the Realme of *Naples* to the tenour of the inueſtitures, but to the cuſtome of the former Kings, who in many caſes had contemned the rights and authoritie of the Sea Apoſtolike. And becauſe a treatie had bene made with the Legate, that to remoue the armie out of *Lombardie* which was a great charge to all *Italy*, the Pope, and he as King of *Naples*, and the other Potentates of *Italy*, ſhould pay an hundred and fiftie thouſand duckats, and the ſaid armie to retire into *Naples*, or into ſome ſuch place out of *Italy* as ſhould ſeeme good to the Emperour, who ſaid he would tranſport it into *Barbarie*: and it was added, that becauſe there was more due to the armie then was owing them at that time, there ſhould be leuied a pay of two hundred thouſand duckats. A copie of theſe articles was preſented to the Pope by the Duke of *Seſſa* and the Commander *Errera*, with proteſtation that it was not in their power to alter or change one ſyllable: and yet all other difficulties had eaſily taken forme, if the Duchie of *Millan* had bene ſo diſpoſed of as the Pope with the reſidue had had no cauſe to enter into ſuſpition. But they conſidered that the Duke of *Bourbon* was ſo implacable an enemie to the *French* King, that either for his ſuretie, or for a deſire to enter into *France*, he would be alwayes very ſubiect to the Emperour, and that it could neuer be hoped that he would be diſcontented with his exceſſiue greatneſſe: and that the article to remoue the armie out of *Lombardie*, a matter ſo greatly deſired of all, and for which they would not haue thought ſtrange to haue giuen any ſumme of money, would be to litle purpoſe, ſo long as there remained at *Millan* a Duke, who euen at the leaſt becke of the Emperour, would not onely admit him, but haply for his owne intereſt would wiſh and deſire him. Therefore the Pope, who (for that in the accord which the Emperour had made with the *French* King, there was no particular mention of him, nor of the ſuretie of the Eſtates of *Italy*) was confirmed in his former opinion, that the greatneſſe of the Emperour would be his ſeruitude, determined not to accept the accord in the maner it was offered him, but to keepe himſelfe free vntill he were aſſured what courſe the *French* would take touching the obſeruation of the peace: in which reſolution he remained the more willingly, for as much as beſides that which ſeemed likely vnto him, he had heard by the relation of certaine ſpeeches deliuered by the King afore his libertie, and ſpread abroad by ſome that were familiar in counſell with him, that the King would neuer obſerue the

things he had promiſed the Emperour: and to confirme the King in that deliberation (for his owne ſuretie depended thereupon) he ſent in poſt into *France*, *Paul Vettori* a *Florentine*, Captaine of his Galleys, to the end to be at the Court at the ſame time the King ſhould arriue, vſing that diligence not onely to know his intention as ſoone as might be, but alſo to the end that the King hauing a readie hope to be able to draw into league the Pope and the *Venetians* againſt the Emperour, might take occaſion to reſolue the ſooner. Therfore *Paul* had in charge, to congratulate in the Popes name the Kings deliuerie, and to declare vnto him what he had done to that end, and how much the practiſes of confederation that were entertained with the Ladie Regent, had induced the Emperour to deliuer him: and further, that he ſhould impart vnto him the Popes vehement deſire to haue an vniuerſall peace in Chriſtendome, and that the Emperour and he ſhould make warre together againſt the *Turke*, who was reported to make mightie preparations to inuade that yeare the Realme of *Hungarie*. Theſe were his Commiſſions apparent and knowne; but the moſt important and ſecret was, that aboue all things he ſhould endeuour dexterouſly to ſound throughly the Kings inclination, and if he found him enclined to obſerue the treatie of *Madril*, then to paſſe no further, for feare of making his affaires with the Emperour worſe then before; but if he found him otherwiſe diſpoſed, or at leaſt in doubt, that he ſhould labour to confirme him in that diſpoſition; and ſeruing his turne of all occaſions, he ſhould counſell him to take that courſe, giuing him knowledge of the Popes deſire to ioyne with him for the common benefite. He diſpatched in like ſort into *England* the Pronotarie *Gambaro*, to vſe the like office with that King, to the ſame end: and at his perſwaſion the *Venetians* ſent into *France* their Secretarie *Andrew Roſſe*, with the like commiſſions; and for as much as *Paul* as ſoone as he came to *Florence* fell ſicke and died, the Pope ſent in his place *Capin* of *Mantua*, although he tooke it for an ill ſigne, that now the ſecond time the miniſters which he had ſent into *France* to aduance theſe practiſes, were dead by the way. In the meane while both he and the *Venetians* did all they could to encourage the Duke of *Millan*, and entertained him with hopes, leſt the peace of *Madril* might cauſe him vnaduiſedly to make ſome accord with the Emperour.

The maner of the deliuerie of the French King.

By this time the *French* King was come to *Fontaraby*, a towne appertaining to the Emperor, ſtanding neare the Ocean ſea, vpon the frontiers of *Biſcay* and the Duchie of *Guyen:* and on the other ſide, the Ladie Regent was arriued with the children of *France* at *Bayon*, which is not farre from *Fontaraby*: and ſhe had lingred ſome time longer then the day appointed for the permutation, by reaſon the gout tooke her by the way. Then the eighteenth day of March, the *French* King accompanied with the Viceroy and Captaine *Alarcon*, with fiftie horſe, came to the ſhore of the riuer that deuideth the Realme of *France* from the kingdome of *Spaine*: at the ſame time *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the Kings children and the like number of horſe preſenting themſelues on the other ſide. There was in the midſt of the riuer a great barke made faſt with ankers, in which was no perſon. The King approched to this barke in a litle boate, wherein he was accompanied with the Viceroy, Captaine *Alarcon*, and eight others, all armed with ſhort weapons: and on the other ſide of the Barke were likewiſe brought in a litle boate *Monſieur de Lautrech* with the hoſtages, and eight others armed in the ſame maner. After this the Viceroy went into the Barke with all his companie, and the King with them: and preſently after *Monſieur de Lautrech* with his eight that accompanied him, ſo that within the Barke there was a like number of both parts, *Alarcon* and his eight being with the Viceroy, and *Monſieur de Lautrech* and the others with the perſon of the King: who when they were all thus within the Barke, *Monſieur de Lautrech* fetched out of the boate into the Barke, the *Daulphin*, who being giuen to the Viceroy, and by him committed to Captaine *Alarcon*, was forthwith beſtowed in their boate, and after him followed the litle Duke of *Orleans*, who was no ſooner entred the Barke, then the *French* King leaped out of the Barke into his boate, with ſuch ſwiftneſſe, that this permutation was thought to be done at one ſelfe inſtant: and then the King being brought to the ſhore, mounted ſuddenly (as though he had feared ſome ambuſh) vpon a *Turkiſh* horſe of a wonderfull ſwiftneſſe, which was prepared for the purpoſe, and ranne without ſtay to *Saint Iohn de Lus*, a towne of his obedience foure leagues from thence; and being there readily relieued with a freſh horſe, he ranne with the ſame ſwiftneſſe to *Bayon*, where he was receiued with incredible ioy of all the Court, from whence he diſpatched with great diligence a Gentleman to the King of *England*, with letters of his owne hand, whereby he ſignified in what ſort he was deliuered, and

with

with charge to tell him, that he acknowledged the effect of his libertie to be wrought wholly by him, offering to remaine to him a perpetuall and assured friend, and to be guided in all his affaires by his counsell: and soone after he sent vnto him other Embassadours, solemnely to ratifie the peace which his mother had made with him when he was prisoner: for that he made great account of the amitie of that King.

The end of the sixteenth Booke.

THE XVII. BOOKE OF THE historie and discourse of Guicciardin.

THE ARGVMENT.

THe Pope and the French king, the Venetians and the Duke of Millan, draw into league against the Emperour. The Duke of Bourbon comes to Millan. The armie of the League breakes vp from before Millan. The Castle of Millan rendred to the Imperials. Many enterprises are dressed against the Pope. The Confederates send their armies by sea to Genes. Rome is surprised by the Colonnois. The Pope makes truce with the Imperials, which hurteth the deuices of Lombardy. The Duke of Ferrara confederates with the Emperour.

NOtwithstanding the pledges of the two children of *France* (of whom the eldest being heire apparent to so great a succession, was one) was added to the oath and faith that passed betweene the Emperour and the *French* King, for the confirmation of the accord solemnely made at *Madril*, and withall the King had contracted the Emperours sister: yet by his deliuerie all the Princes of Christendome were brought into no small expectation, and the eyes of all men which before were fixed onely vpon the Emperour, began now to be turned towards the King, for that sundry and great effects depended vpon his deliberation either to obserue or not to obserue the capitulations of *Madril*. For if he obserued them, they saw that *Italy*, vnable to defend it selfe, would fall, without any remedie, into seruitude; and that the authoritie and greatnesse of the Emperour would be maruellously increased: and if he obserued them not, the Emperour would be constrained by the inobseruancie of the *French* King to forget the conspiracies and enterprises dressed against him by the Duke of *Millan*, and to restore him to that Duchie, to the end the Pope and the *Venetians* might not haue cause to ioyne with the King; and that by this meanes he should lose the great profits he hoped to reape by his victorie: or else (his indignation against the Duke of *Millan* being more powerfull in him, together with his desires to haue no impediment of the *French* in *Italy*) to assure the accord made with the King, conuerting the obligation to restore *Burgondie* into the paiment of money: or else yeelding to neither of these, to haue against so many enemies a warre, which (almost by his owne confession) was very difficult; since to auoid it, he was reduced to this strait, to deliuer the *French* King with so great danger. But the world stood not long in doubt of the will & intention of the *French* king: for that as soone as he was arriued at *Bayon*, being required by a Gentleman of the Viceroys to ratifie the accord, as he had promised to do as soone as he was come into a free place, he deferred it from day to day with many excuses: wherewith to the end to hold the Emperour in hope, he sent vnto him a man expresse, to signifie vnto him, that he had not presently accomplished the ratification, for that it was necessarie before he proceeded to such an act, to reappease and moderate the minds of his subiects, who were discontented with obligations that tended to the diminution of the Crowne of *France*: but notwithstanding all difficulties, he would vndoubtedly obserue all that he had promised. By this dealing, his in-

not without ſome ſuſpition of ſymonie practiſed with the Cardinall *Colonno*: or elſe leſt the great ſeueritie he had vſed againſt his countrey, with ſo many tumults of warre, ſhould make him perpetually infamous to the Councell, the rather for that it appeared by the effects, that he had bene moued, not as he publiſhed in the beginning, to reduce it to a good and moderate gouernment, but with ambition, and a deſire to bring it againe vnder the ſeruitude of his houſe: and for theſe cauſes abhorring the Councell, and not accounting the fidelitie of the Emperour a ſufficient ſuretie, when he had communicated the whole matter to the Cardinals deputed to the diſcuſſion of this matter, who alſo feared to be corrected by the Councell: he anſwered that there were many reaſons for the which it was not yet time to ſpeake thereof, for as much as peace was not yet wel eſtabliſhed among the Princes of Chriſtendome, and it was feared leſt the *Turke* would ſtirre againe, in which caſe it were not good that he ſhould find Chriſtendome encombred with the diſputations and contentions of a Councell: and yet making ſhew that he would referre it to the reſolution of the Emperour, he concluded, that he was contented that he ſhould promiſe in the Diot the indiction of a Councell, ſo that it might be celebrated in *Italy*, and in his preſence, due time being aſſigned for the aſſembling thereof: and that the *Lutherans* and other heretikes promiſing to ſtand to the determination of the Councell, ſhould in the meane while deſiſt from their corruptions, and rendring to the Sea Apoſtolike their due obedience, ſhould returne to their former maner of liuing like Chriſtian Catholikes: whereby all the matter was made more difficult. For the *Lutherans* not onely would not deſiſt from their opinions and ceremonies before the celebration of the Councell: and alſo it was beleeued, that they abhorred the Councell, for that they could expect no other thing thereof, then a reprobation of their opinions, ſeeing the moſt part and the principall of them had bene many times condemned as hereticall by ancient Councels; but that they inſiſted vpon the conuocation thereof, for that knowing it was a matter fearefull to the Popes, they perſwaded themſelues it would not be granted, and by that meanes they might ſupport their cauſe among the people with the greater authoritie.

1531. The yeare 1530 ended with theſe agitations, and the yeare 1531 ſucceeded, wherein was ſmall cauſe of troubles. For notwithſtanding it was comprehended by many ſignes that the *French* king was ill contented with the accords made with the Emperour, and very deſirous of new tumults, and that the King of *England* alſo had the ſame inclination, being angry with the Emperour, for that defending the ſiſter of his mother he impugned the matter of diuorce: neuertheleſſe the *French* King being both bare of money, and not well repoſed after the trauels of ſo long warres, the time was not yet fit to raiſe new troubles. But in the meane while he was diligent to practiſe as well in *Germanie* with ſuch Princes as bare minds eſtranged from the Emperour, as in *Italy* with the Pope, to whom, the better to aſſure his amitie, he made an ouerture of mariage betweene his ſecond ſonne and the Popes Neece: and (which he practiſed to the great offence of God, and with an horrible infamie to the Crowne of *France*, which had alwayes made principall profeſſion to defend Chriſtian Religion, for which merits it had gotten the title of Moſt Chriſtian) he held practiſes with the Prince of *Turkes*, to ſtirre him vp againſt the Emperour, towards whom the *Turke* was ordinarily ill diſpoſed, as well for his naturall hatred againſt the Chriſtian name, as for the controuerſies he had with his brother, tending to queſtions for the Realme of *Hungarie* with the *Vayuod*, of whom he had taken the protection: as alſo for that the greatneſſe of the Emperour began likewiſe to be ſuſpected of him. At this time the Imperiall Captaines leuied their forces from the territories of *Sienna*, to leade them to *Piemont*, when, to ſatisfie the Pope, they had reeſtabliſhed in *Sienna* the family of *Montenouo*, to enioy their countrey and goods, but not to alter the forme of gouernment: and when for their ſuretie they had left a guard of three hundred *Spaniſh* footmen depending vpon the Duke of *Malfi*, vnder whom (for that he could not keepe his authoritie) things returned forthwith into the ſame diſorders, ſo that ſuch as had bene reſtored, departed away for feare. Alſo the Emperour pronounced the forme of gouernment for *Florence*, diſſembling that part of the authoritie giuen him which limited the ſauing of their libertie: for that according to the very inſtructions which the Pope had ſent vnto him, he decreed that the citie ſhould be gouerned with the ſame Magiſtrates and in the ſame maner it was wont to be in the times when the *Medices* ruled it: and that *Alexander* the Popes nephew and his ſonne in law, ſhould be chiefe in the gouernment: and that in caſe of his death, the children and next deſcendants of the ſame family

The French king and the king of England ill diſpoſed to the Emperour.

The French king inciteth the Turke againſt the Emperour.

mily ſhould ſucceed from hand to hand. He reſtored to the Citie all the priuiledges agreed vnto before times by him and his predeceſſors, but with this condition annexed, to loſe them as often as the Citie ſhould attempt any thing againſt the greatneſſe of the family of *Medicis*; inſerting through all the Decree, words which ſhewed that he tooke not his ground onely vpon the power that had bene giuen to him by the parties, but alſo vpon the authoritie and dignitie Imperiall. But hauing herein haply more ſatisfied the Pope then the faculties giuen him by the compromiſe, he offended him as much immediatly after in a matter which was very grieuous vnto him. For after the controuerſie betweene the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara* was heard and examined by many Doctors to whom it was committed, whereupon both the parties had produced many teſtimonies and writings, and made a long courſe of pleading, he pronounced according to their counſell and relation, that *Modena* and *Reggia* appertained of right to the Duke of *Ferrara*, and that the Pope receiuing of him an hundred thouſand duckats, and reducing the tributes to the ancient cuſtome, ſhould inueſt him againe in the iuriſdiction of *Ferrara*. Therefore the Emperour laboured to perſwade the Pope, that if contrary to his promiſe made in *Bologna*, not to pronounce in caſe he found his cauſe not to be iuſt, he had giuen ſentence, that he was not to complaine thereof againſt him, but rather to blame the Biſhop of *Vaſone* his Nuncio, to whom he had not failed to giue notice that he would not pronounce ſentence, to the end not to be conſtrained to paſſe iudgement againſt the Pope: but the Biſhop being perſwaded otherwiſe, and ſuppoſing this to be done to free himſelfe of the promiſe he had made to giue ſentence if the right were in him, had preſſed ſo much the publication of the ſentence, that he was halfe conſtrained to it for the regard of his honour. Which excuſe the Pope had the ſooner admitted, if the ſentence had not bene in the ſame forme whereinto the Emperour had many times aſſayed to reduce the matter by accord. But that which offended moſt the Pope, was, that the Emperour in pronouncing vpon the matters of *Modena* and *Reggia*, had taken the courſe of a rigorous Iudge, but in the affaires of *Ferrara*, wherein the rigour was manifeſtly for him, he had done the office of a friendly Arbitrator. Therefore he would neither ratifie the ſentence, nor accept the paiment of the money wherein the Duke was condemned; neither did he at the next feaſt of Saint *Peter* accept the tribute which was publikely offered to him, according to the ancient cuſtome. But the Emperour for all that forbare not to conſigne to the Duke of *Ferrara*, *Modena*, which he had detained in pledge till that day, leauing them to decide afterwards the differences betweene themſelues. By reaſon whereof there was not for many moneths betweene the Pope and the Duke of *Ferrara* either an open warre or an aſſured peace, the Pope wholly applying himſelfe to oppreſſe him with wiles, or to expect an occaſion to wrong him openly with the aide of great Princes.

The Pope holdeth himſelfe offended with the Emperour.

This yeare of 1531 brought forth no other accidents, and the tranquillitie alſo went on continuing the yeare following, which was more dangerous for forreine warres then for the emotions of *Italy*. For, the *Turke* being inflamed with the ignominie of his repulſe at *Vienna*, and vnderſtanding that the Emperour was in *Germanie*, he prepared a very mightie army, and magnifying his prouiſions, he publiſhed, that his intention was to conſtraine the Emperour to come to battell with him. For the renowme of which preparations the Emperour put himſelfe in as good order as he could, reuoking into *Germanie* the Marquis of *Guaſt* with his *Spaniſh* regiments, and a great band of horſemen and footmen *Italians*. The Pope promiſed to aide him with fortie thouſand duckats for euery moneth, and ſent to this expedition as Legat Apoſtolike his nephew the Cardinall *de Medicis*: and the Princes and free townes of *Germanie* prepared in fauour of the Emperour, and for the common defence of *Germanie*, a very great armie: but the effects were nothing anſwerable to the renowme and the feare: for that *Soliman*, who came very late into *Hungarie*, and could arriue no ſooner, as well for the greatneſſe of his preparations, as for the length of the way, drew not directly with his army to the place where the Emperor was, but onely hauing repreſented the warre, and made a great incurſion, he returned to *Conſtantinople*. And in the Emperour there appeared no greater forwardneſſe; for although he vnderſtood that the *Turkes* drew neare, he made not out to meete them; and when he heard of their retraite, he omitted to purſue with all his forces the faire occaſion that was offered to reconquer *Hungarie* for his brother; but burning in deſire to returne into *Spaine*, he gaue order that the *Italian* footmen, with a certaine number of Lanceknights ſhould go to the enterpriſe of *Hungarie*; which deſigne was immediatly diſordered, for that the *Italians* puſhed on by ſome

1532.

The Turke returneth with ſhame to Conſtantinople.

of

of their Captaines, who ſaw that the charge of the enterpriſe was giuen to others, ſo mutined, that hauing no reaſon to alleage for their tumult, and the preſence of the Emperour who went in perſon to ſpeake vnto them, being not ſufficient to appeaſe them; they reſolutely tooke their way into *Italy*, marching with great haſte for feare to be followed, and in their way burning many villages and houſes as lands of their enemies, in reuenge as they ſaid of the burnings committed in many places in *Italy* by the Lanceknights. The Emperour alſo tooke his way towards *Italy*, and hauing ſet downe in what order, and by what places his Court and all his traine ſhould paſſe, the Cardinall *de Medicis*, carried with the raſhneſſe of youth, not obeying the order generally giuen to all the traine, aduanced and got before together with *Peter Maria Roſſo*, vpon whom chiefly was layed the fault of this ſedition. Wherewith the Emperour being wroth, but chiefly for that attributing the cauſe hereof to the Cardinall, he feared leſt the ſaid Cardinall who was ill contented that *Alexander* his couſin was preferred to the adminiſtration of the Eſtate of *Florence*, would go after the footbands to leade them to trouble the affaires of *Tuſcan*, he cauſed him to be apprehended by the way, and with him *Peter Maria Roſſo*: but afterwards conſidering better the importance of the matter, he wrote preſently that he ſhould be deliuered, and made many excuſes as well to the Cardinall as to the Pope. *Peter Maria* remained priſoner, but ſoone after he was releaſed, the iniury which he ſeemed to haue done to the Cardinall, helping him much (as was beleeued) with the Emperour.

Enteruiew of the king of England and the French king.

The departure of the *Turke* deliuered *Italy* of an imminent warre: for that the *French* King and the King of *England* being full of hatred and diſdaine againſt the Emperour, met together betweene *Calice* and *Bulleine*, where perſwading themſelues that the *Turke* would abide that Winter in *Hungarie*, and by that meanes would hold the forces of the Emperour intangled, they conſulted that the *French* king ſhould inuade the Duchie of *Millan*: and hauing a diſpoſition to draw the Pope to their part by violence and aſtoniſhment, ſeeing they could neuer allure him by other meanes, they deuiſed to take from him the obedience of their kingdomes in caſe he would not conſent to that which they deſired, which was that the *French* king wold haue the State of *Millan*, and the King of *England* a ſentence for him in the cauſe of diuorce; and they had determined to ſend to him with ſharp commiſſions, the Cardinals of *Tournon* and *Tarbes*, perſonages of great authoritie with the *French* king. But the newes which they receiued of the retiring of the *Turke* before the time of their enteruiew was determined, moderated theſe deuices, and alſo was the cauſe that the King of *England* ſent not for the Ladie *Anne Bulleine* to *Calice*; to celebrate the mariage with her publikely in that aſſembly, notwithſtanding the cauſe of diuorce was hanging in the Court of *Rome*, and that he was forbidden by writs Apoſtolike, vnder paine of very great cenſures, to innouate any thing to the preiudice of the firſt mariage: and yet the *French* king to demonſtrate to the King of *England* that he bare no good will to the *Romane* Church, impoſed by his owne authoritie vpon the Clergie of all his Realme a taxe of tenths, and diſpatched the two Cardinals to the Pope, but with conditions farre differing from thoſe which were preſcribed at the firſt.

A ſecond enteruiew of the Pope and the Emperour at Bologna.

The Emperour came into *Italy*, and deſiring to ſpeake with the Pope, the place of their meeting was eſtſoones aſſigned at *Bologna*, which the Pope accepted willingly, to giue no occaſion to the Emperour to go to the Realme of *Naples* (as many of his Court perſwaded him,) and by that occaſion to make a longer abode in *Italy*; which was alſo againſt the intention of the Emperour, who deſired to paſſe into *Spaine* for many reaſons, but chiefly for the deſire he had to haue children by his wife who remained there. Therefore they met at the end of the yeare at *Bologna*, where were obſerued betweene them the ſame demonſtrations of amitie, and the ſame offices of familiaritie which they had vſed before; but their wils were no more correſpondent as they had bene in their former negociations. For the Emperour had a great deſire of the Councell, for the repoſe and contentment of *Germanie*: he offered to diſſolue the armie, which was very chargeable both to him and others; but to the end he might do it ſafely, he inſiſted to haue the laſt league made at *Bologna* renewed, both to comprehend in it all the *Italians*, and to taxe the ſummes of money which euery one was to contribute if *Italy* were inuaded by the *French*. He deſired alſo to haue *Katherine* the Popes Neece maried to *Francis Sforce*, as well to preſſe the Pope by a greater neceſſitie to looke to the preſeruation of that Eſtate, as to breake the practiſe of affinitie that was ſolicited with the *French* king. Of all which things not one was

Katherine de Medicis.

accep-

acceptable to the Pope, for that the confederation was contrary to the desire he had to stand newter as much as he could betweene the Princes of Christendome: doubting both other dangers, and especially lest the *French* king (who was so much pressed thereunto by the King of *England*) would depriue him of the obedience of his kingdome. Touching the Councell, it was a matter very grieuous vnto him for the ancient causes: and the alliance with the Duke of *Millan* pleased him not, for that he would not be at open enmitie with the *French* king, with whose second sonne he had a vehement desire to conioyne his Neece. These matters were handled, but principally that of the confederation: and for this negociation of many moneths were deputed for the Emperour, *Cuonos*, the great Commander of *Lions*, *Granuelle*, and *Prata* his chiefe Counsellors: and for the Pope the Cardinall *de Medicis*, *Iames Saluiati*, and *Guicciardin*: who not refusing to go through with the confederation (for that had bene to discouer too much the Popes intention, and to giue cause to the Emperour iustly to conceiue a great suspition of him,) made instance that all meanes should be vsed to cause the *Venetians* to consent vnto it, alleaging that without them the defence would be but weake, and that the common affaires would be preserued with better reputation if the renowme of the former confederation were maintained: whereas if another were made without them, it would make the world beleeue that there were discord betweene the Emperour, the Pope, and the *Venetians*. In this regard the *Venetians* were solicited to condescend to a new confederation for the defence of all *Italy*, for as much as by the first League their obligation extended no further then for the affaires of *Millan* and *Naples*: and the Emperour was very desirous that they might be bound likewise to the defence of *Genes*, where it was thought, that when the warre was on foote, the *French* men would easily make their first attempt: for that they would pretend, by reason of their rights and interests particular, they might do it without swaruing from the contracts of *Madril* and *Cambray*. But the Senate of *Venice* refused to renew the confederation, or to amplifie the obligations contained in the same, whereby they much discontented the Emperour, although they affirmed they would inuiolably obserue that coniunction: and yet the Emperour was so much the more importunate herein with the Pope, refuting all reasons that were alleaged to the contrary, that the articles of the confederation began to be communed vpon; and all the Potentates of *Italy* were summoned, who sent Embassadours to this negociation: who were required to enter into the League, contributing in case of warre, euery one according to his power and possibilitie: wherein none of them making any difficultie, but labouring euery one to abate somewhat of that which was demanded for the contribution, *Alphonso d'Este* onely propounded that he might not enter into a league to defend the States of others, if first he were not assured of his owne. For how may it be conuenient for him to accord, that was to defend himselfe against the Pope, and enter league with him? how could he contribute with his money to the defence of *Millan* and *Genes*, if he were compelled to expend it continually to keepe bands of souldiers within *Modena* and *Reggia*, and also for the suretie of *Ferrara*? Vpon this demand arose a new practise to accord him with the Pope: who bearing a mind far estranged therefrō, and yet not purposing to oppose himselfe so apparently against the instance of the Emperour, he propounded conditions which were impossible to be obserued, affirming that if he should leaue *Modena* and *Reggia* to *Alphonso* (who otherwise would not come to accord) that he would haue *Alphonso* to acknowledge them in fealtie of the Sea Apostolike; the which for that it could not be done in such sort as might be iudicially auailable without the consent of the Electors and Princes of the Empire, it brought the Emperour into a difficultie which had no issue. Therefore he began to intreate the Pope, that at least during the league he would be bound not to vexe the State which *Alphonso* held: and after many disputes, the Pope consented to assure him for eighteene moneths; and so at last there was a conclusion made of the League, which was passed and contracted vpon Saint *Matthias* day; a day very happie to the Emperour. This league and confederation contained an obligation of the Emperour, the King of *Romanes*, and all the other Potentates of *Italy* except the *Venetians*, for the defence of *Italy*, yet without naming the *Florentines* therein any otherwise then they were named in the league of *Congnac*, and that to the end not to trouble their commerce in the Realme of *France*. It was set downe with what number of souldiers euery one should be concurrant therein, and what summe of money they should contribute for euery moneth, to wit, for the Emperour thirtie thousand duckats, the Pope for himselfe and the *Florentines* twentie thousand, the Duke of *Millan*

A League for the defence of Italy.

Ian fifteene thouſand, the Duke of *Ferrara* ten thouſand, the *Genowayes* ſixe thouſand, the State of *Sienna* ten thouſand, and the Citie of *Lucques* a thouſand: and that (to the end to be found prepared againſt all ſodaine and vnlooked for inuaſions vntil ſuch time as defence might be made with the contributions aforenamed) there ſhould be preſently leuied a loane of money almoſt equall to the contributions, which ſhould not be expended vnleſſe the preparations to inuade *Italy* were manifeſtly diſcerned. There was alſo ſet downe a ſmall contribution yearely, for the entertainment of thoſe Captaines that remained in *Italy*, and to pay certaine penſions to the *Swiſſers*, to the end they might not haue cauſe to giue footmen to the *French* king: and by common conſent *Anthonie de Leua* was declared Captaine generall of all the League, with ordinance that he ſhould remaine in the Duchie of *Millan*.

The Pope will not hearken to a Councell.

Touching the Councell there was nothing concluded to the liking of the Emperour, who ſolicited the Pope to call it preſently; which he refuſed to do, alleaging that in that ill diſpoſition of mens minds, there was danger leſt the Kings of *England* and *France* would refuſe it, and that the Councell being celebrated without them, it could introduce neither vnion nor reformation of the Church: yea, it was much to be feared leſt it would diuolue to a ſchiſme: That he was very well content to ſend out Nuncios to all the Princes, to induce them to ſo holy a worke. And the Emperour replying, What if they differ from vs without iuſt cauſe? and preſſing the Pope in that caſe to intimate the Councell, he could neuer diſpoſe him to it: ſo that his Nuncios were aſſigned and ſent out, with a very ſlender hope to bring backe any good concluſion. But the Emperour was no better ſatisfied touching the negociation of the affinitie; for that when the two Cardinals ſent by the *French* king were come to *Bologna*, and had introduced againe the negociation of the mariage with the ſecond ſonne of the King, the Pope gaue anſwer touching the mariage with the Duke of *Millan* propounded by the Emperour: That the King hauing long before made an ouerture of mariage for his ſonne, and he hauing hearkened vnto it by the conſent of the Emperour, who at that time ſeemed to be well content therewith, he ſuppoſed he ſhould do great wrong to the *French* king, if during theſe negociations he ſhould giue his Neece in mariage to one of his enemies: That he was perſwaded, that that practiſe was artificially introduced by the *French* king to entertaine him, and not with intention to conclude it; ſeeng there was betweene the parties ſo great diſparitie of degree and condition; but that he would not do the King ſo great wrong, if this practiſe were not firſt abſolutely broken off. And when the Emperour could not be perſwaded that the *French* king would adioyne his ſonne to a match ſo farre vnequall to him, he aduiſed the Pope, that for the diſcouerie of the Kings frauds, he ſhould preſſe the Cardinals to ſend for a procuration to make the contract, who ſhewing themſelues very forward herein, cauſed it to be accompliſhed in few dayes in very ample forme: by reaſon whereof, not onely all hope of affinitie with *Francis Sforce* was loſt, but alſo the ſolicitation with the *French* king was followed more hotely; and thereunto was further addled (according to the deuice betweene them long before) that the Pope and the *French* king ſhould contract together at *Nice*, a Citie belonging to the Duke of *Sauoy*, ſtanding vpon the riuer of *Var*, which ſeparateth *Italy* from *Prouence*. Theſe things were very offenſiue to the Emperour, as well for a ſuſpition leſt betweene the Pope and the *French* king there would be concluded a greater coniunction to his preiudice (for he knew well enough how much the *French* king deſired it,) as for feare leſt the Pope ſhould call to mind his impriſonment, the ſack of *Rome*, and the mutation of *Florence*, being moued alſo with diſdaine, for that the honour which the Pope had done to him in making two iourneys to *Bologna* to ſpeake with him, would be diminiſhed, yea aboliſhed, if he ſhould go ſo farre as *Nice* to meete with the *French* king. And he diſſembled not this diſpleaſure and the cauſes thereof, but in vaine; for that in the Popes mind was fixed an ardent deſire of this affinitie, being moued rather by ambition and appetite of glorie, in that being of a houſe in a maner ſimple and priuate, he had obtained for a baſtard Nephew of his, a baſtard daughter of ſo mightie an Emperour, and now ſhould obtaine for his Neece legitimate, a legitimate ſonne of the *French* king; then induced by that which many counſelled him, to wit, that by the meanes of that affinitie he might giue colour of right (though more apparent then true) to pretend for his ſonne and for his daughter in law the Eſtate of *Florence*. To theſe diſcontentments of the Emperour was added, almoſt as a full accompliſhment, that making inſtance to the Pope to create three Cardinals by him propounded, he obtained it with difficultie onely for the Archbiſhop of *Bary*, the Pope excuſing himſelfe vpon the contradiction

The Pope refuſeth to giue his Neece in mariage with the Duke of Millan.

diction of the Colledge of Cardinals: neither was the Emperour appeaſed by the readineſſe of the Pope to make a ſecret confederation with him, wherein he promiſed to proceed iudicially to the cenſures, and to all things that he might rightly do againſt the King of *England*, and againſt *Anne Bolleine*: and they bound themſelues to make no new confederations or accords with any Princes, without the reciprocall conſent one of another. The Emperour departed from *Bologna* the day after the confederation was contracted, being now well aſſured in himſelf, that the ſaid mariage would go on, together with the enterpriſe betweene the Pope and the *French* king, and doubted alſo of ſome greater coniunction. Being embarked at *Genes*, he paſſed into *Spaine*, with a firme purpoſe (as it is reported) if the mariage of *Katherine de Medicis* were celebrated with the ſecond ſonne of *France*, to diſſolue the match made betweene his daughter and *Alexander de Medicis*. Not many dayes after the Pope departed to go to *Rome*, accompanied with the two *French* Cardinals, nothing troubled with the new confederation, for that the Pope, who excelled in ſimulations and practiſes, wherein he was not ſurmounted with feare, had told them, that vpon concluding the League the *Spaniſh* armie was to diſſolue, which would do the *French* king more good then the confederation could endomage him; chiefly ſeeing that as well for the obligations as the obſeruation thereof, there might happen many difficulties and ſundry impediments.

Thus the practiſes begun continued betweene them: and the King deſiring for his honour, and for ambition rather then for any other thing, that the Pope ſhould come to *Nice*, he promiſed (to draw him thither) not to require of him any confederation, nor to incenſe him to war, and much leſſe to draw him from termes of iuſtice in the cauſe of the King of *England*, nor to importune him to create new Cardinals: and he was much puſhed on herein by the King of *England*, who had now ſolemnely maried the Lady *Anne Bolleine*, by whom hauing procreated a daughter, he had, to the preiudice of the daughter of his firſt wife, declared her Princeſſe of the Realme of *England*; a title which is transferred to ſuch as are neareſt the Crowne: by reaſon whereof, the Pope not able to diſſemble ſo great a contempt againſt the Sea Apoſtolike, nor to refuſe iuſtice to the Emperour, had with the aduice of the Conſiſtory, publiſhed that King guiltie of the crime of contempt; which cauſed him to deſire the affinitie and enteruiew of the Pope with the *French* king, hoping the King would be a meanes to remedie his cauſe; and that the Pope being induced (as he hoped) to commune of new matters againſt the Emperour, he would deſire to reſtore him, and to draw him into their coniunction, and as it were to conſtitute almoſt a Triumuirate, to giue lawes to the affaires of *Italy*. At laſt his going was concluded, but not to *Nice*; for that the Duke of *Sauoy*, not to diſpleaſe the Emperor, made difficultie to grant the Caſtle to the Pope; but to *Marſeilles*, according to the Kings deſire, who eſteemed it a matter more honorable for him, that the enteruiew ſhould be made in his kingdome, and with the contentment of the Pope, as one that deſired to ſatisfie him more with demonſtrations, and in pleaſing his ambition, then with effects. The Pope laboured to perſwade all men, that he went to this enteruiew principally to ſolicite peace, to perſwade the enterpriſe againſt the Infidels, and to reduce the King of *England* to good wayes; and laſtly, onely for the common intereſts. But being not able to diſſemble the true cauſe, before he departed he ſent his Neece to *Nice* vpon the gallies which the Duke of *Albanie* Vncle to the yong Lady, had brought out of *France* to paſſe the Pope: which gallies after they had brought the Lady to *Nice*, returned to the port of *Piſa*, and on the fourth of October they took the perſon of the Pope with many Cardinals, whom with a very happie nauigation they brought in few dayes to *Marſeilles*; where when he had made his ſolemne entrie, the *French* king, who had viſited him before by night, entred ſoone after. They were lodged in one and the ſame Pallace, and vſed very great demonſtrations of amitie: and the King, who eſpecially laboured to win him, prayed him to ſend for his Neece to *Marſeilles*; which being willingly performed by the Pope, who ſpake not thereof to the King, to ſhew that he would firſt debate of the common affaires; as ſoone as the Ladie was come, the contracts were made, and with as much ſpeed the conſummation of the mariage, to the incredible ioy of the Pope, who handled his matters ſo cunningly with the King, that the King became wonderfull confident in him, and ſhewed him great affection: neuertheleſſe contrary to the opinion of all men, and of the Emperour himſelfe, no capitulation was paſſed betweene them. It is very true that the Pope ſhewed himſelfe alwayes deſirous that the State of *Millan* might be gotten for the Duke of *Orleans* husband to his Neece; a matter which the

Enteruiew of the Pope and the French king at Marſeilles.

Katherine de Medicis maried to the ſecond ſon of France.

King desired much, for a hatred and disdaine he bare to the Emperour, but much more for that the Duke of *Orleans* being put into such an Estate, he thought that would quench the occasions of contention betweene his children after his death, which otherwise he feared might fall amongst them for the title of the Duchie of *Brittaine*, which the King in the yeare before (contrary to the couenants made by King *Lewis* with those people) had vnited to the Crowne of *France*, whereunto he had induced the subiects of that State to consent, more by his kingly authoritie, then of their owne inclination: and not onely the King obtained nothing of him in the cause of the King of *England*, but also for the inciuilities of his seruants, and for that they were found in the Popes chamber, protesting and appealing from him to the Councell, shewing himselfe angrie, he told the Pope, it should nothing offend him, if he pursued their King and his cause according to the rule of iustice. He offended not the Popes mind in any thing, sauing that rather to satisfie some about him then himselfe, he intreated him to create three Cardinals in his fauour; which was a matter not a litle discontenting to the Pope, not so much for the instance which the Emperours Embassadour made to the contrary, as for that he esteemed it a matter of great consequence, both for the election of future Popes, and for the disobediences which might happen in his life and after, to adde so many Cardinals to the *French* nation, which had already sixe. Neuertheless for a lesse euill, he consented to this demand; and besides these he created a brother of the Duke of *Albanie*, to whom he had before promised the Cardinals Hat. In regard of all other things there seemed to be betweene them great affiance and contentment, the *French* king hauing communicated vnto him many of his counsels, and among others his determination to stirre vp against the Emperour some of the Princes of *Germanie*, and chiefly the *Lantgraue van Hesse*, and the Duke of *Wertemberg*, who the Sommer following drew into commotion. When they had remained at *Marseilles* about a moneth, the Pope returned vpon the same gallies; with the which, after he had bene much tormented vpon the sea, being arriued at *Sauona*, neither trusting to the prouision of the gallies, nor the skill of those that gouerned them, he sent them backe, and was conducted to *Ciuitauecchia* in the gallies of *Andrew Dore*: and being returned to *Rome*, with very great reputation and wonderfull felicitie, especially to such as had seene him prisoner in the Castle of Saint *Angelo*, he enioyed the full fauour of fortune for a few moneths, presaging already in his mind, that which was speedily to happen. For it is manifest, that almost as soone as he was returned from *Marseilles*, as if he were assured of his death which approched, he caused the Ring to be made, and all the other habites accustomed to bury Popes, assuring his familiars, with a very setled mind, that he should speedily die. And yet not leauing his accustomed cares and studies, he solicited, as he thought, for the greater suretie of his house, to build a very strong Citadell within *Florence*, not knowing how soone the felicitie of his Nephewes was to end, of whom, being mortall enemies one to another, *Hippolito* the Cardinal died before the end of the yeare after the Popes death, not without suspition of poison, and *Alexander* the other Nephew, who commanded at *Florence*, was (with great note of indiscretion) secretly slaine by night in *Florence* by *Laurence* of the same family of *Medicis*.

The Pope knowes with his end.

The Pope fell sicke about the beginning of Sommer, and his griefe was a paine of the stomacke, whereunto a feauer being conioyned, and being a long time tormented with that and other accidents, sometimes he seemed to be reduced to the point of death, and sometimes so eased, that he gaue to others, but not to himselfe, an hope of recouery. During the time of which malady, the Duke of *Wertemberg* by the aide of the *Lantgraue van Hesse* and other Princes, and the helpe of the money of *France*, recouered the Duchie of *wertemberg*, which the King of *Romanes* possessed: and these fearing a greater combustion, agreed with the King of *Romanes*, against the will of the *French* king, who was in hope that the Emperour in regard of these emotions, would stand intangled with a long and tedious warre, and that haply their armies being victorious, would descend vpon the Duchie of *Millan*. In like sort at that time *Barberosa* being made *Bassa* and Captaine generall of *Solimans* army by sea, passed to the conquest of the kingdome of *Thunis*, and in his way thither he ouerran the sea coasts of *Calabria*, and ran vp aboue *Caietta*, by meanes whereof some of his souldiers being set on land, sacked *Fondy*, with such a feare to the Court and peoples of *Rome*, as it was supposed, if they had passed further, that the Citie of *Rome* had bin left abandoned. But this accident was kept from the knowledge of the Pope, who at last being no longer able to resist his malady, departed out of this life the fiue and twen-

Barberosa ou Thunis.

Death of Pope Clement the 7.

twentieth day of September, leauing behind him in the Caſtle of Saint *Angelo* many iewels, in the Pontificall Chamber infinite offices, but contrary to the opinion of all men a very ſmall ſumme of money. He was raiſed from baſe degree to the place of Popedome with a wonderfull felicitie: but being Pope he had experience of a very great varietie of fortune: and if both were euenly ballanced, his euill fortune was farre greater then his good. For what felicitie may be compared to the miſery of his impriſonment? to haue ſeene the ſacke of *Rome*, with ſo great a ruine and deſtruction? and that he was the cauſe of ſo great deſolation to his countrey? He died hated of the Court, ſuſpected of Princes, and with a fame rather hatefull then acceptable: being accounted couetous, of ſmall fidelitie, and naturally farre off from doing pleaſures to men: by reaſon whereof, albeit during the time of his Pontificacie he created one and thirtie Cardinals, he neuer made any to content himſelfe, but almoſt alwayes by neceſſitie, except the Cardinall *de Medicis*, whom (when he was oppreſſed with a dangerous malady, and at ſuch a time as if he had died, he had left his friends and kindred in the ſtate of beggers, and depriued of all aide) he created Cardinall rather at the perſwaſion of others then by his proper and voluntary election; and yet he was very graue, well aduiſed in his actions, a conqueror of himſelfe, and of a great ſpirit, if timorouſneſſe had not oftentimes corrupted his iudgement. When he was dead, the Cardinals who ſhut themſelues the ſame night into the Conclaue, elected in his place with full voice *Alexander*, of the family of *Farneſe*, a *Romane* by nation, and the moſt ancient Cardinall of all the Court: their voices being found conformable to the iudgement and (in a maner) inſtance that *Clement* had made, as of a perſon worthy to be preferred before all the others to ſo great a degree, ſeeing he was both learned, and of good life in appearance: and the Cardinals elected him the more willingly, for that he being already vpon the threeſcore and ſeuenth yeare of his age, and ſuppoſed to be of a weake complexion and ſickly, which opinion he nouriſhed with art, they had ſome hope he would not ſit long in the ſeate: the actions and operations of whom, whether they anſwered the expectation conceiued of him, or the incredible ioy which the people of *Rome* tooke, to haue after the end of an hundred and three yeares, and after the ſucceſſion of thirteene Popes, a Pope of bloud a *Romane*, thoſe may beare witneſſe who ſhall write of the accidents hapning in *Italy* after his election. For the prouerbe is very true, and well to be noted, which ſaith, *The office ſetteth out the worthineſſe of the perſon that manageth it.*

The creation of Pope Paul the third.

He was Pope fifteene yeares. The ſummarie of all his prodigious life may be ſeene in the 21 booke of Sleidans Commentaries. He died in the moneth of November, 1549.

The end of the twentieth and laſt Booke.

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